Focusing on the Future: Congolese Students' Perceptions of and Experiences with Secondary Education in Nyarugusu Camp

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Abstract

In Nyarugusu Camp, one of the world's largest refugee camps, only 7% of youth are enrolled in secondary school. While literature on refugee education has focused almost exclusively on organizational aspects of planning and monitoring education, this study utilized a symbolic interactionist framework and constructivist grounded theory methods to explore youths' perceptions of and experiences with education, in an attempt to better understand what it means to be a secondary school student in the camp.

Thirty-one written response participants and fifteen individual interview participants shared their thoughts and experiences surrounding how their perceptions of education develop and are supported by family and community attitudes and reactions. The findings highlighted some of the ways in which perceptions of education are both developed and confirmed. Findings also revealed that youth face numerous challenges in their pursuit of secondary education, but that they cope with these challenges by "toughing it out," or focusing on the potential of the future, in providing both their basic needs and a sense of fulfillment and accomplishment, should they reach their goal of completing secondary education.

Overall, this study adds substantively to the small, but growing, body of independent research on refugees in refugee camp situations. In particular, this study adds to the understanding of the educational perceptions and experiences of Congolese youth, specifically, in Nyarugusu Camp, which is one of the world's oldest and largest, but often more forgotten, refugee camps.

Keywords: refugee education; education in emergencies; protracted refugee camp settings; refugee youth; secondary education; constructivist grounded theory

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction to the Study

The overwhelming assumption among scholars and humanitarian agencies is that education is "good" and that it acts as protection in a refugee context (Kirk & Cassity, 2007; Kirk & Winthrop, 2007; Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003; Rose & Greeley, 2006; Sommers, 2002; UNHCR; 2012; Winthrop & Kirk 2008). However, when dealing with different refugee populations who have varied perceptions of education and experiences with education, this is not always the case. Two studies in particular, one with Burundian refugees and one with Rwandan refugees, demonstrate that education can be seen by refugees as potentially making oneself vulnerable, because during times of conflict, it was the educated who were targeted (Skonhoft, 2000; Wargo, 2010). Bush and Saltarelli (2000) also describe what they call the "two faces of education," meaning that education can act as a protective factor for children and youth, or it can act as a risk factor.

Many different factors come into play when providing education in emergencies, and thus, it is important to both hear and incorporate refugee voices and perspectives when creating policies and programming (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). However, Winthrop and Kirk (2008) note that when exploring the relationship between refugee students' well-being and schooling, researchers tend to adopt one of two approaches: (1) the *educationalist* approach, where the focus is on education systems, and refugee perspectives are most often not heard; or (2) the *child protection* approach, in which researchers focus on children's experiences of conflict, eliciting their perspectives, but only in relation to the conflict, not to their schooling (p. 640). Winthrop and Kirk (2008) conducted their own study in an attempt to incorporate the voices of refugee

students themselves, but this study focused on primary school student perspectives, which in fact, is true of most studies in the field of education in emergencies. This particular priority on primary schooling and primary students ignores the importance of secondary schooling, especially in protracted refugee situations. It also ignores the status of education, specifically secondary education, as also a fundamental human right.

In addition, research that has been done on student and community perspectives in relation to education tends to be conducted by stakeholders (e.g./ UNICEF, UNESCO, UNHCR, International Rescue Committee). Such studies have the potential to be oriented to serve the interests of the stakeholder organization. Therefore, some voices may be magnified, while others are silenced, in order to reach these objectives. For instance, when discussing a refugee food programme, Pottier (1996) writes that, "UNHCR's positive self-assessment of its own information campaign surprised many beneficiaries – including vulnerable groups" (p. 327). Pottier (1996) also points out that among refugee groups, silence about programming does not indicate approval. While this particular example is one from outside the realm of education, it does highlight the potential conflicts of interest that can arise for a non-governmental organization when planning, delivering, and monitoring various services. In the context of education, refugee communities often emphasize the importance of education, but enrollment and completion statistics paint a different picture. There are numerous studies in which refugee communities discuss the importance and value of education (Affolter & Allaf, 2011; Ali, Briskman, & Fiske, 2016; Clark-Kazak, 2011; El Jack, 2011; Waters & Leblanc, 2005), but the reality is that enrolment and completion rates are very low (Crea & McFarland, 2015; Montjourides, 2013; Oh & van der Stouwe, 2008).

Crisp (2002) defines protracted refugee situations in a way that is common within the field; he writes, “refugees can be regarded as being in a protracted situation when they have lived in exile for more than five years, and when they still have no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement” (p. 1). There are currently about 30 ‘protracted situations’ across the world today, with the average lasting 12 years in low-income countries (Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010). One of these protracted contexts is located in northwestern Tanzania. Nyarugusu Camp is home to Congolese and Burundian refugees, and it is not uncommon for families, especially Congolese families, to have lived there for 15+ years. Although estimates regarding population tend to differ since influxes of refugees can, and do, occur at any time, as of July 2018, UNHCR reported 153, 024 people living in Nyarugusu, the world’s third largest refugee camp (UNHCR, 2018 July 31). Nyarugusu Camp currently has 21 primary schools and 6 secondary schools, 4 of which are Congolese secondary schools (UNHCR, 2018 July 31). In terms of enrolment at the secondary school level, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) reports that despite their target of having 50% of youth (who they define as 15-18 years of age) enrolled in school, only 7% were actually enrolled in Nyarugusu Camp (UNHCR, 2017 March 31). It is therefore important to be concerned about the educational opportunities available to young people in this particular camp, as many of them would be spending a greater part of their school-age years here. As such, the intent of this research was to gain a deeper understanding of the perceptions of education and the educational experiences of adolescent students in a protracted refugee camp in northwestern Tanzania. I explored how these perceptions and experiences, both positive and negative, impact students’ thoughts around what it means to be a secondary school student in Nyarugusu Camp. Given that only 7% of the population that is eligible for secondary school is

actually enrolled, this 7% is the phenomenon, especially considering that targets are being met at the primary school level. UNHCR (31 March, 2017) has set a target of 75% of primary-aged children in school, and they report having actually achieved 79% enrollment. As such, at the secondary school level, I wanted to explore what might set this group, this 7%, apart, or perhaps give them the advantage, over the 93% of their peers that are not in secondary school. I wanted to consider how their perceptions of and experiences with education have led them to this point, to be enrolled in secondary school in Nyarugusu Camp, while so many of their peers are not enrolled.

Justification of the Research Problem

The United Nations and governments hosting refugees recognize and promote three 'durable solutions:' voluntary repatriation, resettlement to a third country, or naturalization in the host country (UNHCR, 2016). Voluntary repatriation is when refugees willingly choose to return to their country of origin, and as Daley (2013) points out, is by far the preferred solution, for both the UN and host governments; the idea is that once conflicts have been resolved, refugees will voluntarily return to their homes. Voluntary repatriation is also the most common solution. Resettlement to a third country occurs when applications for refugee status are approved by governments of third countries (i.e. not the Democratic Republic of Congo or Tanzania). Frykholm (2016) notes that only approximately 5% of refugees are ever resettled. Finally, naturalization in the host country is another durable solution option outlined by the UNHCR. This is an option that Tanzania wants to avoid, and, in the past has rarely been obtainable (UNHCR, 2014). In February 2018, Tanzanian President John Magufuli announced that Tanzania would no longer be taking part in the resettlement and integration of refugees, citing a

lack of support and funding from UNHCR and donor governments ("Tanzania withdraws from UN refugee programme," 2018). As such, UNHCR (2014) states that in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which has seen a number of conflicts since the 1960s, resettlement may be the most durable solution. Nonetheless, goals for resettlement of Congolese refugees between 2012 and 2016 were to resettle 50,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2014) which means it is not a viable solution for all refugees in Nyarugusu. This has resulted in many Congolese refugees remaining in Nyarugusu for nearly twenty years (Mweneake, 2016; UNHCR 2014). It would seem, therefore, that a more durable solution may be encouraging refugees to voluntarily repatriate when the conflict has ended, and it is genuinely safe to do so. If an educated and empowered group of refugees were to voluntarily repatriate when it is safe to do so, perhaps the likelihood of future conflict would be decreased.

Given the nature of the camp conditions in Nyarugusu, refugees face restricted human rights and find themselves in situations that do not promote self-reliance. For example, Tanzania has an encampment policy, meaning that refugees are forbidden to travel more than four kilometers from the camp for any reason, without special permissions and visas (Loescher & Milner, 2005; UNHCR, 2015; Zeus, 2011). This policy means that refugee children and youth cannot leave the camp to access education; therefore, any educational opportunities available exist only inside the camp itself. Turner (2002) provides a description of the lack of opportunities for self-reliance in another refugee camp in Tanzania, called Lukole Camp, here:

> Around 100,000 people with very different backgrounds have been crammed into this small area in the Tanzanian bush, where they are taken care of by high-profile international organizations and subjected to a number of extraordinary rules and regulations. They are not allowed to involve themselves in politics, leave the camp, work, or (at least formally) barter their food rations. They are given food and water and health care free of charge, irrespective of whether they used to be a minister, a peasant, or a street kid in Burundi (p. 67)

According to UNHCR (2018. July 31) there are six secondary schools (4 for Congolese and 2 for Burundian students) in Nyarugusu Camp. Inadequate post-primary education in the camp robs many refugee youth in Nyarugusu Camp of the opportunity to continue their studies, and gain the knowledge and skills necessary not only to protect themselves, but to rebuild their communities and countries of origin (Anselme & Hands, 2011; Cooper, 2005; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010; Oh & van der Stouwe, 2008; Pigozzi, 1999; Waters & Leblanc, 2005; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008; Moro, 2002).

This study focused on youth for a number of reasons. First of all, because international goals and objectives, such as Education for All and Millennium Development Goals, have focused on primary education, secondary education has been placed on the backburner in many countries, and in most humanitarian situations (Anselme & Hands, 2011). As Peterson (2010) notes, access to secondary level education in refugee camps is limited, and even when provided, facilities are insufficient. In addition, while primary education is free to attend, school fees are still required for those who wish to attend secondary level education in some refugee camp contexts (Montjourides, 2013; Pimentel, 2013). In Nyarugusu Camp, secondary school tuition is free, but required school materials such as uniforms and notebooks, are not provided. Secondary level education is also important because it provides the means to attend tertiary education (Naidoo, 2015), and also to influence the future of the nation. As Anselme and Hands (2011) claim,

> To ensure the economic, social, and political development of a society that has been severely affected by conflict or disaster, it is imperative that there be a youth population of capable, productive, and educated citizens who may provide an exit strategy from the situation…. Access to post-primary education creates long-term sustainable growth and human development that is crucial for the rebuilding…of states that have been weakened by conflict (p. 89)

As such, this research study focused on an under-served and under-represented segment of the population, that of adolescents or youth, and their perceptions of and experiences with education.

In addition, as previously mentioned, many of the studies or reports looking at educational opportunities available in refugee camp situations are conducted by, or funded by, stakeholders themselves. For example, Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) report on the two faces of education was done as a project for UNICEF. Similarly, Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) study related to children's perspectives of schooling and well-being was conducted when both researchers were employed as part of International Rescue Committee's education team. These potential conflicts of interest are sometimes noted in research findings (e.g. Winthrop & Kirk, 2008) and sometimes are not. While the work that these researchers and stakeholders do is of course necessary, important, and often life-saving, by coming in as a researcher unaffiliated with these organizations involved in the camp, I may be able to provide different insights.

By exploring refugee youths' perceptions of education in Nyarugusu Camp, those responsible for planning and delivering educational programming may have a better idea of both what encourages them to attend school and what discourages them from attending. Having a stronger understanding of these factors may work to promote higher rates of enrollment and completion at the secondary school level. In this way, this study has the potential to benefit both educational administrators and teachers, but also more importantly, the students and communities, as education has the potential to be linked with positive personal life outcomes (El Jack, 2011; Naidoo, 2015; O'Rourke, 2015), as well as peace, stability, and security in a nation (Affolter & Allaf, 2011; Anselme & Hands, 2011; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Sommers, 2002). Overall, this study adds to the small, but growing, body of research on the experiences of youth living in refugee camp situations.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the perceptions of education and educational experiences of youth in Nyarugusu Camp, in an attempt to better understand what it is like to be a secondary school student in Nyarugusu Camp, and thus, consider ways in which secondary schooling might be improved or adapted to increase participation and completion rates among Congolese youth. Specifically, this study posed the following questions:

1. What do students perceive to be the purpose and function of education?
2. How do students' perceptions of the purpose and function of education develop?
3. How do students feel about access to and availability of educational opportunities?
4. What types of interactions do students experience while in the school setting?
5. What do students identify as being positive and negative experiences in the school setting?
6. How do these experiences (positive and negative) make students feel?

Assumptions

There are a few assumptions which guided my study, and they are as follows:

a) Education, including secondary education, is a fundamental human right.
b) Access to and completion of secondary schooling for youth in refugee camps, particularly in protracted situations, is essential for individuals and for their communities.
c) The needs education fulfill in protracted situations may be different from those in immediate crises.
d) There is a seeming lack of focus on secondary schooling in refugee camp situations.

e) Education has the potential to provide physical, psychosocial, and cognitive protection to individuals, including those living in refugee camp situations.

Definition of Terms

- **Education in emergencies** – The field of education in emergencies is defined by the International Network for Education in Emergencies (2017) as, "the quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocational, higher, and adult education" (para. 1).
- **Protracted refugee situation** – This study used Crisp's (2002) definition of a protracted situation: "when [refugees] have lived in exile for more than five years, and when they still have no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement" (p. 1).
- **Youth** – For the purposes of this study, *youth* or *adolescent* was defined as one who is between the ages of 15 and 18 years old, which is consistent with UNHCR's (2017, March 31) definition of a secondary school student.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

Introduction

Martone (2010) declares that education is one of the only fields in humanitarian assistance in which "the blinkered nonsense of the 'we know what is best for them' approach survives unchallenged" (p. 96). The following literature review will begin by outlining typical educational responses in emergencies, by highlighting the recognition of education as a fundamental human right. It will then consider the common assumption that education is always "good" or beneficial, by looking at how experiences, culture, and perceptions can all influence how a refugee youth might view education. The literature, oftentimes conflicting, will show some of the reasons that children and youth attend or do not attend school in refugee camps, specifically in regard to a Congolese refugee camp in Tanzania, Nyarugusu Camp. However, because education in emergencies, which despite its name, encompasses both recently developed and protracted crises, is a relatively new and developing field, the literature will come from refugee contexts around the world, and I hope to draw parallels between these examples and refugees in Nyarugusu Camp.

Education as a Human Right

Education is a right that is recognized, formally, in both national and international documents. However, when it comes to educational provision for refugees, especially in camps, these rights are often not enforced or recognized (O'Rourke, 2015; Pimentel, 2013; Turner, 2014). For the purposes of this study, I wanted to highlight both the Tanzanian and DRC Constitutions. The right to education is discussed in both, but it is also important to consider the

actual language used to outline the right. In the Tanzanian Constitution, Articles 11.2 and 11.3 read as follows:

> Every person has the right to access education, and every citizen shall be free to pursue education in a field of his choice up to the highest level according to his merits and ability.
>
> The government shall make efforts to ensure that all persons are afforded equal and sufficient opportunity to pursue education and vocational training in all levels of schools and other institutions of learning.

Here, it is important to note the use of the words "every person," "every citizen," and "all persons." In refugee contexts, there can be issues with discrepancies in interpretation between person and citizen (Arendt, 1968), particularly when it comes to Congolese nationals living in refugee camps on Tanzanian soil.

The DRC Constitution likewise makes numerous references to the right to education. Of particular importance here are Articles 42 and 43, which read:

> The public authorities are obliged to protect the youth against any attack on their health, education, or integral development.
>
> All persons have the right to a school education. It is provided by national education.

Based on some of the issues or questions considered above, in such situations as refugee camps, we tend to rely on international human rights codes. However, these too can be at odds. For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) acknowledges "the right of everyone to free and compulsory education and recognizes the role of education in the development of the human personality and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (1948, Article 26). The more recent United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (1989) also recognizes this right to education, and makes particular reference to

secondary education, saying that it should be made "available and accessible to every child" (Article 28.1b). This is different than Article 28.1a, which not only states that primary education is a right, but that it should also be compulsory and *free* for all students. In protracted refugee situations like Nyarugusu Camp, with very limited employment and income-generating opportunities, the stipulation of secondary school fees may render secondary education impossible for many refugees (Mweneake, 2014).

Bird (2003) writes that when it comes to refugee camps, "While the Convention on the Rights of the Child might be legally binding on paper, in practice, it is not enforceable without political will, so agencies have little leverage to lobby for education as a legal right for children" (p. 46). Low levels of secondary education provision, attendance, and completion are common in conflict-affected areas and refugee camps (Anselme & Hands, 2011; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010). This may be in part due to a lack of educational provision. For example, although Nyarugusu Camp is home to nearly 150,000 refugees there are only 20 primary schools and 6 secondary schools (UNHCR, 2017 March 31). This is significant given that UNHCR (2015, October 11) report that more than 60% of refugees in this camp are aged 17 and under, translating to approximately 90,000 children and youth requiring education.

There are numerous debates regarding humanitarian and development aid, which are seen to be dichotomous (Affolter & Allaf, 2014; Andina, 2007). Education is often not seen as part of humanitarian or relief work; it is seen as a 'luxury' or a life-sustaining right, not a life-saving right (Bird, 2003; El Jack, 2011; Hyndman, 2011; Wright & Plasterer, 2011), so there are especially problems when trying to provide and fund education in protracted situations. While a lack of provision may be part of the problem, refugee perceptions of education, as well as their experiences with education, also need to be explored. As Anselme and Hands (2011)

demonstrate, when education is provided in certain settings, there are still underlying reasons why refugee youth may or may not access it. These reasons, the perceptions and educational experiences of youth in Nyarugusu, will be the focus of this proposed study.

Now that the topic of education as a human right has been briefly discussed, this literature review will go on to discuss the emphasis that refugees often place on the need for, and the importance of, education.

Emphasis on Importance of Education

The importance placed on education is demonstrated in an overwhelming number of studies with refugee children and youth, and their families, all around the globe (Oh & van der Stouwe, 2008; Affolter & Allaf, 2014; Ali, Briskman, & Fiske, 2016; Clark-Kazak, 2011; Mann, 2010; Mareng, 2010; Waters & Leblanc, 2005; Alzaroo & Hunt, 2000; Wright & Plasterer, 2011). For example, in a study by Clark-Kazak (2011) with over 400 Congolese youth living in Uganda, *all* participants named furthering education as one of their main goals. Similarly, in a smaller study of 18 Palestinian children and youth, Alzaroo and Hunt (2000) found that the majority placed primary importance on furthering their own education. Perhaps most telling is the sentiment expressed by an adolescent Sudanese refugee in El Jack's (2011) study, who said, "Education is my mother and father" (p. 19), or the 16-year old in Mann's (2010) study who revealed, "Education is everything… without education, I am nothing" (p. 268). These studies, and many more, demonstrate that there is a very high level of importance placed by the children and youth themselves on their ability to attend and complete their education. In her study of 100 undocumented urban refugees, aged 7-18 years of age, Mann (2010) found that schooling was so important to the refugees in her study, that an inability to participate in education was "a source

of profound unhappiness and resentment" (p. 268). Interestingly, despite these beliefs and comments made, enrolment and completion rates of secondary school students in refugee camps tend to be very low.

Governments and international organizations have recognized the importance of education in emergencies and work towards providing formal education as quickly as possible once an emergency begins, but it has proven largely ineffective thus far, particularly at the secondary school level (UNHCR, 2015a). It is possible that part of the reason is that refugee voices and experiences are not considered when planning and implementing educational efforts. The literature in the following sections may describe some of the reasons why this is sometimes the case, and my research questions were designed to gain further understandings of the particular perceptions and experiences of youth in Nyarugusu Camp specifically.

A Safe Place?

Seker and Aslan (2015) write that, "To a refugee child, school stands for a safe place against disorder, uncertainty, and chaos; it reminds of the stable and habitual/accustomed life" (p. 87). This particular section will highlight ways in which school *can* in fact provide a safe and desirable place to be, but also that in times of war, conflict, and/or displacement, this is not always a given.

Education does have the capability of providing students with a safe environment where they can learn practical knowledge and skills, receive meals, and carry on their once routine activities (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Mahalingam, 2002; Munoz, 2008). First of all, education can provide the practical skills and knowledge required to survive a time of crisis and/or conflict. This could include life-saving information on hygiene and health care, including HIV/AIDS or

cholera prevention, or information pertinent to living in war zones, such as landmine or cluster bomb safety (Mahalingam, 2002; Munoz, 2008). These types of training are useful in protracted situations as well.

Schools can also provide and maintain physical safety by way of nutrition. Mahalingam (2002) notes that by serving meals to students, schools help to ensure that daily nutritional needs are being met. In the refugee camp context, nutrition is a serious concern and many are undernourished or malnourished (Omoeva, Hatch, and Moussa, 2016). Providing meals can lessen feelings of uncertainty in a few ways. Firstly, children and youth who are attending school do not have to worry about if and when they will eat that day. Secondly, by meeting students' nutritional needs, schools can ensure that their students are able to focus on studies (Omoeva et al., 2016). Omoeva et al. (2016) write that malnutrition can have a serious impact on both short-term and long-term cognitive abilities. In schools and cultures where there is a very high emphasis on reading, testing, and memorization (Mareng, 2010; Watkins, 2013), malnutrition may be one of the barriers keeping students out of school. However, it should be noted that in Nyarugusu Camp, rates of moderate acute malnutrition and severe acute malnutrition tend to be very low (Doocy, et al., 2011). Alternatively, the provision of meals may be a factor that encourages students to attend school (Mahalingam, 2002).

Schools can also be viewed by students as a safe place because they provide students with an identity as a student, and a sense of belonging (Kirk & Cassity, 2007; Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003). Hughes and Beirens (2007) claim that one of the largest benefits of keeping refugee children in school is that they are able to socialize with peers and continue their learning; this is so important because it has been shown that educational progress and emotional well-being go hand-in-hand. Mahalingam (2002) further notes that schools are critical places for being

able to identify students with special needs. Here, she is not referring to 'special needs' related to physical and cognitive development, which are typically how educators and educational administrators define the term; instead, she is referring to special refugee cases, such as children and youth who are separated from family members or those suffering from psychological trauma. These are particular cases where a lack of belonging or a sense of hopelessness may encourage youth to participate in unsafe activities; education instead provides them with an alternative to participating in military recruitment or gangs (Kirk, 2007; Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003). Lyby (2002) supports the idea that having an outlet such as education is very important, saying that due to such high numbers of youth aged 15-25 in camps, "the risk of widespread youth delinquency is imminent" (p. 223). Here, we can see that education then not only provides potential protection to students themselves, but also the members of the society at large. Especially in protracted camp situations such as Nyarugusu, it is important to provide refugee youth with a sense of purpose and hope for the future.

However, these potential benefits and protective factors of school and education cannot be assumed to be true in all cases. In many camps, there is a severe lack of security provided by peacekeeping organizations, such as the United Nations (Reich, 2010). This can, in turn, have a serious impact on the safety and security of schools, adding to negative perceptions or a sense of chaos. Reich (2010) completed a number of studies between 2004 and 2009, focusing on seven conflicts, all in African countries. He looked at 1898 different camps, the sheer number of which demonstrates the great challenge of peacekeeping organizations to provide proper security or health and education services. Reich (2010) found that he was able to record and verify 1456 attacks on camps, and that of 7868 children abducted in camps, 95% (7481) were abducted during an attack. Refugee camps are often viewed by the West as generally secure areas, but

these numbers clearly show that that is not always the case. This study does not indicate that these children were taken *from* school, but it does show that attacks on camps are common, and this reality can affect a child's decision to attend school, or a parent's decision to send them. It is interesting, and perhaps telling of a cultural disconnect, that those responsible for providing education in emergencies often refer to the importance of education in preventing child soldier recruitment (Anselme & Hands, 2011; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Tefferi, 2007). However, Reich's study demonstrates that children can be recruited *at* or on their way to school, and the possibility of this happening, the perception that school or the trip to school is unsafe, negatively affects attendance rates (Omoeva et al., 2016). Parents may also be hesitant to send children to school if they need to walk long distances, as this leaves them vulnerable to sexual assaults, especially in the case of female students (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007; Omoeva et al., 2016; Pimentel, 2013; Sommers, 2002). This shows that when planning and delivering educational programming, individuals and communities must be consulted and included as part of the process. There are realities, perceptions, and experiences that those from outside of the group may not take into account, unless they are speaking directly with refugees.

In other cases, children and youth may experience danger from their teachers or school personnel. For example, students are sometimes actively recruited for political purposes or even armed conflict by their teachers, who are nearly always members of the same refugee community (Wargo, 2010). Wargo (2010) points out that in both Burundi and DRC there have been issues with teachers recruiting their students. This may sometimes be done deliberately, but may also be done unintentionally, through the teaching of certain curricula (Bird, 2003). Pingel (2010) refers to curricula as an "instrument of power," and explains that "education is charged with the

difficult task of delivering to the young generation new views of the world that explain the conflict but do not perpetuate it" (p. 112).

Curricula, textbooks, and teaching practices have also been shown to have a negative effect on completion and achievement rates for girls, when not appropriately considered and managed (Dakar Framework, 2000). Here, the extreme challenges in providing education in refugee contexts are highlighted. While Seker and Aslan (2015) view education and schooling as reminding students "of the stable and habitual/accustomed life" (p. 87), this particular challenge demonstrates that education may in fact remind students of more troubling times, times of conflict and severe division. As Hart (2009) notes, "schools can be threatening and stressful places for refugee children, and any assumed sanctuary may in fact be illusory" (p. 364). These particular perceptions or feelings may be affecting youth's experiences in or with school.

O'Malley (2010) uses Afghanistan as an example of how education, in recent conflicts, has come under attack. His UNESCO study, entitled *Education under Attack,* demonstrates that the "systematic targeting of students, teachers, academics, educational staff, and institutions has increased" (p. 137). Military and rebel forces, in an attempt to incite fear and limit access to educational opportunities, have begun targeting schools, teachers, and students around the world. This is also something that Skonhoft (2000) discovered in her study of Burundian refugees living in refugee camps in Tanzania. In speaking with refugee teachers, Skonhoft (2000) found that many Burundian refugees had negative perceptions of education; based on their past social, cultural, and political experiences, they had come to regard education as something that made them vulnerable, not something that 'empowered' them. For instance, one informant said, "Many Hutu parents were reluctant to send their children to school in Burundi after 1972 and 1988, when educated Hutu were systematically slaughtered. A similar situation happens in the camp in

Tanzania. To many refugees, education merely represents something that makes people vulnerable" (p. 120). This was also the case in Rwanda, where according to Wargo (2010), "teachers, children, and educated men and women were targeted" (p. 34). All of these studies demonstrate that we need to consider individual and group experiences and realities in each conflict and refugee situation; we cannot make assumptions about how communities perceive education and schools. While these examples do not come from DRC, the reality is that in many conflicts and wars, education and the educated are often some of the first targets. Refugees from DRC may have also heard these stories from Rwanda and Burundi, as they have lived together in Nyarugusu Camp in the past. All of these factors and experiences can influence perceptions on education and the school.

Calm or Chaos?

To reiterate from the previous section, Seker and Aslan (2015) state, "To a refugee child, school stands for a safe place against disorder, uncertainty, and chaos; it reminds of the stable and habitual/accustomed life" (p. 87). To protect against disorder, uncertainty, and chaos is one of the main reasons why international agencies and refugee communities call on education to be implemented as quickly as possible in emergencies. UNHCR (2012) states that schools are established to act as and add stability and structure to the lives of the refugee community. Many studies claim that education not only provides some semblance of day-to-day normalcy, but also a sense of hope for the future (Kirk & Cassity, 2007; Mahalingam, 2002; Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003). Crea and McFarland (2015) point out that the provision of education can be especially important in providing a sense of hope for the future in protracted, indefinite situations; it becomes more of a 'survival strategy' (Alzaroo & Hunt, 2003). Given that many refugees may

be dealing with trauma and loss, the provision of education and schools can help to provide important structure, routine, and support for children and youth (Munoz, 2008; Seker & Aslan, 2015; Talbot, 2013; Waters & Leblanc, 2005).

At the same time, while education and schools can possibly lessen chaos and uncertainty in the daily lives of students, it also has the possibility of exacerbating these feelings. It should be acknowledged that in war zones, and especially in refugee camp settings, schools themselves are often chaotic. In Coursen-Neff's (2015) report on schools in militarized areas, one participant stated that, "When the students are [all in attendance] we have to stand or sit on the ground. It is very difficult if you sit on the floor to write or to take notes of what the teacher is saying" (p. 27). Similarly, Farah (2011) also discusses these physical challenges, such as a lack of electricity, crowded classrooms, and a lack of desks. The number of students often far exceeds the capacities of school buildings, resulting in most schools running on shifts (Montjourides, 2013; O'Rourke, 2015; Wright & Plasterer, 2011). In addition to this, in many refugee camp situations, there are not enough qualified teachers to teach at the secondary level; in fact, many teachers have just recently completed secondary education themselves and have not received much, if any, formal teacher training (Dippo, Orgocka, & Giles, 2013; Giles & Dippo, 2019; Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). Kirk and Winthrop (2007) write that, "The men and women selected by the community as teachers generally had little to no experience of teaching and had not completed their own secondary education" (p. 717). This has also been seen in Nyarugusu Camp, where Mweneake (2016) describes secondary school teachers as being 'nominated' to teach by the community, and teachers consisting of volunteers.

While data on students in refugee camps can be difficult to come by, especially when it comes to secondary schooling, a 2004 UNICEF report on primary schools in refugee camps in

Tanzania found that class sizes ranged from 48 to 111 students (Katunzi & Ndalichako, 2004). Not only do these conditions pose a potential physical risk to all students, but they put students with special needs, from physical challenges and disabilities to mental health challenges, including anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorders, at an additional risk. In populations such as these, the chaos that school settings provide can act as a huge barrier to accessing education (del Soto, 2010; Streeck-Fischer & van der Kolk, 2000). For example, the same 2004 UNICEF report mentioned above, found that among the primary schools in Tanzanian refugee camps, "all children with special needs are placed in one classroom, regardless of the nature of their disability. They are also mixed in terms of grade level" (Katunzi & Ndalichako, 2004, p. vi), meaning that levels of students could range from kindergarten to grade 6, all in the same classroom. Sanchez-Teran (2010) mentions the challenges of providing education in refugee camps, and discusses the added challenge of decision making that aid workers have: "Either you lower the number of pupils per class – improving, in theory, the quality of education – or you overcrowd the classes, thus avoiding having children in the streets" (p. 223). In light of limited donor funding, some scholars take the position that, while it is a difficult decision, it is better to provide education to as many children as possible, in an effort to provide some form of protection, despite the inevitable effects on quality (Bird, 2003; Sanchez-Teran, 2010). Despite this, Katunzi and Ndalichako (2004) write, "based on the findings, the evaluation team has observed that the education system in the refugee camp is functioning in an organized manner" (p. vi). This begs the question as to *who* is deeming such situations as organized and what criteria is used; certainly, students in classrooms of 50-100 students, or students in mixed level classrooms, may have a different outlook. This is part of the reason why it is so important to explore refugee perceptions and experiences of education.

Cultural Contexts & Different Realities

Anselme and Hands (2011) demonstrate that even when education is provided in certain settings, and it is perceived as a "safe place" that protects against chaos, there are still underlying reasons why refugee youth may or may not access it. Different cultural and social norms, and roles related to gender, come into play in regard to accessing education and perceptions of education, and these can differ considerably among groups. For example, Alzaroo and Hunt (2003) note that in some cultures, "too much education for girls is also an obstacle to marriage" (p. 176). Closely related to this is also the fact that in many cultures, early marriage is the norm (Giles & Dippo, 2019; Sanchez-Teran, 2010). This poses a difficult dilemma for aid workers, especially those from Western countries and cultures. Sanchez-Teran (2010) notes this practice of early marriage in eastern Chad, and how it can negatively impact the schooling efforts put in place, in that educating girls can curtail their marriage opportunities. In addition, the school system itself can sometimes discourage or prohibit students who are married from attending school, even if they wished to. Oh and van der Stouwe (2008) found that among Burmese refugee camps in Thailand, even if married students wanted to attend school, access to education for them was limited, with many schools actually prohibiting their attendance, even though they may still have been teenagers. Here, two separate but related issues can arise. First, cultural or family values may be opposed to education, especially the education of girls, while second, school values may be opposed to student marriage. Either way, these issues can create barriers to secondary school students attempting to access and complete their education, and these barriers are evident in certain populations. For example, Dippo, Orgocka, and Giles (2013) note that in Kenya's Dadaab Camp, just 23% of the secondary student population is female, while WUSC

(2018, July 11) report that in Tanzania's Nduta Camp, only 7% of girls that are secondary school-aged actually attend secondary school.

Pregnancy and child-rearing can also pose challenges for adolescent female students, whether they are perceived or actualized challenges. While teenage pregnancy is something that is most often discouraged in the West, it is very much the norm in other countries and cultures. For example, when discussing the Dinka tribe of Sudan, Deng (2010) points out the importance of situating education within a particular group's culture. He writes that, "To the Dinka, the family is the backbone of society and the foundation of its social, moral, and spiritual or religious values. The overriding goal of every Dinka is to marry and produce children…" (p. 301). Similarly, in Oh and van der Stouwe's (2008) study of access to education in refugee camps in Thailand, they found that just two of the 28 adolescent females in their study remained in school, while the rest had left due to pregnancy. The reasons for early marriage and pregnancy can be cultural and/or situational, and because they are a reality, education programs need to address the challenges or concerns they pose, and adapt accordingly (Mahalingam, 2002; Munoz, 2008).

For males as well, there are cultural norms which can encourage or deter them from accessing and completing secondary school. Tefferi (2007) discusses how adolescence is understood in different terms, based on a person's region of origin. In the case of refugees from many East African countries, adolescent males from more privileged, urban areas are more likely to attend secondary school than those from rural areas, because they are considered by parents and society to be children longer (Tefferi, 2007). In other words, if you are from a privileged, urban area, your 'job' is considered to be attending school, whereas if you are from a less privileged, rural area in the same country, your 'job' is to contribute to the family, whether it be through household responsibilities or employment. Although refugees may now find themselves

in camps, where there is little opportunity for employment, these cultural norms and ideas may still persist, impacting their perceptions of education.

Perhaps most important to acknowledge when discussing the provision of education in refugee camps, which is usually led by international agencies, is the potential for negative perceptions related to imperialism (MacDonald, 2015; Nkurunziza, 2010). In camps, refugees tend to experience a number of restrictions, in terms of their movement, employment, health, and basic human rights (Mweneake, 2016; El Jack, 2011; McQuaid, 2016). In fact, in his memoir, a former Congolese refugee who lived for more than a decade in Nyarugusu Camp, wrote that he was so ashamed and afraid to be labelled a refugee, because he knew that it meant his freedom and self-determination were essentially gone and he was at the mercy of humanitarian agencies (Mweneake, 2016).

MacDonald (2015) cautions that given the circumstances and the organization and handling of humanitarian programs and services, there is a strong potential for feelings of imperialistic tendencies. With education specifically, there can be perceptions among refugees that it is provided to "transform the Other" (MacDonald, 2015, p. 416). Turner (2006) actually demonstrates this idea in his work with refugees living in Tanzania. He found that there seemed to be a cultural discrepancy between those who in the younger generation, who obtained a formal education, and the 'old men.' Turner writes,

> The kind of knowledge (or 'intelligence' as they would often say in the camp) obtained from formal education is placed in opposition to the knowledge of the old men. According to this discourse, the old men's knowledge is based on experience. It is rooted in history, in a knowledge of people's lineages and their past, and it is rooted in locality; a knowledge of the land (p. 771).

This quote demonstrates that perceptions of education can differ among groups, ages, and cultures, and these perceptions and realities need to be considered in delivering education. This is

also why, as Sanchez-Teran (2010) notes, it is important for humanitarian agencies to be cognizant of the ways in which their ideas of education and culture may be different, or even conflicting, from those of the communities they are serving, and that they are not there to impose change on others. Instead, as President Francis Nkurunziza (2010) writes, it is essential to build constructive partnerships which consider the local context; there is no blueprint for providing education in emergencies. Each situation is different and needs to be treated as such, as it has the potential to change cultural attitudes and community perceptions if it is done mindfully. For example, Sanchez-Teran (2010) explains that in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps in eastern Chad, those who were displaced began to realize that a lack of education may have actually contributed to the conflict that had displaced them. For more than a century, people from certain tribes in the IDP camp had not placed an importance or emphasis on obtaining an education, but while in the camp, their attitudes and beliefs began to change. In this way, a refugee camp or IDP camp can actually provide a unique opportunity or site to follow a community's lead on adjusting or advancing their perceptions of education, again provided that refugees or internally displaced persons are a part of the process.

Summary of Reviewed Literature

Although the literature most often demonstrates that refugee communities place a high emphasis on education, the reality is that enrolment and completion rates, especially at the secondary level, remain low. While part of this may be due to a lack of provision, there may be other factors at play, as demonstrated in this literature review. In her Annual Report on the right to education, then-Special Rapporteur Katarina Tomasevski wrote, "an important reason for

children's dropping out of school was their dislike of the education provided to them. That many children, when asked whether they liked school – rarely as this happens – answered in the negative, is a sobering lesson for education authorities" (2004, p. 33). Paulo Freire (2005) discussed his belief in the power of education to change people, and the world, for the better by ensuring freedom from oppression. Education does have the power to act as a liberation tool and a protective measure, and as such, it is important to understand the experiences and factors that encourage and discourage school attendance and completion.

The literature discussed here shows that while it may be easy to assume that schools and education can indeed provide a safe place for refugee children, it cannot be assumed that this is a universal, just as perceptions of education cannot be seen as universal. More, and better, information can lead to more appropriate and effective educational responses (Pottier, 1996).

Theoretical Framework

This study, and grounded theory as a whole, is underpinned by symbolic interactionism. According to Benzies and Allen (2001) symbolic interactionism emphasizes the importance of individual understandings of their world and what they believe is important. In this study, as outlined in my research questions, the meanings that youth make within the context of education are a focus of the research, which means that symbolic interactionism is important in understanding how youth interpret meanings and act in specific contexts and settings (Benzies & Allen, 2001). Symbolic interactionism recognizes that truth is not absolute because context and situations can cause meanings to change (Benzies & Allen, 2001).

Blumer (1969) identifies three basic assumptions of symbolic interactionism as follows:

1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them;
2. The meaning of such things is derived from, and arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows; and
3. These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters (p. 2)

In addition to Blumer's assumptions, there are a number of important concepts in symbolic interactionism that should be briefly discussed here, including, the self-concept, the object, and the looking-glass self.

The Self-Concept

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the self is defined through a complex process of communication between the "I" and the "Me" (Aldiabat & Le Navenac, 2011). According to Mead (1934), the "I" is the part of the self that acts, while the "Me" relies on how those actions are evaluated and interpreted by others. Therefore, Mead (1934) believes that future actions (the "I") become dependent upon previously experienced reactions or attitudes from others. In other words, the ways in which others react to our previous actions work to inform the ways that we will behave in the future. Those who can influence our perceptions and actions are known as "generalized others," the people, social groups, community, etc. that a person interacts with (Mead, 1934).

The Object

Blumer (1969) describes three types, or categories, of objects: physical, social, and abstract. In the case of my proposed research study, a physical object might be the school; a social object might be a friend or a teacher; and an abstract object might be a principle or idea surrounding education or the definition of a student. Individual's behaviours are influenced and driven by the social meanings that are ascribed to these objects (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). Important to note here also, is that the meaning that is tied to an object is never permanent, but is instead ever-changing (Aldiabat & Le Navenac, 2011).

The Looking-Glass Self

Cooley, a well-known Symbolic Interactionist, believed that humans define and develop themselves in each situation, based on interactions that they have and have had within society (Aldiabat & Le Navenac, 2011). McIntyre (2006) describes the looking-glass self as the tendency for an individual to perceive themselves based on how they believe that others perceive them. This understanding is reflected in the way that an individual behaves. In terms of this research study, the looking-glass self may be related to perceptions of how secondary school students believe that others (parents, community members, teachers, etc.) perceive them as students.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

Introduction

In this chapter, I will begin by situating myself as a researcher, providing my personal and cultural background that I find important to outline given the nature of my study. I will then outline the reasoning behind my choice of using a qualitative research paradigm, specifically that of Charmaz's (2006) Constructivist Grounded Theory, before describing my research site and participants, data collection procedures and methods, and data analysis. This section will conclude with a discussion of possible ethical dilemmas and how they were considered in this study.

To reiterate, the purpose of this study is to explore the perceptions and experiences of adolescents' education in a refugee camp. Specifically, this study will pose the following questions:

1. What do students perceive to be the purpose and function of education?
2. How do students' perceptions of the purpose and function of education develop?
3. How do students feel about access to and availability of educational opportunities?
4. What types of interactions do students experience while in the school setting?
5. What do students identify as being positive and negative experiences in the school setting?
6. How do these experiences (positive and negative) make the students feel?

Personal and Cultural Background

Given the nature of my research, and given that it was conducted with an ethnic group other than my own, I find it necessary to provide my personal background and reasons for my interest in the field of education in emergencies. First of all, my husband immigrated to Canada from Tanzania, but neither he nor anyone in my family has had refugee experience. My familiarity with Tanzania, having visited a number of times, has had some influence on my choice of research site. However, my point of entry into this research, on refugee education, stems from my own experiences and previous research conducted in my Master of Education. It is these professional experiences, not personal experiences, which form the basis for my research interests.

I have spent more than seven years as an English as a Second Language (ESL) instructor, teaching both abroad and in Canada. I spent a summer teaching in Ghana, West Africa, where I had a third-grade class of approximately 40 students. Of these students, five were over the age of 14 – in third grade. This was simply because they started school late and started their schooling in kindergarten regardless of their age. This was something I had never seen or experienced before, because in Canada, your grade is most often associated with your age; if you came to Canada at age 14, you would be placed in grade 8 or 9, regardless of your prior schooling experiences. This was the beginning of my research interests in refugee education.

In 2014, I completed my Master of Education degree at Lakehead University. Based on my previous personal and teaching experiences, I was most interested in studying the challenges faced by African refugee young adults in Canada, and I completed my research and thesis on "Challenges Faced by Young Adult African Students with Refugee Status in Ontario Schools" (Msofe, 2014). In reviewing relevant literature and in interviewing participants for my research

study, I found that education in refugee camps often arose as a topic of importance, yet there is a dearth of research on educational opportunities for youth in refugee camps. For example, the findings in my Masters' thesis indicated a lack of quality educational opportunities in African refugee camps, which often resulted in large gaps in education among my research participants (Msofe, 2014).

In keeping with my area of interest in refugee youth, I was very interested in further exploring this topic of the provision of education in emergencies. Bryant (2017) writes that, "researchers need to offer an account of their preconceptions and leave the readers and reviewers to judge the extent to which these guided or constrained the research itself" (p. 111). I find this to be a very important point, and as such, I would like to provide such an account of my preconceptions.

As a constructivist, I adhere to the ontological philosophy of relativism, in that constructions of realities are "socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). I believe that because of this, there are multiple constructions and interpretations of the same reality, and that these constructions are also subject to change based on time and context (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006). Epistemologically, I believe that a transactional relationship occurs between researcher and researched, and that knowledge is created during this interaction (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006). Acknowledging my own values, I believe that education is of utmost importance when it comes to ensuring that children and youth have an understanding of their rights and ability to exercise agency, and I also believe that an educated population is important for rebuilding countries that have been afflicted by war and conflict.

I will now discuss the reasons why I felt that a qualitative research paradigm was best suited for this particular research study, before discussing Grounded Theory and Constructivist Grounded Theory methodologies.

Qualitative Research Paradigm

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), qualitative research is employed to "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). Qualitative research is undertaken to add to an understanding of this phenomena, not to deem if these understandings or experiences of research participants are correct or incorrect (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In particular, qualitative research methods are useful for exploring an area of study where research is lacking (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). As mentioned previously, the area of education in emergencies, and especially in protracted refugee contexts, is not necessarily new. However, research has focused primarily on primary school children and has been primarily conducted by stakeholders. In that sense, the research related to youth and education in refugee camp settings is lacking. The use of a qualitative research approach in this study was appropriate as I sought to explore the perceptions and experiences of refugee youth when it comes to education, as well as the meanings that youth ascribe to these perceptions and experiences (Charmaz, 2006).

Grounded Theory

As a researcher, I was most interested in exploring youth's perceptions and experiences with education in Nyarugusu Camp, including how youth make sense of their experience and which factors they identify as influencing, enhancing, or impeding their educational experiences. While there is some research on this particular topic, as mentioned, many participant voices are

missing, especially those of youth, both those in school and those who are not in school. As such, I chose to use an inductive research approach, as I could not begin to hypothesize or predict what participants' experiences may have been or what their perceptions may be. I chose to use grounded theory in an attempt to develop further understandings of these youth, an area where little research has been conducted (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986).

Mills et al. (2007) state that grounded theory is a useful research approach because it seeks to discover issues of importance in participants' lives. These are things that, as an outsider, one may not recognize or identify. As Clarke (2005) points out, grounded theory is useful because it relies on post-modern perspectives and acknowledges the researcher as a participant, rather than an 'all-knowing analyst.' Because the intent of this research was to gain more of an understanding of the youth's experiences and perceptions, grounded theory is appropriate, as it gives voice to the constructions that youth make of their situation and experiences (Woodgate, 2000).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) first developed grounded theory methods in an attempt to focus on generating theory, rather than verifying theory, which is what social research had focused on up until that point. Glaser and Strauss (1967) define Grounded Theory as "the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (p. 2). Grounded theory is an inductive approach that is used as a means to try and learn about what happens in the lives of participants and in our research settings, in an attempt to develop a broad theory that can be used to better understand them (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2012). This theory may assist in explaining a practice or advancing further research, as it helps in explaining interactions and actions among people (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2012).

In addition to being an inductive method, grounded theory is also emergent (Creswell, 2012). Rather than the research beginning from an existing theory, or attempting to verify an existing theory, the theory is discovered and developed from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As such, data collection and analysis occur simultaneously, through the constant comparative method, and the specific focus of the research emerges as the analysis proceeds (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2005; Creswell, 2012). The result is a theory, either substantive or formal. A formal theory deals with a larger area of study, such as gender issues, while a substantive theory deals with a specific area of study, such as teacher-student relationships (Creswell, 2012). In this study, constant comparative analysis, memos, and multiple phases of coding led to the development of a broad theory to explain what it meant to be a secondary school student in Nyarugusu Camp. This theory will be further discussed in upcoming chapters.

Constructivist Grounded Theory

Because of the nature of this study, as well as my own philosophical assumptions and values, I chose to use Charmaz's view of grounded theory, that of constructivist grounded theory. Dey (2003) points out that the methodological approaches to grounded theory have evolved since their introduction in 1967, largely based on socio-political contexts. The original, or classic, version of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1967) tends to focus on a single process or category is quite systematic in its procedure (Creswell, 2007). In contrast, Charmaz's (2006) more recent constructivist grounded theory emphasizes "diverse local worlds, multiple realities, and the complexities of particular worlds, views, and actions" (Creswell, 2007, p. 66). According to Creswell (2007), constructivist grounded theory focuses more on individual views, values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies; in other words, this version of grounded

theory places more emphasis on the participants themselves, and their understandings of the world, than on the research methods. This focus can be especially useful when exploring children's perceptions of their own experiences, as discussed by Woodgate (2010).

A constructivist research paradigm assumes that there are multiple realities and that understandings are created between the participant and the researcher, making both a part of the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The idea of the researcher and participants co-constructing knowledge and understandings is an aspect of constructivist grounded theory that also differs from classic grounded theory. Classic grounded theory claims that the researcher is separate from the data and from any theory that emerges from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967); however, constructivist grounded theory recognizes the researcher's "past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10). Constructivist grounded theory also acknowledges that what the researcher brings to the data influences what they see within it (Charmaz, 2006, p. 15). For example, in the case of this study, I acknowledge that my professional experiences and my worldviews influence my research interests and choice of research area. These things do not happen in a vacuum; a researcher always has some type of background in an area prior to undertaking research.

In an attempt to generate theory, grounded theory relies on the continuous and simultaneous nature of data collection and analysis (Bryant, 2017; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Analytic codes and categories come directly from the data itself, and they are not generated from the researcher's preconceived notions or hypotheses (Bryant, 2017; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). However, over the years, grounded theorists have developed varying ideas of just how grounded theory should be understood and implemented. Glaser and Strauss (1967), for example, believe that a literature review should not be conducted prior to the research study, so as to not influence

the researcher. The reason that I chose to use constructivist grounded theory methods is because I appreciate Charmaz's (2006) understanding that the researcher cannot be completely removed from the study. Charmaz writes, "I agree with Glaser's approach of keeping initial coding open-ended, yet acknowledge that researchers hold prior ideas and skills. As Dey (1999: 251) states, 'There is a difference between an open mind and an empty head'" (2006, p. 48). In this way, I acknowledge that my research interest and research questions have come from a knowledge of, and an interest in, the relevant literature, but that the data collection and data analysis methods are what guided the generation of theory, not preconceived ideas.

A final reason for deciding to use grounded theory for this study is that by employing comparative analysis techniques, which will be discussed further under Data Analysis, Glaser and Strauss (1967) point out that the need to understand and 'know the whole field' is diminished, and instead, the focus is on developing a theory that can account for much of the relevant behavior. In terms of this particular study, this is an important point as to why Grounded Theory methods was seen to be the most beneficial. When Charmaz (2006) is discussing the differences between Grounded Theory and ethnography, she points out that a "potential problem with ethnographic studies is seeing data everywhere and nowhere" (p. 23). Similarly, Creswell (2007) describes an ethnographic study as one which aims to describe a group which shares a culture. Instead of trying to understand the entire field, or in this case, the entire refugee camp setting, or trying to describe a culture-sharing group, I instead used Grounded Theory to focus on a basic social process, secondary education, in order to gain a stronger picture of the whole setting. I also chose to use Constructivist Grounded Theory because I acknowledge and agree with the idea that the researcher cannot be separated from the research; instead, researchers and

participants are involved in co-constructing knowledge. For example, I used memo writing to have "conversations" with myself about the data during data collection and analysis. I posed questions, made comparisons, and thought about what was happening.

Research Site & Participants

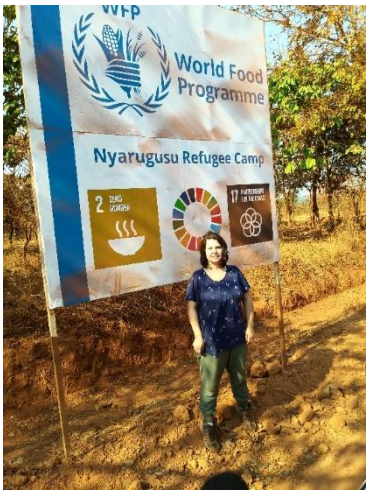
Nyarugusu Camp

I had a particular interest in looking at Nyarugusu Camp in Tanzania, for a few reasons. First of all, Kenya and Tanzania are said to have two of the most challenging and long-lasting protracted refugee situations in Africa (Loescher& Milner, 2005). Since the 1950s, Tanzania has hosted hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing successive conflicts and wars in their neighbouring countries of Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi.

Nyarugusu Camp is located in northwestern Tanzania, in the Kigoma/Kasulu region. The camp was first opened in November 1996 to accommodate refugees fleeing conflict in their neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo (UNHCR, 2017 March 31). Since then, there have been influxes from conflicts in Burundi and Rwanda. Most recently, between April and October of 2015, nearly 85,000 refugees arrived in Nyarugusu Camp from Burundi. However, with the relocation of Burundian refugees to other nearby camps, and more recently, the repatriation of some Burundian refugees, the majority of refugees in the camp (55%) are from the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNHCR, 2018 July 31).

In addition, Tanzania has an encampment policy, meaning that refugees are forbidden to travel more than four kilometers from the camp for any reason (Loescher & Milner, 2005; UNHCR, 2015; Zeus, 2011). This policy means that refugee children and youth cannot leave the camp to access education; therefore, any educational opportunities available exist only inside the camp itself. UNHCR reports that while their target for secondary student enrollment in

Nyarugusu Camp is 50%, only 7% of youth enrolled in secondary school (UNHCR, 2017 March 31). This is significantly lower than the global average which indicates that approximately 23% of refugee youth attend secondary education (Global Partnership for Education, 2019). A lack of post-primary education in the camp robs many refugee youth in this particular camp of the opportunity to continue their studies, and gain the knowledge and skills necessary not only to protect themselves, but to rebuild their communities and countries of origin (Anselme & Hands, 2010; Cooper, 2005; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010; Oh & van der Stouwe, 2008; Pigozzi, 1999; Waters & Leblanc, 2005; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008; Moro, 2002).



Participants

Creswell (2007) indicates the need for locating a homogenous sample for grounded theory work. Although Nyarugusu Camp is not a homogenous sample as a whole, I chose to focus on students who are Congolese refugees only, as they typically have been living in the camp for a longer period of time. Specifically, I chose to focus on those who have been living in the camp for at least five years, as five years is the working definition of a 'protracted situation' (Crisp, 2002. In addition, as previously mentioned, more than half of the refugees living in

Nyarugusu as of July 2018 are Congolese. Therefore, it is the Conogolese youth who are mainly considered to be living in a protracted refugee camp situation. Participants self-reported as having resided in Nyarugusu Camp for at least five years.

Participants in a grounded theory study must be those "who have participated in the process or action the researcher is studying" (Creswell, 2007, p. 150). For the purposes of this study, that meant youth who have attended or who attend secondary school in Nyarugusu Camp. Participation criteria stated that participants could be current, active students, or those who participated in secondary education in the camp at some point in the recent past (as a youth).

Given that students in secondary school write examinations each year to proceed to the next school year, the literacy level of secondary students in the camp is quite high, in at least Swahili, and this was confirmed by both my teacher contact in the camp, as well as my community mentor, prior to my arrival in the camp. I designed and wrote my information letters and consent forms accordingly.

It is also important to note that in many African communities, and in Nyarugusu Camp, it is common for children and youth to enter school at a later age. For example, it is possible for one to begin kindergarten at the age of 10. This means that sometimes there are youth (as I define them, aged 15-18 years old) in primary school. However, for the purposes of this study, participants needed to be between 15 and 18 years of age and in secondary school (or recently left secondary school). Those under the age of 18 were required to provide consent and parental/legal guardian consent.

The following table outlines the demographics of the interview participants in this study. As can be seen in Table 1 on the following page, there were 15 interview participants: 13 identified as male, 2 as female. They ranged in age from 15 to 18 years, but most were 17 or 18.

In terms of Educational Status, the Congolese secondary education program includes lower-level secondary (2 years, for students 12-15 years old) and upper-level secondary (4 years, for students 14-17 years old). Forms 1 and 2 are lower-level secondary grades, while Forms 3-6 are upper-level secondary grades.

Table 1

Interview Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Yrs in Nyarugusu	Educational Status
Wemba	M	18	18	Graduated in 2018
Elombe	M	18	18	Form 6
Samba	F	18	7	Graduated in 2018
Kasadi	M	18	18	Graduated in 2018
Kabala	M	16	16	Form 4
Kabendi	M	18	18	Graduated in 2018
Makambo	M	18	18	Form 6
Yemo	M	16	16	Form 5
Baraka	M	17	6	Form 5
Bakome	M	17	5	Form 6
Alongi	M	17	10	Form 5
Imani	M	15	10	Form 4
Ngoyi	M	16	5	Dropped out in 2018
Diomo	M	18	18	Form 6
Munia	F	16	11	Form 5

Ethical Considerations

There were a number of ethical considerations to take into account for this particular research study. First of all, I acknowledge that there can be many vulnerabilities experienced by a refugee, who has fled conflict and persecution, and now finds him/herself in a state of limbo. Macknezie, McDowell, and Pittaway (2007) claim that this vulnerability is one of the most challenging aspects of conducting refugee research; however, Block, Riggs, Haslam (2013) note that "deeming whole populations or categories of people as vulnerable lacks sensitivity to context and fails to consider what a person might be vulnerable *to*" (p. 6). Instead, Coleman (2009) highlights the importance of three specific vulnerabilities in refugee communities: risk-based vulnerability, consent-based vulnerability, and justice-based vulnerability. I have chosen to structure my following ethical considerations section on these three areas, although I realize that many aspects of these areas tend to overlap as well.

Risk-based Vulnerability

Confidentiality was a very important factor that needs to be considered in my research study. I collected anonymous written accounts or answers, but individual interviews were obviously not anonymous. Besides conducting individual interviews by phone, to help protect participants' safety and confidentiality, I did a few other things to protect confidentiality.

First, I conducted an educational session, on the topic of leadership, during my time in Nyarugusu Camp. This session was designed with many purposes in mind: to enable me to get to know some of the students better; to give something back to the community; and to provide a place to safely and privately provide written responses, should students choose to participate in the written interview component of the study. As outlined in the Procedures section, at the end of

the session, I provided each person at the session with an envelope. Since participant and/or parental/legal guardian consent had already been collected at the recruitment information session, I had two sets of envelopes: one set containing a feedback form for the session, and one set containing the written response questions and a feedback form. Envelopes had a small blue dot if they contained feedback forms, and a small red dot if they contained written response questions and feedback forms. I was the only person who knew what the different colored dots represented. I provided those students who had given earlier consent with an envelope containing the written responses questions. Cardboard partitions were set up between each person, so that it was unclear which students were completing which forms. This, again, helped to contribute to a higher level of confidentiality and privacy. Once finished, people were asked to seal their envelopes and submit them to me, with no names or identifying information on the sheets or the envelope. If this information was included, I planned to omit or alter it so as to protect the participant's identity, but written responses did not contain any of this information.

Second, potential participants were informed in the recruitment information session, and prior to any data collection, that no government officials, teachers, principals, community leaders, translators, etc. will know if they participated in the research study in any way. They were assured that their identity will never be known by anyone besides myself. Students who consented to participate in a phone interview chose a pseudonym to use in the interview, which was written on their consent forms. The pseudonym was requested prior to the interview taking place, so that only the researcher knows which pseudonym corresponds to which participant. In this way, I only used the participant's pseudonym in the phone interview, and the translators were never aware of the

participant's true identity. In this way, only I had the real name and corresponding pseudonym of the participant, to maintain confidentiality.

In a further effort to maintain safety and confidentiality, both of my English-Kiswahili translators were from outside of the camp and from outside of the local area (Nyarugusu/Kasulu/Makere). This was important because participants did not have to worry about sharing their thoughts and experiences with someone who they might see regularly, or at all. I have also required that the translators complete TCPS2 and I had them sign confidentiality agreements, outlining their responsibilities in protecting and securing data.

Finally, in terms of risk, it was necessary to consider the fact that many people living in Nyarugusu Camp have experienced past, and sometimes present, trauma. While I attempted to structure my interview questions in a way that bypasses discussions of conflict and war, discussions of things like inappropriate student-teacher relationships were present in many interviews. I provided participants with a list of resources that are available in the camp and ensure that they know how to access these resources, should they need to access any services, counselling or otherwise, following our interview sessions.

Justice-based Vulnerability

Mackenzie et al. (2007) note that "protracted displacement situations can undermine people's sense of their own identity, their sense of self-worth, as well as their trust in themselves, thereby impairing, at least to some degree, their capacities for self-determination" (p. 303). At the same time, Gifford (2013) argues that the refugee label should not assume vulnerability and that we need to respect the fact that refugees are still "capable of determining their own life and

making their own decisions" (p. 50). In a setting such as Nyarugusu, respect and reflection on the nature of power relationships need to be acknowledged and addressed. In a refugee camp, refugees largely find themselves at the mercy of others, and these one-way relationships can have an impact on my own relationships with participants and community members. For example, Creswell (2012) notes that "the central role of interviewing in grounded theory raises questions about power and authority and giving appropriate voice to participants about the process of research" (p. 439). Similarly, Ellis et al. (2007) point out that "the very roles of researcher and participant create major inequalities such that one is person is always the observer, and the other, always the observed" (p. 469). It was, and is, important for me to continuously reflect on my identities (academic, woman, White, Canadian, etc.) and how they may be at play during the informed consent, data collection, and analysis processes, as well as in my relationships with potential participants and community members.

There may also be increased levels of mistrust in the community (Mackenzie et al., 2007). This was another reason why it was extremely important for me to build relationships with community members and potential participants prior to data collection and to ensure that appropriate member-checking took place once data collection had begun. Member-checking is a way for participants to validate that what has been transcribed, and potentially translated in some cases, is accurate and resonates with the thoughts and experiences that they were trying to convey (Birts et al., 2016). It was very important to me that participants feel that their thoughts and words are being accurately presented, and I outlined in my consent form the processes for member-checking. For the purposes of ensuring confidentiality safety, and privacy in the refugee camp context, instead of providing entire transcripts for participants to review, I chose to have

pre-arranged phone calls with participants after the interviews. During these calls, I discussed the main concepts that I derived from their interview and confirmed that these corresponded with the participants' experiences and thoughts. I also discussed any direct quotations that I thought I might include in my dissertation or other work, to ensure that these quotations were properly understood and translated.

It was very important that the purpose of my research was clear and that participants clearly understood that the translators and I have no affiliation with the agencies and organizations overseeing services in Nyarugusu Camp, and that their participation is voluntary and can be withdrawn at any time, without any penalty. I provided potential participants with a description of my research study and a consent form, both of which were written in laymen's terms and provided in English, Swahili, and French; that way, potential participants were able to choose to read the forms in the language in which they were most comfortable. These forms and the discussions surrounding informed consent began more than a week before the data collection process commenced, to allow sufficient time for questions and the building of rapport and relationships.

Consent-based Vulnerability

In this particular study, because I spent time in the community prior to and after some data collection (written responses), informed consent was more of an ongoing and dynamic process, rather than just a single event where participants read and signed a form (George, 2015; Kadam, 2017; Kirby et al., 2012). This was important because in working with a population with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and possibly different experiences with research,

sufficient time needs to be allowed to increase understanding and emphasize voluntariness (Gillam, 2013; Kirby et al., 2012).

In addition to allowing time to help all parties understand the study and the consent process, many scholars highlight the importance of consent procedures that are culturally appropriate (Block et al., 2012; Ellis et al., 2007; Ford et al., 2008). In some contexts, such as in Nyarugusu Camp, consent may involve "negotiating an agreement with community bodies or representatives" (Mackenzie et al., 2007, p. 303). Those under the age of 18 are unable to give consent, as per Lakehead University's REB; however, in Nyarugusu, there are many unaccompanied minors, meaning that they arrived in the camp without their parents or guardians. In addition, there may be differing understandings of adulthood. For example, although currently under government review, Tanzania's Marriage Act of 1971 allows the marriage of females at the age of 15, and males at 18 (UNFPA, 2014). The age of consent to participate in clinical trials is currently 16 years of age (SAT Regional, n.d.), but it seems that the age of consent to participate in qualitative, non-medical research is the age of majority, which is 18. Taking into consideration these potential differences in understandings of adulthood or ages of consent, I chose to only include participants under the age of 18 years if they also had consent from a parent or legal guardian. Again, this results in a power dynamic, as someone else is providing consent, so it was very important that participants understand their rights as a participant and that the student also provided written consent.

To help increase the likelihood of truly informed consent, study information sheets and consent forms need to be linguistically appropriate (Benitez, Devaux, & Dausset, 2002; Kadam, 2017; Nakkash, et al., 2009; Ruiz-Casares & Thompson, 2016). For example, Kadam (2017)

suggests using short, simple words, to keep sentences under 12 words, and to keep paragraphs under seven lines. Similarly, Nakkash et al. (2009) recommend reducing difficult, technical language. To help make documents more linguistically appropriate, and thus increase the likelihood of informed consent, I had all study information sheets and consent forms translated into English, Swahili, and French, so that potential participants could choose the language(s) in which they feel most comfortable. These forms also followed the recommendations of using simpler, less technical language and maintaining short sentence and paragraph lengths. In addition to providing sufficient time to read and discuss the forms, I went over these forms verbally at the start of individual interviews, to ensure that participants understood their rights and did not have any further questions or concerns. Because individual interviews were audio-recorded, I also recorded this process, using Tilley's (2016) suggestion of audio-recording the process of consent. These possible ethical issues were considered in consultation with Lakehead University's REB, as well as Tanzania's Commission of Science and Technology, and ethics clearance was granted.

Data Collection

Theoretical Sampling

Grounded theory requires purposeful sampling, which makes it distinct from data collection procedures in other qualitative methodologies (Creswell, 2012). In particular, Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe the need for theoretical sampling, which they define as a process of deciding what data to collect next. Because the researcher is simultaneously collecting, coding, and analysing data, they can rely on the "emerging theory [which] points to the next steps" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 47). This means that the researcher chooses where and how to collect

data from next, in order for the data to assist in the generation of theory (Creswell, 2012). It may result in collecting data based on gaps in the data already collected, for example (Creswell, 2012). For example, I began by collecting anonymous written responses. Based on some of the common themes and topics brought forth in those responses, I was able to better tailor individual interviews to gather additional data on certain topics. In addition, I was able to use previous individual interviews to inform and guide future interviews, with other participants. Ultimately, the idea of theoretical sampling is to follow where the data is leading you (Charmaz, 2006).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) believed that theoretical sampling is successful once theoretical saturation is achieved. This is the point at which the data is no longer assisting the researcher in developing further properties (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For example, the researcher may keep collecting similar data; this means that theoretical saturation has been reached, as nothing new is emerging from the data collection process (Creswell, 2012). In the present study, new concepts, such as those of vocational school, urban refugees, or inappropriate student-teacher relationships, continued to arise until about the eleventh interview. After the completion of 15 interviews, I was satisfied that I had reached theoretical saturation, in that interviews 11 through 15 did not reveal any new concepts or information. It was at this point that I decided to cease data collection.

Procedures & Recruitment

Prior to arriving in Nyarugusu Camp, I spent two years regularly communicating with a community gatekeeper, who also put me in communication with a secondary school principal and teacher, as well as a few community leaders living in the camp. Creswell (2007) describes a gatekeeper as “an individual who is a member of or has insider status with a cultural group” (p.

125). While conducting literature searches and background information at the beginning of my PhD journey, I came across a foundation that was run by a former Congolese refugee that lived in Nyarugusu Camp for over a decade. This man now lives in Canada, and returns to Nyarugusu often, to visit family members who are still there, and to engage in work with his educational foundation, which is aimed at providing funds for nutrition and school studies for Congolese youth in Nyarugusu. Over the past three years, he has been a very useful source of information for me, and he is very interested in the purpose of my research, which is to help amplify the voices of Congolese youth, in regard to education. He also provided me with contact information for a number of community leaders, including some at the secondary school level.

These community leaders acted as important liaisons, as they were able to "help identify and enable contact with potential participants" (Bartlett et al., 2017, p. 8). As will be discussed later in this chapter, in order to maintain privacy, safety, and confidentiality of participants and potential participants, I chose to distance myself from the secondary school itself. Instead, I met with secondary school students, youth, and community members in a community centre. Thus, these particular community contacts provided valuable assistance in helping to get the word out about me and my research, as well as helping connect me with youth in the community and with potential participants. It is important for me to note than no information about the participants or the data was ever shared with the community gatekeeper, community leaders, schoolteachers, school principals, or Tanzanian government. I was the only person who had information about the identity of research participants, and data was only ever seen by myself, as the researcher, and my translators.

Prior to arrival in Tanzania, I had to submit my application for a research permit in Tanzania. This was done online, through Tanzania's Commission of Science and Technology (COSTECH) website. Once approval was granted, I made my way to Tanzania, where I first had to pick up my research permit. From there, I went to the Office of Immigration and the Department of Homeland Affairs to obtain the necessary permits to both do work/research in Tanzania and to enter Nyarugusu Camp. In late April 2019, with all of these documents, I travelled to the Kigoma region of Tanzania, and then to Nyarugusu Camp, in Kasulu/Makere.

Upon my arrival in Nyarugusu Camp, I met with one of the community leaders with whom I had been in contact prior to arrival. He invited me to attend an upcoming community event to introduce myself to some of the community members. At that event, I verbally introduced myself and my research study (Appendix A) and as a group, we decided on a date, during the following week, for an information recruitment meeting for secondary students and parents. My other contacts in the camp were made aware of the meeting date and time, and they helped me to get the word out to some other students who may not have attended the community event.

At the information recruitment meeting the following week, I met with approximately 50 potential participants and, in some cases, their parents/guardians. I verbally provided the same introduction was provided at the community event, but I also provided students and parents/guardians with more detail about the study and its procedures, as well as the rights of participants. Students and parents/guardians were provided with both information letters and consent forms. These forms were read aloud by the translator and I to ensure that students and parents/guardians were clear on the purpose, risks, benefits, and procedures of the research study. We also spent a lot of time covering their rights as participants, and highlighting the fact

that participation was entirely voluntary. Those who attended the meeting were encouraged to ask questions, at any time in the meeting or in the research process. They were also provided with my contact information, both in Tanzania and in Canada after my return, should they have any questions or concerns moving forward.

At the end of the information recruitment session, the translator and I set up cardboard partitions between tables so that potential participants (and their parents/guardians if under the age of 18) were able to privately complete consent forms. Consent forms consisted of checkboxes indicating whether or not consent was given. This was done so that regardless of whether one consented to participate in the study or not, each person was able to fill out a form. That meant that it was unclear to others at the meeting who chose to participate in the study, because everyone was filling out a form. If those choosing to participate were consenting to individual interviews, they were asked to also provide a phone number where they can be reached and a pseudonym on the consent form. I asked for a pseudonym to be included so that only I, as the researcher, would know an interview participant's identity. When making future calls for individual interviews with a translator, I would only refer to the participant by their pseudonym. This will be further discussed in upcoming paragraphs.

Once it was apparent that each potential participant, and the parent/guardian if applicable, was finished with the form, they were asked to put their consent forms into unmarked envelopes and to seal the envelopes before handing them to me or the translator. Again, this was done to ensure that the decision to consent or not was not known to anyone else in attendance at the information meeting. Before leaving, students were invited to both a homework club and an educational session. They were informed that they were able to attend either or both of those activities/events regardless of their decision to participate in the research study. In other words, it

was emphasized that if students did not provide consent to participate in the research study, they were still welcome to attend the homework club and/or the educational session.

It is important to note that the only people present at the information/recruitment meeting besides students and their parents/guardians were the translator and I. I respectfully asked that the community leaders, teacher contact, other teachers, or the principal, not be present at the meeting, and explained to them that their attendance had the possibility of placing implicit pressure on the students to participate. Students and parents/guardians who attended the meeting were also informed that no community leader, teacher, or principal, including their own, was part of the research team in any capacity. They were assured that no one in the community, including their teacher and principal, will ever be made aware of their decision to participate, or not, in the study. Students and parents/guardians were informed that I, as the researcher, would be the only person who would know the identity of any research participant.

The homework club, held at a local community facility, acted as a way for me to meet and build relationships with youth in the community, prior to any data collection. As mentioned, not all of the youth who visited the homework club had consented to participate in the study. Instead, the homework club was just a place to gather and get to know each other. Homework club was held each day, from 11am-4pm. I chose these hours based on the fact that secondary schools in Nyarugusu Camp run on shifts due to a lack of adequate space. One shift runs from 7am – noon, and the other from 1-6pm. I thought that being available from 11-4 would accommodate any secondary student who wanted to stop by, whether they were on their way to school or on their way home. In addition, in Tanzania, it is dark by 6:30pm, and I also had to be out of the camp by nightfall, due to camp rules and safety reasons. The homework club was an

informal gathering; it didn't function as a tutoring center, but more as a place to gather and work on homework together, or just chat and hang out. Most days, I saw about 20 youth; some came often, others I only saw once or twice.

During my third week in Nyarugusu Camp, I held an educational session, which acted as both an activity for the community and a way to disguise research participation. In consultation with some of the students who attended the homework club, I chose to hold a session on leadership. I had 43 people come to the session, 31 of whom had previously provided consent for participating in the anonymous written responses. We completed interactive activities to discover different leadership styles, strengths, and areas for improvement, and discussed how knowing your leadership style can be beneficial. After the session, I provided each person with an envelope. Since participant and/or parental/legal guardian consent had already been collected at the recruitment information session, I had two sets of envelopes: one set containing a feedback form for the session, and one set containing the written response questions. Envelopes were marked with a small blue dot if they contained feedback forms, and a small red dot if they contained written response questions and feedback forms. Only I, the researcher, was aware of what the dots represented.

Students who had already provided consent were provided with an envelope containing the written response questions and feedback forms. They were also informed, in a verbal statement to everyone at the session, that if they had since changed their mind and no longer wished to participate in the study, that they should not complete the written questions. Instead, they could choose to just fill out the feedback form or choose to complete neither. They were also reminded that they could choose to complete one, both, or none of the questions, and that

they could write as little or as much as they wanted. Students who had not provided consent forms received an envelope containing only a feedback form for the session. Everyone was reminded that they were not to write their names on any of the sheets or on the envelope.

Cardboard partitions were constructed between each person at the session, so that was unclear who was completing which forms. Once finished, they were told to seal their envelopes and hand them to me. I had scheduled the day of the session so that once the educational session was complete, I left the camp and returned to my hotel, so that I was able to keep the written response data safe and protected.

After the educational session, which was on a Friday, I held homework club for one more week before leaving Kasulu/Makere and returning to Dar es Salaam. Because I was conducting individual interviews by phone, I chose to not conduct any individual interviews until I was in Dar es Salaam. I thought that this was important so that participants were not concerned about anyone in the camp learning of their participation in an interview. Once I had arrived in Dar es Salaam, I conducted individual phone interviews with 15 of 19 people who had provided both consent and their phone numbers. Four who provided consent were not able to be reached at the phone numbers they had given. For 13 days, I conducted one or two interviews each day. Due to the translation workload, I employed a second translator for these interviews, so that the transcription and translation could be split between the two. All interviews were conducted in Kiswahili, so translation occurred in real-time, meaning that I would speak in English, and it would be translated, then answers were provided in Swahili, and then translated to English. The translators then transcribed the individual interviews that night, so that I was able to analyse and compare data in an ongoing fashion, as dictated by grounded theory. For example, I would

receive a transcript in the morning, analyse the transcript using open coding and constant comparative analysis, and then conduct the next interview. In this way, I was able to tailor questions and gather information based on what I had learned from the previous interview(s). To ensure the credibility of the data, there was careful translation and back-translation. Back-translation is defined as the process of a translator putting the words back into the original language to ensure that the participant is being understood (London Translations, 2018). As previously mentioned, in this study, back-translation looked like this: English question – question translated to Swahili – participant answers in Swahili – translator translates participant answer to English.

At the end of each interview, I set a time with the participant to have a follow-up phone call, in which I outlined the main concepts that I had derived from their interview, and to see if these concepts corresponded with their experiences and thoughts, or with what they had hoped to convey. I also discussed some direct quotations with which I wanted to ensure correct translation and understanding. Again, to combat potential issues with translation, back-translation was again used to clarify and confirm what participants had shared. In this member-check follow-up phone call, I summarized what the participant had said – translator provided my understanding back to the participant in Swahili – any comments/concerns were provided in Swahili and translated back to me. I had follow-up calls with 13 of the 15 participants; I was unable to reach two of the participants after our interviews. As such, I decided to use minimal interview materials, specifically quotations, from these participants, as I was not able to member-check with them.

Methods

Written Responses

According to Nygren and Blom (2001), oftentimes those conducting qualitative research assume that the best way to obtain data is from oral interviews. However, Charmaz (2006) also outlines the possibilities of gathering written accounts, elicited texts in which participants write in response to a researcher's prompt or question. They can be in the form of recording family histories, keeping personal diaries or daily logs, or answering written questions (Charmaz, 2006, p. 35).

Given the nature of the refugee camp situation, and the politics and power dynamics involved, I felt that written accounts, especially anonymous written accounts, might able to provide data that I may not otherwise gather in a phone interview (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007). In addition, Handy and Ross (2005) suggest that written accounts have the potential of being more reflective than oral accounts, as participants have more time to consider the question, think about, and even change their answer. The questions were constructed and presented as they would be in an oral interview, and I asked participants to answer these questions as briefly or as fully as they would like. Written response questions, in both English and Swahili, can be found in Appendices B and C. Because written response occurred before phone interviews, written responses were my first glimpse into some of the prominent ideas and concepts, and those were used to gain further information in individual phone interviews.

I received 31 written responses; 23 participants identified as male and 8 identified as female. The written response question sheets did not ask for any identifying information, such as sex, but I was aware of the sex of participants based on their consent forms. All of those who consented to participating in written responses did, ultimately, participate. All 31 participants

included answers to questions 1 and 2, but question 3 had a lower response rate. In total, 12 participants completed question 3. There were no time constraints placed upon participants in completing their responses.

Individual Interviews

Individual interviews were central to data collection in my study. Grounded theory relies on the collection of data that is rich and detailed (Charmaz, 1990). To gather this kind of rich data, I used the Active Interview developed by Holstein and Gubrium (1995). This way of interviewing explores the realities of research participants and, in accordance with constructivist grounded theory beliefs, acknowledges that both the interviewer and respondent are active participants in the interview process (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). They see the interview not as a "pipeline for transmitting information," but as a "social encounter" (p. 3). This means that both the interviewer and respondent are involved in a collaborative conversation and are viewed as co-constructors of knowledge. The interview becomes dynamic and connections between experiences and information is made in the moment; there is no sense that there is a 'right answer' (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Instead, according to Holstein and Gubrium, the participant "constructs his or her experiential history as the interview unfolds, in collaboration with the active interviewer" (1995, p. 32). The participant is able to provide complex descriptions of his or her experiences as they tell their story (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Atkinson (1998) writes that, "telling our story enables us to be heard, recognized, and acknowledged by others. Story makes the implicit explicit, the hidden seen, the unformed formed, and the confusing clear" (p. 7). By using active interview methods, I was able to better "incite or encourage respondents' narratives" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 77). This allowed

participants to consider and reflect on the *hows* and *whats* of experience (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

Although classic grounded theory argues against pre-conceived interview guides (Glaser, 1998), constructivist grounded theory recognizes the need for an open-ended interview guide (Charmaz, 2006). As Charmaz (2006) believes, "an open-ended interview guide to explore a topic is hardly the same as imposing received codes on collected data" (p. 18). Charmaz (1990) outlines five types of interview questions that are functional in grounded theory interviews: (1) short fact-gathering; (2) informational; (3) reflective; (4) feeling; and (5) ending. All of these questions serve a different, and necessary, purpose in the interview. For instance, Charmaz (1990) describes informational questions as those that begin to get the participant more involved in the interview; participants could, for example, establish a chronological order of life events or experiences. On the other hand, feeling questions are aimed at encouraging participants to provide a narrative with little framing or direction from the researcher. For example, a researcher may ask, "How did you feel about _____?" (Charmaz, 1990). I used Charmaz's recommended question types and order to develop my own interview guide, and I used many feeling questions throughout my interviews. For example, if participants described an experience, I asked how that experience made them feel. Given that I used active interview methods, my interviews became more of a conversation than a prescribed set of questions. The interviews evolved over time as I shaped them based on the ideas and understandings discussed by both participants and previous participants.

I received interest, consent, and phone numbers from 19 individuals, and from those 19, I completed 15 individual interviews. The other four people who expressed interest were unable to be reached by the telephone number that they provided. Interviews lasted between 50-100

minutes. My interview guides, both English and Swahili, can be found in Appendices D and E. As mentioned previously, all interviews were conducted in Swahili, at the choice of participants, and translation was done in real-time, so that questions were asked in English, translated to Swahili, and answers were provided in Swahili and translated to English.

In a refugee camp setting, it is important to maintain high levels of participant confidentiality and safety. I chose to conduct individual interviews by telephone, as I felt that it was most appropriate in this context. I came to this decision using information from a connectivity survey conducted in Nyarugusu Camp. In 2017, GSMA (Global Systems for Mobile Association) and UNHCR completed this survey in Nyarugusu Camp in 2017. They wanted to determine the level to which residents in Nyarugusu Camp had access to mobile devices. The report found that more than two-thirds of households in Nyarugusu have access to at least one mobile phone (GSMA, 2017). This finding was supported in my own research study; of the 19 people that provided phone numbers for individual interviews, 13 actually provided two or more separate mobile phone numbers at which they could be reached.

Mobile phone companies in Nyarugusu Camp, and in Tanzania, do not charge any fees for incoming calls. This meant that participants did not use any phone minutes in their interviews, because I was the person who initiated the phone call, so I was the one who paid the charges. Mobile phones use pre-paid phone cards, so I provided each participant with a pre-paid phone voucher worth 500 Tsh to thank them for their time in participating in the study. Phone plans are much different than those in Canada, but vouchers of 500 Tsh amounted to approximately 2 days of cell phone use (talk and text) or 1 gigabyte of data.

All interviews were audio-recorded, and participants were made aware of this, both prior to providing consent and prior to beginning the phone interview. Interviews were transcribed

upon completion. I believe that audio-recordings are important for the sake of trustworthiness, especially in cases of translation. Audio-recordings allow the responses to be back-translated, in instances of direct quotations, to the participants to ensure that translation and transcription accurately reflect exactly what the participant wanted to convey.

The phone interviews were conducted by conference call, so that the translator could hear and translate. To protect participants' privacy and confidentiality, a pseudonym was assigned to the participant prior to the interview. In addition, the phone calls occurred the researcher's private hotel room in Dar es Salaam, so that no one besides the researcher and the translator was able to hear the interview. The translators were from both outside of the camp and outside of the local area of Nyarugusu/Kasulu/Makere to help protect participants' confidentiality.

Data Analysis Methods

Constant Comparative Analysis

Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasize the importance of constant comparison during the data collection and analysis phases of grounded theory study. They write that, "by comparing where facts are similar or different, we can generate properties of categories that increase the categories' generality and explanatory power" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 24). For example, Charmaz (2006) describes comparing data between and within interviews, as well as comparing data gathered from interviews with that gathered from observations. All of the constant comparisons will help to establish distinctions and connections (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). As Bryant (2017) points out, constant comparison is what "lies at the heart of the iterative approach between data gathering and analysis" (p. 93).

Theoretical sampling, which was discussed earlier, relies on this constant comparison in order to find gaps in the data and attempt to fill those gaps (Charmaz, 2006). According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), there are four stages involved in the constant comparative method: "(1) comparing incidents applicable to each category; (2) integrating categories and their properties' (3) delimiting the theory; and (4) writing the theory" (p. 105). In grounded theory, the constant comparative method means that you are repeatedly returning to your data as themes emerge (Creswell, 2012). It is through these constant comparisons that a substantive theory will emerge (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Initial Coding

Coding in grounded theory consists of at least two main levels or phases (Bryant, 2017; Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2012). The first phase is known simply as open coding. During open coding, Creswell (2007) suggests examining the data to form categories; Charmaz (2006) takes this one step further by encouraging researchers to look closely at each word, line, and segment of data, and assign it a gerund (an *–ing* verb). This forces the researcher to "try to see actions in each segment of data rather than applying pre-existing categories to the data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47). Coding word-by-word or line-by-line in this way ensures that the researcher is thinking about the data in new ways, in ways which might be different from participants' interpretations (Charmaz, 2006). The first phase of open coding will result in some themes or categories of information about the phenomenon being studied (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007). It may also yield *in vivo codes,* which Charmaz (2006) describes as general terms that everyone knows; these are terms which may be condensed, but which hold significant meaning. These in vivo codes reflect participants' assumptions and actions which may frame or influence their actions

(Charmaz, 2006). Researchers must also acknowledge their own assumptions and understandings when coding. According to Charmaz, constructivist grounded theory uses the tools of classic grounded theory but does not adopt its objectivist and positivist assumptions. Therefore, the analyses of constructivist grounded theory are more interpretive than objective.

I coded each written response and each transcript, word-by-word and line-by-line. I chose to code by hand, as I thought that with grounded theory, specifically constructivist grounded theory, it removed me, as the researcher, from the data. While there are some software programs designed with grounded theory in mind, such as atlas.ti or CAQDAS, I side with Timonen, Foley, and Conlon (2018) who state that with grounded theory, "it is the *researcher* who codes, conceptualizes, and theorizes the data. It follows that CAQDAS is an optional aid, not an indispensable tool, in grounded theory data analysis" (p. 8). Similarly, Charmaz (2006) notes that open coding can generate hundreds of unstructured codes, which is typically not what software is designed to do. So, by hand, I assigned each line or complete thought of the written response or transcript a code, most often either a gerund or an "in vivo code" that best represented that data. This initial phase of coding each of the 31 written responses and 15 interview transcripts generated an extensive list of 435 codes, which can be found in Appendix F. I only included codes once; for example, if two lines or segments of data resulted in the same code, it was only included on the list once. This list of 435 codes was then used to move to a phase of more refined focused coding.

Focused Coding

The second phase of coding is known as focused coding. During focused coding, the researcher uses the most significant and/or the most frequent codes from the opening coding

stage to more carefully look at large amounts of data (Charmaz, 2006). This allows the researcher to sort, synthesize, integrate, and organize data, while the constant comparison of data to data develops more focused codes or categories. After this list of more focused codes has been created, the researcher can begin a third phase of coding, called selective coding. At this stage, the researcher identifies more refined themes as the central focus moving forward (Creswell, 2007). Creswell (2007) describes this central focus, or central phenomenon, as one that participants discuss at length. Once this central phenomenon has been identified, the researcher "positions it as the central feature of the theory, and then returns to the database (or collected additional data) to understand the categories related to this central phenomenon" (Creswell, 2007, p. 160). At this point, the researcher is looking to answer questions about the central phenomenon – when, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007). This phase of coding consists of identifying relationships among the codes that were developed during open coding. The questions posed by Charmaz and Creswell above are what allow the researcher to start to build connections between and among the codes, and to define the properties of a category.

In the second phase of coding, I moved from 435 initial codes to a more focused list of 30 concepts. This list can be found in Appendix G. Once this list was created, I was able to focus more closely on the central focus of most participants, the things that were most discussed and described by participants. This allowed me to answer questions about the central focus of participants, to find out more information on the when, where, why, who, how and with what consequences that are described by Charmaz (2006) and Creswell (2007).

Theoretical Coding

Charmaz (2006) defines this level of coding as "lend[ing] form to the focused codes you have collected. These codes may help you tell an analytic story that has coherence" (p. 63). As such, these theoretical codes help to conceptualize how your earlier codes are related and allow you to move into developing theory. The use of memos, which will be described below, and constant comparison between codes generated in the focused coding stage were used in the process of theoretical coding. In this stage of coding, the analysis moves from description to conceptualization (Alemu, 2015). After theoretical coding, I moved from 30 focused codes to, ultimately, 3 core theoretical categories. Initially, I was swinging back and forth between 3 or 4 theoretical categories, but in the end, I decided that one of those categories was so similar to another that I decided to merge them into one. These theoretical categories represented the overarching themes that were discussed by research participants.

Memo Writing

Memos were also an important component of this study and the data analysis. Memos are important in grounded theory studies as they capture the researcher's thoughts, ideas, comparisons, and questions regarding the research; essentially, the memo exists as a way for the researcher to have a conversation with him/herself (Charmaz, 2006). These memos not only keep the researcher involved in constant analysis, but also assist in defining relationships and bringing new levels of abstraction to your ideas and concepts (Bryant, 2017; Charmaz, 2006). They also provide a way for the research to retain ideas and thoughts before they are forgotten (Glaser, 1978). It is important to note that while memos can be written at each stage of the research process, they are not written directly within data sources, such as transcriptions, because it can

blur the lines between the participants' comments and the researchers' interpretations (Glaser, 1978). Instead, data from transcripts and fieldnotes can be included into memos. Memos assisted me with constant comparison, in that I was able to think about and compare what participants were saying. In the case of the memo above, I had reflected on the fact that many written response participants provided similar responses, and also, that these responses did not provide much depth. As such, I was able to think about why participants may have all been saying similar things, but also about what questions I had moving forward in the data collection process. An example of a memo that I wrote early in the research process, after collecting written responses, is included on the following page:

Written responses, especially responses to Question 2, included a lot of blanket statements that were repeated by many participants, even verbatim. For example, "education is the foundation of [my] life" or "education is the foundation of my future" were written in 11 separate responses. Participants, again mostly in Question 2, also talked often about education being important in reducing/removing/preventing ignorance.

What is the actual meaning of these statements? How do youth understand or make sense of these statements? More information is needed in terms of the how, why, and what.

How do participants perceive education as setting the "foundation" for their lives?

Why do participants perceive education as necessary for/in their lives and their futures?

What do participants perceive as "ignorance"? How do they perceive education as being the "remedy" for ignorance?

Achieving Theoretical Saturation

Glaser and Strauss (1967) believed that theoretical sampling is successful once theoretical saturation is achieved. This is the point at which the data is no longer assisting the researcher in developing further properties (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For example, the researcher may keep collecting similar data; this means that theoretical saturation has been reached, as nothing new is emerging from the data collection process (Creswell, 2012).

After analyzing and comparing data from the 31 written response answers and approximately five interviews, I began to understand some of the concepts and process that participants spoke about. However, new concepts, such as those of vocational school, urban refugees, or inappropriate student-teacher relationships, continued to arise until about the eleventh interview. After the completion of 15 interviews, I was satisfied that I had reached theoretical saturation, in that interviews 11 through 15 did not reveal any new concepts or information. As Alemu (2015) highlights, it is important to point out that this decision that theoretical saturation has been achieved in also "partially pragmatic, since, although there is always the possibility that issues other than those covered by the current research exist in the wide world, one has to stop somewhere" (p. 536).

Generating Theory

Charmaz (2006) notes that due to different philosophies, there are disagreements amongst researchers about just how to do grounded theory, and also about what theory looks like or means. Strauss and Corbin (1998) defined theory as "a set of well-developed concepts related through statements of relationships, which together constitute an integrated framework that can be used to explain or predict phenomena" (p.15). The purpose, or goal, of the researcher taking a

constructivist approach is not to discover truth, nor is it to provide generalizations (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). In keeping with constructivist views of grounded theory, I agree with Charmaz's (2006) description of theory as something that "can alter your viewpoint and change your consciousness. Through it, you can see the world from a different vantage point and create new meanings of it" (p. 128). According to Charmaz (2006), theories "present arguments about the world and relationships within it" (p. 128).

The purpose of my study was to explore the perceptions and experiences of education among youth in Nyarugusu Camp, to gain a better understanding of what it means to be a student in a secondary school in that camp. Therefore, the purpose of my study aligned with Charmaz's (2006) view of theory, in that I was trying to see the world from another perspective and create new meanings, based on participants' perceptions and experiences. I employed grounded theory in an attempt to build a theory that helps to explain how this aspect, secondary education, "works" or functions in Nyarugusu Camp.

There are not only disagreements about what constitutes a theory, but also about how that theory should be presented (Creswell, 2012; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The theory or insights that are generated from the data might be presented as a visual model or as a hypothesis (Creswell, 2012). As Glaser and Strauss (1967) indicate, that the *way* in which a theory is presented is not important; what is important is that the theory has the ability to explain or predict something. In addition, in constructivist grounded theory, the aim is to provide an explanation of a local issue in a local context (Charmaz, 2006).

Chapter Four: Findings

Introduction

The upcoming Findings section is divided into three theoretical categories. The first will highlight participants' perceptions of education, as well as how these perceptions were described as having been developed or been influenced. The second theoretical category will outline participants' experiences with education, as well as how they describe choosing, largely, to focus on the future. Finally, the third theoretical category will demonstrate how participants described their perceptions of education as being confirmed, or supported by, the attitudes and reactions of family and community members. The section concludes with a theory of focusing on the future as a means to cope with the present.

Theoretical Category One: Developing Perceptions of Education

Considering that only 7% of youth are reported as being enrolled in secondary school in Nyarugusu Camp, I was interested in exploring these youth's perceptions of education and how these perceptions develop. Specifically, this study asked the following questions:

(1) What do students perceive to be the purpose and function of education?

(2) How do students' perceptions of the purpose and function of education develop?

This first theoretical category focused on the process of students developing their own perceptions of education. Each student within the study indicated that he/she was heavily influenced by family beliefs and family attitudes toward education. Initial analysis gave prominence to the beliefs that students held, which influenced their perception of future events in the classroom and in the school. In discussing their perceptions of education, and how these

perceptions developed, participants spoke or wrote about topics such as education being the "foundation of life;" education being important to them (the individual), their families, and their communities; and the current focus on vocational schooling in Nyarugusu. Each of these topics related to participants' perceptions of education, and how those perceptions develop, are further discussed below.

Foundation of Life

A large number of participants, in both written responses and interviews, referred to education as being the "foundation of life." In written responses, 14/31 participants wrote that exact phrase: "foundation of [my] life" and another wrote "education is the key to success." In individual interviews, that trend continued and 6 of 15 participants voiced various phrases containing very similar meanings. Some examples include:

"School is the foundation of a good life."- Samba

"School is the basis of life." – Makambo

"Education is the foundation of life." – Imani

"Work hard, because education is the basis for your life." – Wemba

"School is just the basis for life." – Baraka

"Education is the basis for life." – Yemo

Importance of Education

As seen with references to education being the "foundation of life," participants very often spoke, initially in quite general terms, of the importance of education. Mostly, they made

statements such as, “education is very important,” “school is very important,” or “it is important to go to school.” Others were a bit more specific, writing or saying things like:

“Education is important in the camp.” – Samba

“I cannot do anything without education.” – WR30

“Education is power in these times.” – Kasadi

In addition to these vague ideas that highlighted the importance of education, the majority of participants talked about how education builds knowledge/intelligence and teaches them crucial skills. While these descriptions were a bit more specific, they were still largely removed from students themselves, and they instead focused on what education is ‘supposed’ to do. For example, participants discussed the importance of education in terms of both increasing knowledge/intelligence and in terms of reducing or preventing ignorance. When asked about why it was important for them to attend and complete secondary education, 6/31 written responses indicated that education was important because it “builds awareness,” “provides experience,” or “expands one’s mind.” One written response participant wrote,

> Education makes me aware of many things. It provides a wide variety of scenarios and experiences, and it also makes a person more comfortable and confident in his life. The lessons that I learn make me a leader, able to teach others when I grow up. (WR31)

In another written response question, which asked why it is important for them to be a student and what education meant to them, 15/31 responses indicated that education was important because it provided them with knowledge or intelligence. Other responses to the same question included answers such as:

“Through education, a person can be educated in many ways.”- WR12

“Being a student is important because I get to know many things which I didn’t know

before."- WR5

"I want to learn many things."- WR28

"At school, I learn about things that are important to me."- WR13

"School allows me to make good decisions." – WR29

Interview participants also talked about the importance of education in increasing knowledge and intelligence, in two ways: (1) to build knowledge and (2) to learn about the world. In terms of building knowledge, participants said things like:

"Education increases intelligence… it makes you knowledgeable." – Elombe

"It [education] *opens your mind to knowing things you do not know now."* – Kabala

"School is important to know more." – Imani

"School gives you the chance to learn many things." – Diomo

"Getting to know things is a great thing for me; education is something I really like because it teaches me what I do not know." – Wemba

"It means [pause] so I can know what I'm talking about. School gives me the power to know what I do not know." – Yemo

In individual interviews, when statements like this were made, I was able to press a bit further about what that meant, what it meant to be knowledgeable or what they did not know. For example, in my interview with Kasadi, I asked him about how he felt about the importance of education:

> J: How important is education for you to have, personally? Your parents were advising you that going to school would be useful, but when you are studying, how do you feel about it?
>
> K: When I first started studying, I felt like my mind was very quick to pick up things. I felt I was a grown up, while I was still very young. I felt I was grown up and able to do grown things.

J: So you think you grow, mentally?

K: Yes, mentally, and I started to think a lot. Even when I was at home, I thought about school… I could say that primary and secondary [pause] I saw some big differences because there are some lessons you get in primary, and there are some lessons you get in secondary. For me, I liked classes in secondary much more, because secondary has caused me so far to be smart and use my brain. I make my life better with secondary education. I was learning in primary, but if you know, the child's mind is the same.

J: So you see secondary as helpful for helping to expand your mind?

K: Very much.

Some participants spoke about more specific ways in which they perceived secondary education as being important. For example, Wemba described how education was important in providing knowledge and in keeping him out of trouble:

J: In your own life, what do you think about education? What significance do you give it?

W: For me, I give education the most focus because it's something which gives me knowledge in my life. When it comes to education, I give it the most focus and put it first.

J: It's something that you put first?

W: Yes, it's first in my life, education.

J: Ok, so you mean that it's something that you prioritize in life?

W: Education is life, because without education [pause] I will not go with education. The temptations are many in the camp. There are too many temptations in life.

J: Ok. So you think that education helps you to stay in line?

W: Yes.

A number of participants also talked about how they perceived education as important because it taught them skills like reading and writing. Kabendi said that education provided him with the opportunity to learn new things. When I asked for an example, he said, "These are

things like knowing how to read, things like this." Similarly, Bakome said, "When I started school, I realized that education has a profound significance in my life, and first, it's important because it helps me to read and write." In total, 4 interview participants and 4 written response participants referenced reading and/or writing as specific skills that could only be learned by attending school. Other skills, including interpersonal skills, problem-solving skills, "life skills," and mathematics/counting were mentioned by written response participants and interview participants as skills that could be learned best through secondary education.

Many interview participants (6/15) also talked about how being educated gives them the knowledge and skills needed to "live with people," "live in the community," or "read people." For example, Diomo said that school lessons "helped me live with people better." Baraka added that education helps him "know the world that is around us." For example, Elombe, who started by saying that education "increases intelligence," expanded on that by saying, "it [education] helps me to understand life and the world." Later in the same interview, Elombe said,

> J: What would you like people to understand about education and school life?
>
> E: That they should make time for studies. I'll tell my son, go and read and study. It makes you knowledgeable, and you can understand what is going on in the world. Learn how to talk to people and live with people. How can you read a person and know what kind of person he is? You become an educated person [pause] If someone still has the age and time to study, I would tell him to go and study. Because you know so much.

Similarly, Kabala and Makambo discussed the importance of education in learning about the world and community. Kabala said, "The first purpose of education is to give ideas about the home environment [Congo]," In my interview with Makambo, I asked what he perceived to be the purpose of education in his life. He replied,

> School will help me because I see school as the basis of life. To understand things that are happening in the community, I must go through school. So, school gives me a way to live with people in the community.

Later, in that interview, we had this exchange, which also touched on Makambo's belief that one of the purposes or functions of education was to teach people about the world:

> J: Ok, thank you. My other question is, why do you think it's important to finish secondary education? What is the importance of completing secondary education in your life?
>
> M: Yes, secondary education is really important because it has taught me about the world. A person coming only from primary will have a different education. Suppose you like math. You will find math starts with teaching shapes. Then it grows in knowledge. Same with geography, you'll find it is the beginning of studying the world.
>
> J: You're talking about secondary there?
>
> M: Yes, secondary. When you get older, you start with continents and America, you complete the whole country, all of it. You take Asia, Africa, other places and water, geography. It gives us much insight into the world.
> J: So, right, for you then, secondary education, as I understand you, has expanded your mind, and that's why it's important for you to finish secondary education. Correct?
>
> M: Yes.

Along the same lines, but using different language, some participants also talked about how education was important in "removing ignorance" or "preventing ignorance." In written responses, 9/31 participants wrote those exact words, while in individual interviews, two participants referred to ignorance. One participant, Alongi, said, "If you have education in your head, you will not be ignorant," while Kasadi said,

> Education helps a person not be ignorant… I would say that education has many advantages. Education helps make a self-conscious person, education helps one know what is wrong in the world, education helps by expanding human intelligence.

To further the discussion on how attitudes and perceptions of education were developed, during each individual interview, participants were asked who influenced their views on

education, or who advised them about education. All fifteen participants said their parent(s). One participant also mentioned that "good teachers" influenced his thoughts on education, in addition to his parents, but other than that, the influence of parent(s) dominated the conversation. Participants mentioned that because their parents encouraged school attendance, shared their thoughts on the importance of education or purchased school supplies, they also saw school and education as important. This discussion on the importance of education provided more detailed descriptions of why and how students saw education as being important, to them and to their families.

Importance of Education to Family

The first written response question asked participants how important it was to the family that the student complete secondary school. 11/31 responses explicitly indicated that them being in secondary school, and completing secondary school, was important to their family. One participant (WR7) expanded, writing that "education is a treasure to my family," while another said that them being in secondary school "brings happiness to my parents" (WR14). Another written response participant wrote, "Finishing school makes me a leader and it is important for my family for me to finish so that I have a career when I grow up and I will be a man who manages and cares for the family" (WR5).

In individual interviews, some participants also discussed just how important it was for their parents to know that their children were completing secondary school. For example, Wemba, who had just completed secondary school the year prior, said, "The graduation from secondary school was a great joy for me. I was very happy, as was my family." Ngoyi shared a

very poignant story with me, when asked who, if anyone, influenced his thoughts on and perceptions of education:

> N: The one who advised me about education [pause] the first person was my father.
>
> J: Your father?
>
> N: My father. He said to me, "My child, in this world, there is no better inheritance than education… he brought school supplies to me, and said "there's nothing else I can inherit to you, take the pen and books, etc. These things will help you to become an important person." I took his advice to heart and continued even after his passing.

Kasadi also discussed how he perceived secondary education to be very important because of his parents' attitudes and actions towards it. He said,

> K: My parents told me studying is very important to a person. Over here, when one studies, he/she begins to understand who they are, and when a child passes and succeeds, even the parents themselves expect to benefit from the child who has been educated. So, my parents advise me a lot.
>
> J: What steps did they take to help you, by enabling you to go to school?
>
> K: They worked very hard at first – because in the camp, there are some people who don't believe in education, but my parents said no to their influence on their child. So, they bought me some school supplies so that it would motivate me to go to school.

Bakome said something similar to this, saying that his parents were helping him pay for school supplies, but that he was also helping his parents by completing school, so that he could help them in the future.

Parental Sacrifice/Parental Engagement

Participants also described the ways in which their parent(s) made sacrifices so that their child could attend school, again signifying the importance that parents placed on secondary education. While one written response described it as a parental obligation to send kids to school

(WR10), six interview participants described their parents' actions in helping them to attend secondary school more in terms of 'sacrifices.' Samba, who recently lost her father, and who also recently completed secondary school and has now applied for vocational school, said, "They [parents] were very self-sacrificing for their children to attend school. My mom is still here, and she's trying hard in life and financially so that I can study the computer course."

Kabala also credited his mother with making sacrifices to help him to attend secondary school. He said,

> K: She [mother] really helped me.
>
> J: What actions did she take to help you go to school? Maybe you can tell me a few things that she did to help you go to school?
>
> K: The first step, she bought me clothes. Here in the camp, class books are not provided. And she helped me buy class books, school shoes to send me to school, things like this.
>
> J: So, when you study, there is a uniform, your books, that you need?
>
> K: Yes, yes. She [mother] was tired for my sake.

In addition to talking about parental sacrifices, Makambo also highlighted his father's engagement in his education as something that contributed to his own perceptions of, and attitudes toward, secondary education. He said,

> M: In fact, my father was my motivator, because he often pushed me to go to school and not be late because school is the basis for life. From school to home, he advised me to take a notebook and learn what we studied in school. So, my dad was a big motivator to go to school.
>
> J: Are there any other actions he took to persuade you to go to school and get an education?
>
> M: There are such actions as him giving me the opportunity to ask him questions about what I was learning at school. He would begin asking me questions such as, "You learned what?" He would always ask me, every hour, "Here, tell me what it says." All of this that he was doing, it made me like school very much.

Overall, students acknowledged that because their parents worked so hard to ensure that they had the necessary materials to attend school, they were motivated to attend, and they saw how important it was to their parents that they continue their secondary education.

Makambo also said that many secondary school students tend to drop out by the middle of the school year, saying that, "they fail to understand why school is important." Specifically, he said that "girls need more enthusiasm for education." Kabala mentioned in his interview that he saw women's education as prioritized because "they provide women's equipment and materials, but men are not given anything." However, Makambo said:

> Students in the camp, especially women and girls, there are so many in primary. But then moving on to secondary, many leave. They are having early pregnancy. You will find many girls in primary school, but not so many in secondary school… They do not see the real significance of school.

For the two female students in this study, they did mention that school was significant and important in their lives. Munia said that for her, school represents "a way forward" and education is perceived as something that "can help me in my life and in my future." Munia also said that were she not able to attend or finish secondary school, she would probably be a prostitute.

Vocational School

As there was much discussion around vocational schools in some individual interviews, it is necessary to also include the perceptions of vocational school, specifically, among some participants. While the focus of this study was on secondary education, vocational schooling was closely tied to perceptions of secondary education as well, as will be highlighted here. Vocational schooling was described as something that was, largely, more practical than

secondary education, as it provided a way of generating income almost immediately, and it also provided a way to possibly leave the camp, should they so choose. For example, in terms of the practical nature of vocational school, Ngoyi said:

> N: Yes. Here in the camp, I'm learning English and computers skilled trades.
>
> J: Learning English and computers. Why have you chosen these two professions?
>
> N: I've chosen that because today's world is compatible with those things. You know, today's world follows the science world… in this world of technology, that's why I decided to study computers. I found it difficult to buy school supplies for the regular secondary school, so instead of wasting time, I found that it is free to study vocational school, and so I joined to study English and computers for free… I did not want to stay idle. Just moving around for years like I'm lost, with nothing to do. I cannot stay idle and do nothing…. I think it's [vocational] good because I'll see the changes in this month that I've studied, have changed, how I was and how I have changed a little bit. Now I know computers, I can write one program, and things that I also know [pause] I have seen so much. I congratulate my teachers very much.

Later in the interview, Ngoyi came back to vocational schooling, and discussed it in relation to secondary school, saying,

> N: The vocational school is something that I support because when you go home, you go right away into using the practical skills you have learned. So teachers have specific goals and outcomes for their students and want to train them in a certain way.
>
> J: Ok, so that kind of education is relevant to work, you see in your own life?
>
> N: Yes, I agree, because it's real life application.
>
> J: For example, if it were possible to study regular secondary school, and at the same time, maybe spending time to study vocational college on the side, what would you think?
>
> N: I would like the combination very much, and maybe I would not have left secondary school. But secondary school is very important, because it is meant to train you for long-term goals and success. Vocational training trains you for the skills you need right now.

Interviews with two other participants, Kabala and Kasadi, touched on the ways in which the practical training provided in vocational schools was useful both inside, and potentially outside, the camp. Part of my conversation with Kasadi went like this:

> J: Let's talk a bit about vocational school. Where students are unable to continue in secondary, is there vocational training?
>
> K: Yes, because UNHCR came to see that 70% in school were dropping out, much more than those in school. They saw that if the situation continued, you will find every child is at home. They had to open vocational schools, driving courses, craftsmanship courses, braiding, music courses in the camp, computer courses, English courses, Portuguese courses. Many things, many different courses that can enable one in life.
>
> J: Do you see that vocational school is helping in the camp?
>
> K: It really helps. Like I am studying at a regular school, and when I'm done school at 12 noon, then at 2pm, I go to the vocational school. I, at this time, am studying to be a driver. Next weekend, we go and do our last practical driving practice. We're still doing practical. Next weekend, we're doing the last practice session.
>
> J: So, do pupils drop out of school because they do not see the importance of secondary education, and feel vocational training has more importance?
>
> K: Yes. I can say that for the younger people [pause] I can say that I like young people for one reason. First, they were happy when they saw there was a group of people, young people who were here talking to refugees. The young people in the camp met with them and told them the benefits of starting a vocational school. And they [young people in the camp] were very thankful because some of them are now sewing clothes because of these vocational courses. There is a relative of mine who I studied with, he has now gone to Mwanza, and he is a driver because of the vocational school, and he's now working and earning a good salary. That's why many young people like vocational school and that's why when a student sees that regular school is not going well, or they've done bad things in school, or they don't like what the teachers are doing, they quit and go to vocational school only.
>
> J: Do these courses take place after school? After school hours, you do these courses?
>
> K: Me, yes.
>
> J: Is it likely that people are taking both vocational and secondary at the same time?
>
> K: Yes, just like me, that's how I do it. For example, I told you, I was studying at the regular school and I was done at noon. I go to eat, I have a rest at 1pm, at 2pm, I take a pen and notebook and go to the driving school. At the driving school, I spend three hours

studying, I return home, I'm able to relax my mind. As I told you, at this time, we're doing practical. After we left the regular studying, we're on practical. We are about to finish and get our certificates.

J: My question about this topic is [pause] are just as many people dropping out of regular school as vocational schools? Or do people stay and finish vocational school?

K: Very very many people have been involved in things at the vocational school.

J: Do they drop out like in the regular secondary schools?

K: No.

J: And can anyone enter, or you have to have a permit, or just anyone can enter vocational school?

K: No permit needed. The only question is, "Are you a valid refugee?" "I am a legitimate refugee." "Submit your identity card that you are a valid refugee." You show them the form. When they see that you are a refugee, they register you, you start school [vocational] for free [pause] no fee. Maybe English school and computer school, you pay for a month, you pay only 3000Tsh. But all the vocational training is free, free of charge. By the time you finish, when you are given a certificate, you finish the vocational training for free.

Kabala also talked about how vocational training in his interview:

K: There are many good vocational schools. There is a beauty school, there is a construction school, there are fields –

J: Were you or are you personally involved in these?

K: The profession I was studying was the beauty field.

J: Beauty?

K: Yes.

J: So, for example, what did you do in beauty?

K: I used to braid women's hair, put relaxers in their hair.

J: How far have you reached in that?

K: Now, I'm getting started. I have begun to educate myself, but I have not had work.

J: So you haven't gained employment yet through the field?

K: Yes [pause] You can be self-employed or you can be employed. But you find self-employed jobs have so many challenges. You will find yourself busy at work from the morning until the evening, but you are returning home even with nothing and your parents know that you're working, things like that. But being employed, you go to work and return with a bag of flour that's going to help your parents a bit. That's why you have challenges of employment and self-employment.

J: Ok, ok. Between the vocational school and the secondary school, what is the most important to you?

K: First, the high school has its own personal importance, and vocational school has its own importance. Secondary school is important; people know that we are scholars. You can be employed anywhere. And vocational school, for us here in the camp, we do not have any work in the camp. At the end of the month, you receive your ration, and you return home. And many people who are educated stay at home and don't work. And to get a job, you must know someone. But with vocational school, once you finish your education, you go directly into the workforce using your hands. Because there is no formal employment here in the camp.

Later, he said,

K: For me, for now, I do not have a job, and I have finished school this year. I have no job, I am just at home. But I had an audition at the salon, and the little money I earn, it helps me a bit.

J: I would like to ask you one more question. As you told me earlier, there was a dear friend of yours who crossed the borders into South Africa?

K: Yes.

J: How does someone do that?

K: Most likely, you find someone here in the camp, they came to the camp and their family has remained in Congo. There, one of your family members gets lucky and goes to a neighbouring country. They will ask you, "what are you doing for work?" You say, "I'm not working, I'm studying." He will ask have you learned a vocation, to work with your hands. Then you reply "yes, I have learned beauty work." They will say, "Ok, I'll send you the fare and come to the border of South Africa." That luck exists.

J: And in the camp, they allow you to leave any time someone is ready?

K: No, they don't allow it, but you request special permits, and if you ask them, they will give it to you, they respond to you. But they will say it's [the permit] for two days, three

> days. They call you and given you a permit, giving us permission, and we leave, and we don't return again.

This first theoretical category focused on the ways in which participants described their perceptions of education and the importance of education, as well as some of the ways in which these perceptions developed. The next theoretical category will discuss some of the numerous challenges that participants described as having perceived or experienced in their quest for secondary education, as well as how their focus on the future potential that education could provide helped them to deal with these challenges. The beliefs that students held about education, and their perceptions of education, which were largely derived from their parents, as outlined in this first theoretical category, played a large role in how students perceived daily challenges within the school and the future promises of education, as will be discussed in the next theoretical category.

Theoretical Category Two: "Toughing It Out:" Focusing on the Future

When discussing their day-to-day lives as secondary school students, most participants acknowledged quite challenging daily circumstances in attending secondary school but perceived these circumstances as part of 'the hard life,' and viewed education as a way to improve their future lives. This theoretical category will first highlight some of the many challenges that were described by participants, before describing some of the ways in which participants worked to mitigate those challenges. As might be expected, there is some overlap in these discussions of challenges and ways of coping, or dealing with, these challenges. For example, discussions of the challenges of walking to long distances to school are often interspersed with discussions of the importance of perseverance.

Challenges

Life in a refugee camp, of course, includes numerous challenges. For the purposes of this study, we focused on challenges that participants faced in attending school each day in hopes of completing their secondary school certificate. Some of the most common challenges discussed, which will be highlighted in the following paragraphs, were related to dealing with hunger and long walks to school, managing other responsibilities, obtaining school supplies and materials, and dealing with teachers and/or classroom issues.

Hunger. Four interview participants indicated that hunger was a common challenge that they faced. They also discussed some of the effects that hunger can have on learning and the ability, or desire, to attend secondary school. Three participants took this one step further, saying

that hunger is sometimes responsible for students missing school. In his interview, Kabala, said that:

> Sometimes when you go to school, you find at home there is no food, and this student will go without food… You come from school, you really find no food. Sometimes you stay 2 or 3 days without food. Will you study? You will not study. You'll remain at home.

Similarly, Kabendi said,

> You find someone coming home [after school] without eating. Leaving again in the morning without eating. If a person leaves home without eating, it's especially hard. Again, in the school, we go and begin to be taught many things. Really, how can a person understand what is true?

One participant, Elombe, acknowledged that it is very difficult to attend school when you are hungry, but said that he still attends, because "it is just part of the hard life." Makambo shared these sentiments, adding that some peers had attributed hunger to their decision to leave secondary school. He said,

> M: For us, during the break, we don't get anything to eat. In kindergarten, when we finished studying we were given porridge, but now from grade 1 to secondary, when you get a break, you just relax, no food.
>
> J: So, you go all day without food?
>
> M: Yes.
>
> J: Is that hard?
>
> M: Yes, quite hard.
>
> J: Tell me, how many students are there?
>
> M: Where is this?
>
> J: Secondary.

M: Secondary, we are sixty, seventy, but at the start of the school year, when we started studies, the students were very many. During the middle of the year, you find it becomes less, say forty, thirty. Some students are running away, some have poor attendance.

J: Why do you think people going to school decreases? Why have they left?

M: One told me that feeling hungry at school kept him from going to school. Most secondary classes are in the evening. When he goes to class hungry, he'll feel tired and lack of energy and motivation and sleepy. He wanted rather to spend time in the streets, playing soccer, eating mangoes, and he fails to understand why school is important… you know, the big thing people see is, if the stomach is hungry, the mind does not work anymore, right?

Walk to School. Nyarugusu Camp is a large refugee camp, approximately 2965 acres or 12 square kilometres. Camp residents rely mostly on walking, but sometimes hire the services of a motorcycle driver to get to various areas around the camp. With 4 Congolese secondary schools, it is not uncommon for secondary students to have to walk quite long distances to and from school each day. Interview participants were specifically asked about the distances they walked to school. Of the 15 participants, three walked 8km each way to school, 16km round-trip, every day, which they each said took approximately two hours each way, four hours total per day. Two other participants reported that walked approximately 4km each way, which took around an hour, while six participants said their walk to school took approximately 30 minutes. Of the 15 participants, only four described their walk to school as taking less than 30 minutes or as being "near to home." Wemba was one of these participants:

J: How far is the school from your home/?

W: We walk for just thirty minutes.

J: Ok, thirty minutes? How do you feel about walking about thirty minutes to school every day?

W: I don't get tired [from walking to school}, because school is something that I'm putting my heart into. This is a job I must finish.

When compared to a conversation with Samba, who reported walking a much longer distance of 8km to school each way (16 km roundtrip), the sentiment was largely the same:

> J: How long does it take you to get to school?
>
> S: I spend about 15km to 20km.
>
> J: That's very far. How do you feel when you return home?
>
> S: I'm tired. I bathe first, later, reread my notes and go back and read them again. Later on, I start working on other tasks.
>
> J: Where, at home?
>
> S: At home. Helping my parents.
>
> J: This is what you do every day? Are you able to manage between school and your housework well?
>
> S: Yes, I'm the only one [only child]. I was very successful in school because I had a strong desire to be a student.

Other Responsibilities. As Samba mentioned in the above exchange, most participants described having many other daily responsibilities within their homes and families. However, there were differences in what kinds of impacts these other responsibilities were perceived as having on students' school lives. Half of the written responses related to other responsibilities (3/6) stated that school can negatively affect daily responsibilities and vice versa. One participant wrote that "it's worth it for me to stop my daily responsibilities so that I can get education for my future life." In contrast, two others wrote the following:

> There are many things in life that I need to fight for, and if I go to school every day, my life can become bad because I am not able to meet my daily responsibilities. – WR28
>
> Being a student negatively affects my daily life and responsibilities because a lot of time is spent in school without considering the responsibilities which I have outside of school. However, we do this with the hope that once school is over, life will be good. But student life is very difficult, because when you are a student, all of your other responsibilities (making money) cannot be done. But you hope that once you finish school, you will get

> employment. But in today's world, many people finish school and don't get jobs. This discourages many people from going to school. They would rather do something else. - WR10

In his interview, Kabala also discussed that he had many tasks to do at home, and that they sometimes interfered with his ability to attend school. Expanding on this, he gave an example of when rations are dispersed, saying:

> When the day comes to go pick up your family food ration at the camp store… Once you are told you have to go get the flour ration, I first had to go to school and inform them that I wasn't going to make it to school today, and then walk to the camp store to get my family ration… missing classes did affect me, but I tried hard to catch up and write down the notes I missed and study them.

Kabala also talked about the challenge of being the head of the household when his mother was sick, and his father was no longer around. He said that these challenges forced him to stop studying for two years, in order to help provide for the family. He was able to return to school. Elombe echoed the same sentiments, saying, "I had to work because I was raised with my mom and my younger siblings, and as an older brother, I had to work."

Other participants described these other responsibilities as taking a backseat to their education. For instance, Elombe said, "I worked hard, but when it was school time, I went to school." A written response participant wrote that education is "worth it to stop my daily responsibilities" (WR4). Six interview participants, in total, acknowledged that while there were other responsibilities, such as home chores and income-generating activities, that needed to be taken care of, school attendance was prioritized. One participant, Bakome, even said that "I did not want to be late. Although they [my parents] gave me work at home, I would rather be seen as bad by my parents. School was the first importance… my mother understood me."

The two female participants in the study did not share any significant differences in terms of other responsibilities, although typically, there are quite rigid gender roles in Tanzania and DRC. For example, in an interview, Munia made mention of the fact that she had "many home chores," but said that these do not prevent her from attending school. Similarly, Samba, an only child in her family, said that she sometimes struggled to complete home chores and keep up with her schoolwork, but also said that she considered herself to be successful at managing these things because she so valued being a student.

Obtaining School Supplies & Materials. In Nyarugusu Camp, secondary education is 'free,' meaning that there are no tuition costs that students must pay. However, participants shared that tuition is not the only fee that is required of secondary students. While secondary students do not pay to attend classes, they must pay for required school supplies and materials, such as uniforms, notebooks, and writing utensils. Without these materials, they could be prevented, by teachers or school administration, from attending school. These costs were described as presenting a challenge for most interview participants; in fact, it was something that 10 of 15 interview participants brought up. Kabala shared that when his mother lost her source of income, it became particularly challenging. He said,

> K: They do not give us notebooks, anything we need to be given. And no uniform is given or shoes. Challenges arise when your parents have nothing, and it becomes difficult.
>
> J: Ok, so there are materials needed, but they are not given?
>
> K: The materials they provide are for primary school, starting from first to third [grade]. But the fourth grade, up until secondary school, they do not give it so much. At other times, they provide materials because women are there. They provide women's equipment, but men are not given equipment.

Here, Kabala made reference to some measures that are taken in an effort to provide more equitable secondary education opportunities for female students, in that they are sometimes provided with free school materials.

Similarly, Samba described similar difficulties, discussing a time when it was particularly difficult to get and to afford the required school materials and supplies. Speaking about last year, she said that "I did not carry a bag. I just had the notebook in my hand, with my uniform, and one shoe on one foot." Here, I find it important to note, again, that Samba was one participant who revealed earlier in that interview that she walked 16km round-trip to school each day.

Two participants highlighted that the inability to afford or obtain school supplies was a factor that contributed to their decisions to consider leaving, or to leave secondary school. Alongi revealed that since the death of his father, he and his mother have found it extremely difficult to afford school supplies. Similarly, Ngoyi was a participant who had made the decision to leave secondary school last year, and to instead attend a vocational school in the camp. When he was discussing this decision, and the reasons for making it, he shared that "I found it difficult to buy school supplies for the regular secondary school, so instead of wasting time, I found that it is free to study vocational school, and so I joined to study English and computers for free." Another participant, Kasadi, who was still enrolled in secondary school, also shared that vocational school was often attractive for many secondary school students because in vocational school, there are no tuition fees and all school materials are also provided.

Three participants mentioned that school supplies should be provided free for students, and said that it would make their lives, and the lives of other students, much easier, because, as Elombe put it, "Money is definitely a challenge."

Teachers. Of course, with discussions of education and school experiences came discussions of teachers. Participants described teachers, and student-teacher relationships, in both positive and negative, and sometimes contradictory, ways.

Some interview participants described teachers in very positive ways, saying that teachers were "helpful, skilled, and competent" and encouraging. For instance, Alongi said,

> When teachers are teaching me, if I make a little mistake, they advise me. They are so encouraging to me. If you don't understand, you ask the teacher, 'Here, I don't understand this or that.' He helps you learn more about that… teachers are ready to help you.

Wemba also praised teachers, saying, "education in the camp is very good. The reason is that the teachers we have are the teachers who really know how to teach."

Overwhelmingly, though, interview participants described teachers in negative, and often problematic, ways. Discussions of issues with teachers ranged from teachers being underpaid, inexperienced, or "lazy," to teachers exploiting students in inappropriate relationships. Elombe said that he thought "teachers are setting a bad example… it's not a good look." One common complaint was that some teachers were not serious about teaching, and thus, frequently came late or wasted time in class. Makambo said,

> There's times when a teacher comes to class, and the whole time, we're just telling stories. And sometimes, the same teachers teach, but one of the teachers doesn't last a month in school… they transfer them [to another school]. And even if they leave him, after a couple weeks, they start coming in late and some of them just come and tell stories with students.

Similarly, Kasadi talked specifically about 'wasting time,' saying, "Some teachers were good, others were no good. It was like going to school to waste time." He elaborated further on his thoughts on teachers, saying,

> K: I would say that education here is good, but it's hard because you are mostly concerned with these male leaders or teachers themselves that make the education appear

> worthless because they themselves are sources of school crime [pause] it starts with teachers and infects students. At school [pause] here in Tanzania, you have one school [pause] if you are not careful with teachers, you'll find yourself becoming like them. I suppose I say, in short, education in the camp is not good… You find that they [teachers] are the source of ruining students lives in school, especially the female student, by having sexual relationships with them. Not knowing female children are the future of the nation… That thing really does not please me.
>
> J: Would you tell me then, when you studied, what relationships did you, yourself, have with the teachers?
>
> K: I would say in school I was, especially while in secondary [pause] I had one of my teachers who I believed in, who was giving me the French course. He was the one, because I believed in him and when he saw me, he'd give me advice about school, where I can go and where the day [pause] he was like a friend. But the others were no good. It was like going to school to waste time.
>
> J: All the others were no good?
>
> K: When I'm late to school and I ask the teacher to help me out to catch up with the rest of the class, you'll find that he answers you, "I don't care." It's supposed to be a teacher's job to help you succeed, but he'll tell you he doesn't care to bring you up to speed; he's already done. If I don't struggle to bring myself up to speed, I miss out, and many people miss out without knowing why.

Later in the interview, he said,

> I would've liked for those teachers who are still there [pause] maybe in the past, we didn't have these things [teachers misbehaving] because the teachers were much older. But now, a young person of 18 becomes a secondary school teacher. A young person of 19 years becomes a secondary school teacher. He comes with these teenage challenges, he is like me. I would like, starting at primary to secondary, for them to be given a seminar, enough seminars [teacher's college]. Because I don't really understand what they are teaching…. I can say that there is no education in the camp here. We study because we have to, but there's no education… Make an effort, give enough seminars, give a whole month seminar, because there's nothing that they are teaching here.

Many interview participants also expressed concern or exasperation about what they called teachers' "inexperience." Kabendi and Bakome, specifically, talked about the fact that many teachers were those who had just completed secondary school themselves the year, or semester, prior. Bakome said,

> I'm disappointed, because the teachers themselves just finished secondary school. What are they going to teach me, really? They are young and inexperienced…. I would prefer much more if there are teachers who are – who they themselves had studied at university for a certificate and then come back and teach us the secondary school lessons.

These 'teenage challenges' that Kasadi referred to were also mentioned by some other interview participants. A number of them discussed inappropriate student-teacher relationships which were sometimes coerced. For example, Elombe said, "Many people who get involved in a relationship with teachers are people who are struggling with understanding classes, and they know if they continue involvement with teachers, they will pass the class. Of the two female interview participants, Munia was the only one to make reference to this issue, saying only, "I'm used to education here. Teachers are corrupt. They like to make advances on girls." This problem of inappropriate student-teacher relationships was described by some participants as having an effect on normal student-teacher relationships in the classroom. For example, when asked what kind of relationship he had with his secondary school teachers, Elombe said that he didn't ever try to get to know his teachers because he "didn't want to cross any boundaries." Makambo also mentioned that he thought the student-teacher relationships were stronger and more positive in primary school, saying,

> The relationship is not like primary. In primary, the relationship with teachers was good because they were teaching, talking to each other. They would find out where each student lives and who the parents are. Even when I was late, the teachers knew and came home asking the parents there, telling them to not let me be late. But in secondary school [pause] now the teachers don't care. They care when you get to class, but once you leave, they don't care about you anymore.

More positive student-relationships were described by participants as being so because they were "good students." To illustrate, Kabala said,

> The challenges you face in school will also be there. One teacher may like you, but not the other, but you can work hard until the teacher likes you. For example, you may find a

> teacher doesn't like you because you don't understand his notes or you are a troublemaker, but if you're not a troublemaker and you write down his lectures, he can't hate you.

Three additional interview participants also described positive relationships with their secondary school teachers, which they attributed to being hard-working, self-disciplined students who volunteered answers and did not cause problems for the teachers.

Many participants voiced that they wished teachers could be more helpful or caring. Kasadi, for example, said,

> When I'm late to school and I ask the teacher to help me out to catch up with the rest of the class, you'll find that he answers you, 'I don't care.' It's supposed to be a teacher's job to help you succeed, but he'll tell you that he doesn't care to bring you up to speed, he's already done. If I don't struggle to bring myself up to speed, I miss out, and many people miss out, without knowing why.

Discussions of issues with teachers were also accompanied by acknowledgements that secondary students were not the only ones struggling, but that secondary teachers in the camp were also largely overworked and underpaid, and these things went hand-in-hand. To illustrate how both 'overworked' and 'underpaid' can influence one another, Makambo said,

> One secondary teacher can have three, four, five teaching sessions, and that will tire him out. You will find him also covering 1st, 2nd, 3rd area, and after he teaches the first area, he will just go home. I would really prefer the teachers' numbers to increase and more teachers' salary increase, because being rewarded with a good salary, he will have the opportunity to be extremely dedicated in school… One thing I can say is teachers have to be happy with their salaries, because the teachers don't get paid much here to teach at school. They look at the salary and see only 55,000 [shillings] and he is a member of a ten-person family. Now he sees that 55,000 does not meet the needs of his three kids, or wife, and he doesn't feel the motivation to leave his personal work to go teach. He'll put teaching on the side and would go to his farm plot to farm, and if he is late to school, he doesn't care.

To add to these issues, Kabala said, "For those who give education, they find very many challenges. They go two months, three months, that they do not get their salary. I would ask

them not to give up. Just try to provide the children with education and such things." For reference, 55,000 Tanzanian shillings (Tsh), as mentioned by Makambo above, is equivalent to approximately $32 CAD. During my time in Nyarugusu Camp, I made note of some pricing at local shops: one kilogram of rice costs approximately 2000 Tsh, one litre of fuel costs approximately 2300 Tsh, a pair of basic, off-brand shoes costs 10,000 Tsh and above.

Punishment. Many interview participants discussed that acts of corporal punishment at school were quite common. For example, when asked what advice he would give to a new secondary school student, Makambo paused and then said, "Truthfully, I can tell him that getting beaten as a student, it's a common thing. Being insulted and told you are dumb, it's a common thing." A number of interview participants brought up instances of punishment and described the reasons for punishment as often having to do with a lack of student understanding. Makambo mentioned that secondary students "were very much beaten by teachers if you didn't understand the class." Similarly, Alongi said that, "if you ask a question a second time, and you make a mistake, you are getting a stroke [of the cane], you are getting a stroke… to avoid these problems, you will have to come early, and not hesitate in answering questions." Two other participants also noted that punishments were common for students who struggled academically. Wemba said that, "there's also punishment if you lag behind," while Samba, having never received punishment herself at school, corroborated what the other participants had said, by adding, "Since I started primary school and studied until secondary, I have never been beaten by a teacher even one day… because I was a clever student. In a group of 20 students, I came out first."

Some interview participants also mentioned that it is common to receive punishments for arriving to school late. Alongi said, “When we come late, they [teachers] should tell us that we need to arrive early so that classes could start on time. Instead, if you are late, they punish you and tell you to go back home… even if you defend yourself, you are defending yourself because of the punishment… you are told to go back home.” Wemba also shared that punishments were common for students who arrived late to school.

Punishments described by participants were most often physical punishments (e.g. caning), but also included students being sent home if they arrived to school late. Makambo also shared with me a time when he felt he was humiliated for being late to school, saying,

> M: To tell the truth, I experienced some challenges. For example, there’s one day I cannot forget. I had my uniform and my pants, and when I was sitting down, it ripped in the back, and I had a hole in the back. And when I left home and reached school, I was unlucky because I was late, and the teacher gave me a punishment of picking up garbage. I felt that picking up garbage demeaned me because when I bent over, the other students could see my bare bottom. It made me very sad because they all laughed at me ---
>
> J: Now with –
>
> M: And –
>
> J: Go on.
>
> M: --another situation I can remember, I would sit on the same bench next to a troublemaker. He would do foolish things, and when the teacher would turn around, he would stop and play Imani. And the teacher would always pick me as the troublemaker, and I would receive his wrongful punishment instead. It reached a point I said, let me cause some troubles. At least then I would deserve it.

Each of the five interview participants that described punishment by teachers and headteachers said that they considered punishment as one of the worst things that they experienced at school. Punishment was also one of the things that most of these participants referred to when asked what they thought would make school better for them. For example,

Imani said, “teachers should change the beating… eliminate the penalties. They can reduce the punishment.” Finally, Kabendi also talked about how he wished teachers and headmasters would stop delivering punishments to students, and summed up his thoughts by saying, “Punishing someone is not teaching them.”

Bribes. There was also a number of discussions surrounding concerns with teachers both accepting and requesting bribes. “Corruption” or “bribes” were discussed by six individual interview participants, and bribes were perceived to be a pervasive issue in secondary school. Elombe’s interview was one of the first where this topic was broached. He said,

> Money can buy success. For a person who has failed to make it in school, he would go to the teacher and give him some money, and get access to information he shouldn’t get, and he ends up succeeding in school, while ones who work hard don’t get these opportunities.

This was echoed in a number of interviews that followed Elombe. First, Bakome shared some of the same concerns as Elombe, seeming to relate bribes to meager teacher salaries. He said,

> It’s a real struggle because teachers are getting a small salary now [pause] yes, so that’s it, because another reason causing me not to continue. Although education is the first place in the process of learning and doing research, the teachers will not be teaching as you want. But what caused so much I could not study here is due to what they call bribes. Yes. You feel self-sacrificing and dedicating yourself to school, but then you find yourself giving bribes… I think it’s a very big problem, and that’s why you see people with low education, because even someone studying in form six in secondary cannot write an employment letter or speaking French is a problem. You find someone who has passed the class, but in their head, there is nothing.

Some of the experiences and thoughts shared include:

> People say they [teachers] also ask for too much bribes… If you want to pass the class and advance to the next level, teachers demand you give some small bribes. Because you have your plans, and a teacher will waste your time by not advancing you to the next level until you pay some money… I would like to see teachers stop asking for money from students, and educate the students to become somebody. – Ngoyi

> Some students skimmed their way through and shouldn't be at that level. Teachers need to stop doing that. – Diomo

> They [teachers] use their positions negatively… use their positions as if they are not teachers, by asking for bribes a lot. You'll find, for example, I have worked very hard over the year and I expect good results, but there is another student who didn't work very hard during the year. He/she would go to my teacher and tell them that it's me who didn't work hard. Here is the money, and I'd like that student's grades to be given to me, and mine to them. You find that you work very hard, but at the end of the year, you didn't pass. You'll find yourself confused, why didn't I pass? But it's because they did that to me… - Kasadi

Quality of Education. The previous sections have clearly overlapped with this category of quality of education, but there were also more explicit discussions of quality of education in many individual interviews. One topic that frequently arose was that of overcrowded classrooms. Elombe said,

> E: You know, the classrooms are very small. If the classrooms are small, there are many students in one class. You find that one class consists of 70 students and more. Now, you're really sitting four people on a bench. Now, four people at the bench, having four people at the bench is not good. It should be two people on the bench. With two people, everyone relies on himself, but if you keep four on a bench, there's nothing that you can write and keep to yourself. Your partner will be so close on the bench that they can see your work. Anything you write when you are on the bench, your partner will copy. Eh [pause] but I pray to God for things to change, if the classes should continue to keep growing. People will sit on two seats. When we are sitting two people on the bench, it is very good.
>
> J: Ok, I understand. What about teachers? Are there enough teachers? For students?
>
> E: There are plenty of teachers and there are teachers who have graduated school. Schools, this year [pause] you know, here at the camp, there are no jobs… but if there is too many students there, some study one after another. Some in the morning, some in the evening. But if the classes are small, then some have to study in the evening, some study in the morning. The space is small, meaning there is many people in one class.

Wemba and Yemo both also mentioned that classrooms were overcrowded and that more desks were needed to accommodate secondary students. Wemba asserted that,

> For right now, the schools are overpopulated. The students have become too many. The number of students has grown, but the classrooms are few… it [the number of teachers] has increased because the students are many. They have increased, but the classrooms are not enough.

Other interview participants discussed overcrowded classrooms, but also mentioned that overcrowding is typically worse at the beginning of the school year, and then student attendance begins to wane, allowing for more space. Kabala said,

> There were some people who are studying, but they do not have goals. And if you understand the camp… there are some students who like to study and other do not study. And those who don't like to study would come some days, and the days they did come, there won't be enough space.

In addition to issues of overcrowded classrooms and/or schools, some participants talked about the quality of teaching. While Yemo said, "Education here is good. It teaches me very much… I see nothing wrong," others, such as Kabendi, shared concerns about a lack of practical experience in school:

> K: I suppose that things are too much for them [teachers]. Now they just teach us a little bit. We have to search for more information. We are looking for more information [pause] We are studying at school, and then reading more information at home, and only then do we understand what they've been trying to teach us.
>
> J: So, you mean that the information is not enough, that you have to go back and search other books at home and look at the examples?
>
> K: Yes… for example, when you look at what we're studying, we don't see it. We just study theory. For me, I studied mechanics. Sometimes it's better to see what metal this is, or that. Us, over here, we just study by hearing about things.
>
> J: So, it's theory? There is no chance to do practical?
>
> K: Yes. There is not. You find even the person who is teaching has never seen it… he has only studied them.

Perseverance/Effort/Tough It Out

In addition to much discussion around challenges, participants often referred to these challenges simply as circumstances that were part of 'the hard life,' things that had to be dealt with in order to achieve their future goals. For as much talk as there was of challenging circumstances, there was just as much talk of topics such as effort, perseverance, or "toughing it out" in order to gain education that would benefit them in their future lives. First, I will highlight the ways in which participants referred to the importance of persevering, before elaborating on the ways in which they perceived education as being beneficial for their future lives.

The topic of effort was raised in my first interview, with Wemba. When I asked him if he faced any challenges in attending school each day, he said,

> Challenges depend on how hard one works… The challenges depend on effort. If you make an effort, you can overcome the challenges. You can't be lazy. You have to love school. That's how I faced my challenges.

These same ideas were repeated in a number of interviews; in fact, talk of effort, perseverance, or "toughing it out" arose in 7 of 15 interviews. Samba talked about "enduring" in her interview a few different times. First, she said, "If you want to study, you'll study…Even if you're in the wild, if there's a teacher and students there, it's still a school." Later, we had this exchange:

> J: Was there anything that made your school life difficult?
>
> S: My school life was hard for me.
>
> J: Why?
>
> S: Not only that, I just had to endure until I finished school and I started to see the fruits of my labor, little by little, because I liked what I was doing, so I hung in there.
>
> J: So you went through a difficult time. Why was your studying, school life, difficult?

> S: Going to school is not difficult, but getting school supplies, such as school clothes [pause] but going to school itself was normal to me because it's something which I held dear to my heart and I loved doing it.

Finally, when I asked Samba what advice she had for colleagues, she said, "Love school. Because when someone loves something, he works very hard and achieves it in any way."

Some participants, such as Makambo, used "endure" when talking about their secondary education experiences, while others, like Kabala, used "persevere." Kabala said,

> My father did not exist. The challenges were very many. It had to [pause] I stopped studying for two years. In fifth grade, I stopped school for two years. But I was able to study again, and I gave all my heart to studying, even if I was a little late…. Challenges in secondary existed. My mother had no income, things like this. It was difficult to go to school without shoes, uniform [pause] I had no uniform and that was very challenging. But I persevered and, until now, I keep moving.

Kabala also spoke of the importance of "effort," saying that effort was the reason that he had good relationships with his teachers. He said,

> The challenges you face in school will always be there. One teacher may like you, but not the other, but you can work hard until the teacher likes you. For example, you may find a teacher doesn't like you because you don't understand his notes or you are a troublemaker, but if you are not a troublemaker and you write down his lectures, he can't hate you.

Finally, the phrase "tough it out" arose in Alongi's interview, when speaking of fellow youth, he said, "I would advise them [pause] give yourself hope [pause] tough it out. Suppress your feelings and gain something." This same view was shared by Ngoyi, who after asked what advice he would give fellow youth, said:

> I would advise him/her to be aware of the school's significance, according to what they reach there, and how they can benefit from it. Even if there are other emerging challenges. A person who wants to meet his goals cannot be stopped. There is a saying that says, 'the noise of the frog cannot stop the cow from drinking water.' You have to deal with it, but focus on what has led you to school. I've come here to school to study and find out this and that. This is something that I would advise my colleagues, to continue until we get what we came here for."

All of this talk of effort, perseverance, and tough it out was made in the context of talking about the future. While participants spoke of difficult challenges and circumstances in their quest for completion of secondary education, they also spoke of the importance of persevering so that they could achieve something in the future.

Future Life. One interview participant, Kasadi, said, "here on earth, everyone was created and has dreams of achieving a good life." Participants talked about their future lives in different terms, whether it be employment, further education, or independence/self-reliance. In written responses, when discussing the importance of education, the terms "the future," "future life," or "future success" appeared in 24 of 31 written responses. In individual interviews, discussions of "the future" or "future life" were also prevalent, having been discussed by 8 of 15 participants. Participants shared some of the following statements:

> *"Education… that's very important to me, because I know it will open my life for me. I am looking to my future life."* - Ngoyi
>
> *"Every little bit* [of education] *helps in life after the camp."* – Diomo
>
> *"Education can help me in life and help in my future. School represents a way forward."* – Munia
>
> *"School has a lot of meaning for me… it has a lot of life benefits. It helps me to live."* – Baraka
>
> *"I will make my life better with secondary education."* – Kasadi
>
> *"Today, you are preparing… you start preparing for your old age today."* – Elombe
>
> *"Education can only help me in my life. It's important for me to graduate school so that then maybe I can have it easier."* – Yemo
>
> *"It* [education] *is important so that you can give yourself hope."* – Alongi
>
> "*If you do not study, it* [life] *will always be difficult, to be honest."* – Kabendi

In addition to speaking about the importance of secondary school and their future lives in more general terms, many participants also spoke more specifically about how they perceived the ways in which secondary education can help them with future employment, future educational opportunities, and future independence or self-reliance. They also discussed completing secondary school as a way to help their families and/or community in the future.

Employment. In written responses, nearly one-quarter (7/31) of participants wrote that it was important for them to complete secondary school in order to obtain future employment, and in particular, "good jobs" or "education-related employment." Similarly, four interview participants also spoke of their hopes for future employment after completing secondary school. They reflected on the importance of secondary school in reaching that goal by saying:

> *"The importance of completing secondary school, as I have been able to see, is that it gives a person the opportunity to find work."* – Bakome
>
> *"For me, the purpose of education was always employment. Just to get through and get a job."* – Diomo
>
> *"Finding employment* [after graduating] *will be easier. I can look for work. They can give me work because I have studied."* – Yemo

It is important to note that participants made distinctions between different types of employment. When they were speaking of employment in statements like those made above, they were referring to "education-related employment," sometimes described as office work or teaching. Other interview participants discussed wanting to be teachers, doctors, or lawyers. This was different from the employment opportunities available to those who do not finish secondary school. For example, Alongi said, "If you don't have plans to study, you'll do hard work, like

carrying things on your head as a porter…. But because I've studied, I want to work at the office." This was something repeated by all interview participants. All 15 interview participants mentioned what they would have been doing for work had they not been in secondary school. Their specific answers are highlighted below, in the table.

Table 2

Answer	Frequency
Farmer	5
Manual Labour	4
Driver (Taxi)	2
Barber	1
Nothing	1
Seamstress	1
Prostitute	1

It is significant to note that in Nyarugusu Camp, like much of East Africa, "farming" refers to sustenance farming, not large-scale farming like that seen in North America. To demonstrate, when Kabendi was asked about the income-generating potential of farming, he said, "There's money which can help you to buy vegetables, flour… but you can never buy a car or a bicycle. The money is just to live and eat only."

Further Education. The importance of secondary school completion in increasing their chances for further education was another topic that was discussed by many participants. More than one-quarter of written responses (9/31) indicated that they had hopes of attending post-secondary or further education, with one participant writing that secondary school completion was important to them because "school is like a ladder" in that one level must be completed before being able to reach the next level. In individual interviews, five participants spoke of their

goals for furthering their education after the completion of secondary. Kabendi, specifically, spoke at length about his hopes for one day attending post-secondary studies:

> K: The education here in the camp is probably not enough…
>
> J: Not enough?
>
> K: Eh, not enough. Once you've finished this [secondary], you have to do another thing.
>
> J: What other things do you have to do? You, yourself?
>
> K: You finish here, but you need to know more. I must increase my education. I have to go to university… that's exactly what I want, for myself. Here in the camp, there is no education that I want. I want to go to university to continue my studies.

When I asked Kabendi what he would like to study, given the chance to attend post-secondary education, he said, "I don't know, because I don't have any ability to go to university."

Many participants supported Kabendi's idea that "once you've finished [secondary], you have to do another thing," but when speaking of furthering their education, many indicated that they felt it was necessary to attend the camp's vocational schools after completing secondary school, to gain practical skills and knowledge for employment. For many participants in my study, vocational school was perceived or described as a 'next step,' one that comes after, or second to, secondary education. Some also acknowledged the ways in which vocational school attracted youth, both those who are in secondary school and those who are not. Two participants discussed how they had friends who completed vocational training and were able to take their skills and leave the camp, becoming undocumented urban refugees in Tanzania. Again, because Tanzania has an encampment policy, refugees cannot simply leave the camp to move to urban centers like Dar es Salaam or Mwanza, so this must be done unlawfully. For example, one participant said that some refugees will be granted short-term exit permit, meaning that they are

approved to leave the camp for 2 or 3 days, but are then expected to return. Instead, they choose not to return and become undocumented urban refugees. Another participant mentioned that others sneak out of the camp at night, without an exit permit at all to "try their luck" in the city. In this way, again, vocational school was seen as providing youth with ways in which to increase their independence and self-reliance in a quicker way than secondary education might, so that some referred to vocational training as being more compatible with their more immediate future lives and needs.

Independence/Self-Reliance. A number of participants, in both written responses and interviews, highlighted the importance of attending and completing secondary education in ensuring their independence and/or self-reliance in the future. Three written responses included that they considered education as necessary for becoming independent. Other written responses included some of the following statements:

> *"I want a life without doubt and worries."* -WR4
>
> *"Education enables me to stop being dependent on others and allows me to live independently."* – WR9
>
> *"With education, I can take care of myself."*- WR28
>
> *"Education helps you to stand on your own feet."* – WR24

Similarly, in individual interviews, three participants spoke at length about their beliefs that education was the thing that could foster independence and self-reliance in the future. Kabala said that,

> My father is not here, and my mother is struggling with work. If I do not study, I will not be in control of my own life. She [my mother] told me to study and work hard for tomorrow. Only I can help myself.

Bakome talked about how secondary school lessons, as opposed to primary school lessons, became more practical for him, saying,

> I would say, for my own case, secondary school helps me to think about how to increase self-reliance and be able to find a job. Because when I was in the primary classes, I could not advance myself because I was still young, but the secondary school lessons, they very much helped me.

Community. Community, and helping the community, were also discussed quite frequently, in both written responses and interviews. Many participants perceived secondary school completion as something that was important for the community, in that they could then "help the community." In written responses, participants wrote about how they perceived education as useful in their communities, including the following:

> *Education is important for* myself*, my family, and my community.* – WR11
>
> *Education helps your community and your family.* – WR25
>
> *It is important to finish my secondary education so that I can become a useful person in the community.* – WR9
>
> *It's important to have an education so that I can teach others.* – WR16
>
> *Education is important so I can educate the community.* – WR22
>
> *I want to be able to take care of myself and take care of the community around me.* – WR28
>
> *Education is important because it corrects people's behaviour and how they live with people.* – WR28
>
> *Education makes me a good leader and I can help people.* – WR29
>
> *I will help the community after my studies.*- WR2
>
> *Education helps me to know how to live with people and how to help them, and how to solve their problems little by little.* – WR8
>
> *With education, I can help the poor, orphans, and widows.*- WR19

This importance of education for the community was also discussed in individual interviews, in two ways. Firstly, two participants discussed wanting to complete secondary school and obtain careers that would directly benefit the community. Imani said, “When I started school, [I thought] education was beneficial because of helping the community. Now, I want to be a minister to serve the community.” Similarly, Ngoyi says that he dreams of using his education to one day become a lawyer, saying, “One day, I can free others.”

Secondly, a number of written responses and some interview participants pointed to the idea that secondary education would allow them to become leaders in the community. Some written response participants, when discussing why it was important for them to complete secondary school, shared that education would allow them to “be a good example,” “lead others,” or “teach others.” These were ideas expanded upon in interviews. For example, Samba mentioned that secondary education was important so that she could teach others. She gave the example of how she is currently using her secondary school certification, which she recently completed, to tutor others in the community in English, while she waits for acceptance to computer courses at a camp vocational school. Baraka also mentioned that secondary education was important to him because it teaches him “how to become a leader in society,” and saying that education is important for him to “learn how to manage people and lead people.” Leadership tended to be a skill that many participants valued. In fact, as part of my introduction to the community, I held an educational session, and the topic chosen by the community was that of leadership.

Help Family/Parents. In both written responses and individual interviews, many participants discussed the importance of completing secondary school so that they could help their parents and/or families in the future. The first written question, which asked, “How

important is it for you to complete secondary school? Is it important to your family?" Some of the responses, and their frequency, are highlighted in the table below.

Table 3

Response	Frequency
Help my family	10
Allow me to care for my family	4
Benefit my family	3
Allow me to support my family	2
Help my parents	2

In addition to the above, two responses indicated that "my family depends on me to help them out" (WR18) and as such, it was important for them to complete secondary school. Another written response participant wrote that "I can protect my family" (WR19)

In individual interviews, these same sentiments were shared by a number of participants. Kasadi discussed how parents expected to benefit from educating their children, saying,

> Over here, when one studies, he/she begins to understand who they are, and when a child passes and succeeds, even the parents themselves expect to benefit from the child who has been educated.

Participants also expressed statements such as:

> *Education will help your family*. – Samba
>
> *It's important to me to finish secondary school, and it's helpful to my family, my mama, also. Finishing school will have a great impact on my family.* – Kabala
>
> *With education, I can develop myself as a person who can help his family, as someone they can depend on*. – Bakome
>
> *Education can help me and my parents later in life*. – Wemba

When asked what it meant to “help” their families or parents, all participants made mention of employment, saying that their completion of secondary school would lead to future ‘good’ employment, which would in turn, provide income and resources for their parents/families.

Theoretical Category Three: Confirming/Supporting Perceptions of Education

So far, I have illustrated the ways in which participants develop their perceptions of the purpose and function of education, as well as the ways in which participants tended to focus on the ultimate potential of receiving a secondary education, instead of focusing on the day-to-day challenges that they encounter on their quest for secondary education. Next, I will demonstrate how participants' perceptions of education, as well as the potential of education, are validated or confirmed in both their families and their communities. Overall, participants who chose to continue their secondary studies feel they are perceived as "scholars" or "important persons" in the community. This positioning was expressed through positive language for school-goers, in contrast to negative language used for those not in school. Their perceptions of their importance and worth, once finished secondary education, were reinforced by the attitudes and reactions of families and community, as well as by comparing themselves to familial role models.

Scholar/ Important Person

The concepts of "scholar" and "important person" first arose in written responses, and also later became a topic of discussion in some individual interviews. All three written response questions elicited responses that mentioned these particular words, or close variations of these words. For example, the first written response question asked, "How important is it for you to complete secondary school? Is it important to your family?" Anonymous answers to this particular question provided the following responses:

> *With education, one day the child will become an important person in the community and be a good example to others.* – WR10

> *It is important for my family that I finish school because it will bring a good reputation and respect to my family.* – WR9
>
> *It's important to finish secondary school because you become different from those who did not study or did not finish school.* – WR28
>
> *I want to finish school. I will get a certificate to show that I'm a scholar, and then I want to get a job as a lawyer.* – WR4
>
> *Education is important to me because it will make me an important person in the community.* – WR15
>
> *With education, I will become respected in the world.* – WR30
>
> *Education allows me to be an important person in my family and my community.* – WR7
>
> *My behaviour will be an example and be copied by others coming behind me. I will lead future generations in my footsteps.* – WR20
>
> *It's important for me to be a student because I can help the country or be an important person.* – WR18

"Important person" was also a term that was used in some individual interviews. For example, Bakome said that school is "very meaningful in my life because if I continue school, I'll become an important person that my family can depend on." Ngoyi echoed this in his interview, when asked what he thought the purpose of education was, saying,

> N: Thank you very much for that question. When I started school, I thought me getting education [pause] that's very important to me, because it will open my life for me.
>
> J: Your life in the future?
>
> N: I was looking towards my future life. I was thinking how I would be looked at in the community. So, I thought all the time, if I did not study, I could not be an important person to other people. So, schooling [pause] it is something that can make me more important to other people.

Disgrace/Troublemaker/Criminal

Sometimes, these notions of "important person" and "scholar" were juxtaposed with opposing terms, such as "disgrace" or "troublemaker." These terms were used, sometimes by the same participants who discussed "important person" and/or "scholar," to describe how those youth who were not in school tended to be perceived by others. These negative terms, or reputations, were also described by participants as motivation for them to attend and complete secondary school, so as to avoid those negative perceptions being placed on them by others. For example, Alongi said, "You know, someone who misses the education… you find them looked down upon by everyone. You have to go to school." Imani made a similar comment, when asked what advice he had for those not enrolled in secondary school, saying,

> I: I would advise them to attend school, because without school, it does not go well.
>
> J: What does not go well?
>
> I: Life. Education is the foundation of life. Without education, you will find trouble.
>
> J: Why will one find trouble?
>
> I: Because [pause] a person who has no education is very disgraced.
>
> J: Disgraced in society?
>
> I: Yes.
>
> J: What else?
>
> I: You find if you have no education, unless you have the power, except you will be unable to use it [the power] because you have no education.

Along with this idea of "disgrace" or "disgraced," some participants used the terms "thief" and/or "troublemaker." When asked what secondary education means for him, Kabala paused for a second and then responded,

> K: For me, school is the most important thing in my life, and my family. My father is not here, my mother is struggling with work. And if I do not study, I will not be in control of my own life.
>
> J: So, without school, you worry that you will not be able to achieve your goals?
>
> K: Without school, I will become a troublemaker, become a hooligan. Without school, I could become a thief. But because I study, I gradually work, and I will get a job.
>
> J: So, school helps you stay out of trouble, and not engage with bad groups?
>
> K: Yes.

In addition to a written response in which participants wrote that being a student helps them to "not become a thief" and "avoid criminal activity" (WR30), Bakome also reflected on this perception that not being in secondary school leads to a life of trouble. He said,

> If you don't go to school, it can lead a person to a long life of theft… and another thing, it [school] can be helpful to people because it will keep them away from smoking marijuana. Yes, meaning the person who is studying to do these things, depends on the person, but someone who is really studying to do those things is not very likely… because he knows that 'if I do those things, it will ruin my life. It will not give me a good reputation.'

Finally, in terms of recognition and reputation, the secondary school certificate that is obtained upon graduation was often mentioned by interview participants. The certificate was seen as an object that could help students in their futures. For example, Bakome said that getting the certificate is "very important to me. I must continue secondary schooling for myself. I mean, secondary schooling will help me to get a job too, by acquiring the certificate." Similarly, six additional participants claimed that the secondary school certificate was the main motivation in completing secondary school, as it would allow them to look for employment in the future. According to Ngoyi, "The most important thing is to study things that will make a difference in your life. However, you also need a certificate to prove to people that you are educated." Baraka

reiterated this, saying, “The importance [of a certificate] is to track what you have studied… because if you study and do not get the certificate, you can’t do anything.”

Familial Role Models

A number of interview participants lamented that there were no formal employment opportunities in the camp. They stated this in the same interviews in which they described that completing secondary education is necessary to gain employment. Part of the reason for this contradiction may lie in familial role models. While parents were described as the most influential in shaping participants’ attitudes towards and perceptions of education, some participants also discussed the significance of familial role models, such as brothers or uncles, in attending and completing secondary school. For example, Wemba said, “I was also very fond of education because I saw my older brother finish and pass, and he is now helping my parents, and I said, ‘Why not me?’” Kasadi shared similar ideas, saying,

> There is a significance that led me to the point of wanting to finish my studies. I observed my brothers and my uncles become teachers. Some work in the office. Those are things that made me study very hard… that’s something that made me very motivated. I had a clear view. I believed I wanted to be like my uncle, like my brother. I had to work very hard… that’s the goal I have until now.

Some participants spoke in contradictory ways in their interviews, and these contradictions were made seemingly unbeknownst to the participants. For example, in his interview, Kabala said:

> First, the high school has its own personal importance and vocational school has its own importance. Secondary school is important, so people know that we are scholars. You can be employed anywhere. And vocational school, for us here in the camp, we do not have any work in the camp. At the end of the month, you receive your ration, and you return home. And many people who are educated stay home and don’t work. And to get a job, you must know someone. But with vocational school, once you finish your education, you go directly into the workforce using your hands and skills, because there is no formal employment here in the camp

> J: Ok, ok. There is no employment?
>
> K: Yes, no. Employment is unavailable, unless you know someone high up. You can send resumes for work, but you know, we are Congolese people. To give someone a job, you must do a lot of things, and things like that make you miss out on employment.
>
> J: So you see it related more to who you know?
>
> K: Yes. Here, I actually sent out resumes when I graduated and I sent application to NRC [Norwegian Refugee Council], and I still didn't get a reply or a job. I've sent it before twenty times, twenty-five times, but I never got a job.
>
> J: Outside the camp, are you allowed to look for work?
>
> K: You know, our camp, we are not allowed to leave. You can leave, but at night. But ask yourself, I have grown up here in the camp. I left home at a very young age, like two months old, I grew up in the camp until now I'm in secondary school, and I have not left the camp. Where will I go for work?

In this exchange, Kabala began by explaining how important secondary education was for gaining employment after graduation, but he then went on to discuss how there are no employment opportunities in the camp.

This reinforcement of perceptions of education and students was also described as helping some students stay in school. For example, Ngoyi talked about how he came into contact with, what he called, "bad influences." He said,

> Some of the people who I studied with, who were in the same area [neighbourhood]… they did not have the foresight for school. They would try and convince you to leave school and go home, and ditch school. And it was hard to say no to them. I told them to do it this way, go to school, but they would push back and make fun of me, saying that I won't make it anywhere.

Similarly, Kasadi said, "In the camp, there are some people who don't believe in education, but my parents said no to their influence on their child." Another participant, Diomo, said that "in the camp, there are many who are not at school for the right reasons" and that he had to make a conscious effort to "stay away from bad influences." When I asked what he meant

by “not at school for the right reasons,” he talked mostly about how he thought some youth came to school just for something to do, rather than to work hard and obtain a meaningful education. These three participants, while they mentioned “bad influences” and pressure from those out of school or not serious about school, said that they were able to ignore these negative influences because their parents and families reinforced the idea that education was the most important thing.

A Theory of Focusing on the Future to Cope with the Present

To be a Congolese secondary school student in Nyarugusu Camp meant to be committed to focusing on the future as a means of coping with the present. While the youth in this study each described a number of very challenging daily circumstances, they were operating under the assumption that if they were successful in their pursuit of secondary education, and the secondary certificate, that these challenges would be overcome. Education is perceived to be the “way forward,” whether that meant by helping their families and communities, or whether it meant professional employment, further education, or independence/self-reliance. Completion of secondary education was perceived as the ticket that would take them, and their families and communities, from the “hard life” to the “good life.” For the youth in this study, it was perceived as better to struggle now than to struggle forever. This position, or way of thinking, was both developed by and supported by the attitudes, reactions, and language of family and community members. Youth were encouraged, directly and indirectly, to continue their pursuit of education so that they could become “important people” rather than “disgraced” by their families, community, and society.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Introduction

In this Discussion chapter, I will provide a summary of the study, before discussing the perceptions and experiences of Congolese youth in secondary school in Nyarugusu Camp. I will then discuss the limitations of the study, policy and practice implications of the study, and finally, I will provide suggestions for future research, based on the findings of this study. This chapter will follow the same structure as my Findings chapter; I will discuss findings from each theoretical category, in relation with the literature, in the same order: developing perceptions of education, focusing on the future, and confirming perceptions of education.

Summary of the Study

This study explored the perceptions of and experiences with secondary education among Congolese youth in Nyarugusu Camp. In exploring the perceptions of and experiences with education among participants, I sought to answer questions related to how perceptions of education develop and are maintained or supported, as well as how perceptions of education and/or experiences with education might be related to decisions to continue or to leave secondary education. The study documented the ways in which family members, specifically parents, are important in developing and supporting perceptions of education; the ways in which participants tend to focus on the future, rather than their experiences in the present; and the ways in which family and community reactions and attitudes to secondary students, or to school-leavers, work to support perceptions of education.

Nyarugusu Camp is a protracted refugee camp situation in northwestern Tanzania. The camp was established in 1996, and as of July 2018, is home to more than 153,000 refugees, 55%

of whom are from the Democratic Republic of Congo. More than 50% of the camp residents are aged 18 and under (UNHCR, 2018 July 31). Despite relatively high levels of primary education participation (79%), secondary school enrollment numbers continue to remain far below the global average for refugee participation in secondary education. In July 2018, 7% of youth in Nyarugusu Camp were reported as having been enrolled in secondary education (UNHCR, 2018 Jul 31), compared to the global average of 23% (Global Partnership for Education, 2019). Due to Tanzania's encampment policy, which does not allow registered refugees to leave the camp grounds regularly, children and youth in Nyarugusu are completely reliant on education provided by NGOs.

I designed the study as a grounded theory study, specifically a constructivist grounded theory study, which relied on anonymous written responses and individual telephone interviews for data collection. Data analysis was also an integral part of the research design of this study. Grounded theory relies on the practices of constant comparative analysis, initial coding, focused coding, theoretical coding, and memo writing, and of collecting and analyzing data simultaneously. Written responses and individual interviews were translated, back-translated (in the case of interviews), and transcribed. The iterative practice of constant comparison allowed me to return to the data repeatedly as themes emerged. In addition, multiple phases of coding, and the use of memos, allowed me to move from description to conceptualization in the data.

Findings from the study indicated that the reactions and attitudes of others, specifically of parents, played a very large role in the development of perceptions of secondary education among Congolese youth in Nyarugusu. The reactions and attitudes of parents, and also of community members, also play a role in confirming, or supporting, youth perceptions of education.

Furthermore, the findings from the study show that Congolese youth in secondary school tend to focus on the potential of the future as a means of coping with the challenges of the present. Daily challenges such as hunger, long walks to school, and issues with teachers seemed to have been normalized and accepted as a way of life. In this way, the present was seen as something that must be "endured" if one was to be successful in the future.

Discussion of the Findings

Three theoretical categories emerged from Congolese youth's perceptions of and experiences with secondary education. These theoretical categories were: (1) developing perceptions of education; (2) "toughing it out": focusing on the future; and (3) confirming/supporting perceptions of education. Taken together, these three theoretical categories describe what it is like, or what it means, to be a secondary school student in Nyarugusu Camp. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss each of these theoretical categories, making connections to the literature reviews, as well as highlighting some of the realities of Congolese youth in Nyarugusu. I will then discuss the theory, focusing on the future as a means of coping with the present, in the context of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.

Developing Perceptions of Education

Perceptions of education were developed based on the importance that both the individual and the individual's family placed on education. Family members, specifically parents, played a large role in developing participants' perceptions of education and of the importance of education. Sometimes, it was the words that parents used in describing education, and the importance of education, and other times, it was the sacrifices that were made in efforts to ensure

their children attended and completed secondary school; both of these played large roles in how participants perceived and described education, as well as their decision to attend secondary school.

The findings of this study add to what is already found in the literature: that refugee youth place a high importance on attending and completing school. Many studies involving refugee children and youth report education, or furthering education, to be a main goal among participants (Alzaroo & Hunt, 2003; Clark-Kazak, 2011; Mann, 2010). In her study of more than 100 urban refugees, Mann (2010) found that inability to attend school served as "a source of profound unhappiness and resentment" (p. 268). In terms of this study, the findings highlight possible explanations for such feelings of unhappiness, in that those who are not in school, especially due to issues outside of their own control (e.g., inability to obtain school supplies), may suggest that they are disappointing their parents and/or their communities. This study also adds the experiences and voices of Congolese youth in Nyarugusu Camp, of which there are very few in the literature.

In addition to parental attitudes and reactions in developing perceptions of education, vocational schooling also became an unexpected focus of many individual interviews. I entered Nyarugusu Camp with the intention of exploring what it meant to be a secondary school student in the camp, and I did not realize that this exploration would so heavily involve perceptions of and experiences with vocational schooling as well, or how these two types of education were perceived to be closely related or to be of equal importance. This points to a potential shift in perceptions of education among Congolese youth in Nyarugusu Camp, perhaps at the expense of the importance of secondary education.

Vocational training, of course, has its place and is important, especially in terms of providing immediate opportunities for generating income; however, it is not secondary education, and it should not replace efforts to increase secondary enrollment and completion. This was an idea put forth by participants, who while discussing the merits of vocational school in their day-to-day lives, also highlighted that it served a different purpose than secondary, and that they viewed secondary education as more beneficial for their future lives. Especially in a protracted refugee situation, the emphasis or focus should not be solely on sustenance livelihoods, but perhaps on furthering education through both secondary education and vocational training. Without secondary completion, there is no road to tertiary education.

If there is a continued focus on only vocational training from NGOs and UNHCR, I would venture that perceptions of education among refugees and their families may begin to shift, in that the importance that is currently placed on attaining secondary education might be diminished. To demonstrate this 'push,' you can look to Nyarugusu Camp enrollment numbers released by UNHCR in 2017 and 2018. In 2017, UNHCR reported secondary education enrollment at 7% (2017, March 31), which is significantly lower than the global average of 23% secondary enrollment among refugees (Global Partnership for Education, 2019). However, just one year later, in 2018, UNHCR reports 58% enrollment (2018, July 31). This new statistic is quite misleading, and it is based on a lack of transparency when it comes to operational definitions. In 2017, UNHCR reported 7% "of children aged 15-18 enrolled in secondary education" (2017, March 31). In contrast, the next year (2018, July 31), UNHCR reported 56% "of secondary school aged refugee children enrolled in education." This reporting is not transparent in terms of operational definitions and how they have changed over the years; instead, it looks like UNHCR and other education-related NGOs have made fantastic strides in

promoting secondary school enrollment. However, as presented in my findings, interview participants confirmed this 'push' or renewed focus on vocational schooling, at the expense of secondary education.

I would argue that, given the importance of secondary education, both in theory and in the perspectives of the participants in this study, instead of replacing secondary education with vocational schooling, those responsible for education in Nyarugusu Camp should focus on the reasons why secondary enrollment tends to be so low. The focus should be on improving secondary education, making it more relevant and more practical, rather than on replacing it with another form of schooling. For example, there was an emphasis that participants placed on reading and writing, in that, regardless of the outcomes of their futures, they perceived reading and writing to be extremely useful skills that would be of benefit to them.

Currently, participants perceive secondary education as the most important means of improving their future lives, while also acknowledging that vocational school has the potential of improving their lives right now, in the moment. Given the protracted nature of Nyarugusu Camp, the lack of formal employment and/or post-secondary opportunities, and thus, the focus on sustenance, perceptions of secondary education, and of the importance of secondary education, have the potential to change in upcoming years. Participants in this study spoke of how much influence their parents have on their own perceptions of education and its importance. If those perceptions begin to shift in this generation, the participants in this study, for example, might encourage their own future children to disregard secondary education and instead exclusively attend vocational training. This shift may have already begun to happen in the camp, but it is something that would need to be further explored.

This section has described how perceptions of secondary education among the participants in the present study have developed, based largely upon the attitudes and reactions of parents toward the importance of education. The next section will describe how participants described focusing on the future as a means of coping with daily challenges faced in attending secondary school.

Toughing it Out: Focusing on the Future

The challenges faced in day-to-day life as a secondary student, as well as the motivation for persevering in those challenges, were among the most significant findings that emerged from this study. As demonstrated in the literature review, education in refugee camp settings has the potential to act as protection and/or contribute to vulnerability. A number of the challenges that have been highlighted in the literature, such as long walks to school and hunger (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007; Omoeva et al., 2016; Pimentel, 2013; Sommers, 2002), were also echoed by the participants in this study.

There was also much discussion from participants about challenges with teachers, ranging from inexperience to the solicitation of bribes to corporal punishment. It is important to note two things, here, in this discussion of teachers. First, the use of corporal punishment in schools is not unique to Nyarugusu Camp; it is quite common throughout sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in Tanzania. Tanzania's 1979 National Corporal Punishment Regulations, pursuant to article 60 of the 1978 National Education Act, allow reasonable punishment to be given by school principals. Reasonable punishment is outlined as beating students' hands or buttocks with a light, flexible stick. However, as a 2017 Human Rights Watch report highlighted, this punishment "often takes brutal and humiliating forms in Tanzanian schools, [and] also affects

school attendance" (para. 5). Corporal punishment is also common in Democratic Republic of Congo (Save the Children, 2019).

In addition, and along the same lines, there are also power dynamics involved in student-teacher relationships that are different than those seen in Western education. These differences are described in Geert Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory, which was developed as a framework for cross-cultural communication. The original framework consisted of four dimensions, including power distance, or strength of social hierarchy, and individualism-collectivism, which will also be described in upcoming paragraphs. Hofstede defined power distance as the extent to which individuals located lower on the societal hierarchy accept and expect that power is unequal (Hofstede, 1980). While Democratic Republic of Congo is not one of the countries listed on Hofstede's Insights (2019), a site designed to assign numerical values to these cultural dimensions and describe the society's functioning, but Tanzania is listed, and has been assigned a value of 70 (out of 100) in terms of power distance. When translated into schooling, this means that students accept and expect teachers to have much more power than them in the classroom. While this is not meant to excuse certain behaviour, such as abuses of power from teachers, Hofstede's cultural dimensions, as well as the recognition of a possible fear of retribution, can be used to help understand why such abuses from teachers may occur and may continue to go unreported or under-reported by students.

These power dynamics might also be discussed in terms of sociocultural aspects such as gender, or specifically, what Giles and Dippo (2019) have termed the 'persistent patriarchy.' Participants in this study, both male and female, made references to gender and its impact, or potential impact, on secondary schooling. For instance, interview participants of both genders, discussed the issue of inappropriate student-teacher relationships, or the fact that male teachers

were often “chasing” or “making advances on” female students. While low numbers of female participation in secondary school in Nyarugusu Camp, and in this particular study, could be attributed to traditional gender roles in this part of the world, I would put forth the idea that these issues surrounding male teachers soliciting relationships with female students may also be a significant contributing factor. These types of situations and relationships may easily lead to female students having a decreased motivation to attend secondary school and/or to making the decision to leave secondary school early.

Finally, the findings of this study support previously-made claims that there is much more importance or focus given to primary education, while secondary education seems to fall by the wayside (Anselme & Hands, 2011; Montjourides, 2013; Peterson, 2010; Pimentel, 2013). As mentioned previously, primary enrollment rates in Nyarugusu Camp are reported by UNHCR (2017) as being significantly higher than secondary enrollment rates. While 79% of primary school-aged children are enrolled in school, only 7% of secondary school-aged youth are enrolled (UNHCR, 2017). Participants in this study provided some insight into these rates, highlighting challenges purchasing required school materials and different student-teacher relationships. Compared to primary teachers, secondary teachers were also perceived to be less enthusiastic and/or caring; this could contribute to the perception, or idea, that primary school is more accessible and inviting than secondary school.

Crea and McFarland (2015) state that the provision of education can be particularly important in protracted, indefinite refugee situations, as it provides a sense of hope for the future. This idea of education as ‘hope’ or education as a ‘survival strategy,’ as Alzaroo and Hunt (2003) refer to it, may help to explain why the parents of the participants in this study are said to have placed such an emphasis on the completion of secondary education. Secondary students are

encouraged and motivated to focus on the potential that education can bring in the future, rather than to focus on the day-to-day challenges of attending secondary school. In other words, the potential of the future provides the means of dealing with the challenges of today. Interestingly, 'hope' was not something that was explicitly mentioned or discussed in interviews; the word 'hope' did not come up. However, there were statements made that alluded to this idea of 'hope,' which demonstrate that participants and their families still hold on to the idea that there will, in fact, be a life after the camp, or that they will not be in exile forever.

This idea of 'toughing it out' was also apparent in the ways in which interview participants structured stories of their experiences. Often unknowingly, differentiations were made between *education* and *school.* These words were often used interchangeably, but it became clear that *education* was a more abstract, long-term goal, which was described using positive language, while *school* was used to refer to the day-to-day experiences in the classroom or with the teacher, and the language used to discuss *school* was much more negative. This mindset, of the present versus the future, is what seemed to propel, or motivate, secondary students to continue their studies, despite any challenges.

For some, the motivation was a tangible object, that of a secondary school certificate. Symbolic interactionism highlights the idea that the behaviour(s) of an individual are influenced by the social meanings ascribed to objects (Blumer, 1969). For some in this study, the focus tended to be on the importance of the certificate itself, not necessarily the education or learning that is supposed to be represented by the certificate. In this way, school was seen as more of a 'job,' something that one must endure, rather than enjoy. The job is to get the certificate and to improve their future lives, and the lives of their family members. For others, it was not just the certificate, but also the knowledge and skills that were imparted upon them by attending

secondary education, that was most important; in other words, no matter what happened, there was the idea that knowledge and skills, particularly practical skills such as reading and writing, could not be taken away from them.

Overall, focusing on the future, and differentiating between *school* and *education*, seemed to provide participants with some comfort that, in dealing with the challenging circumstances of school today, they were gaining something invaluable in completing secondary education.

Confirming Perceptions of Education

The symbolic interactionism concepts of the self-concept (I vs. me) and the looking-glass self play important roles in the perceptions and actions of participants in the study. According to 'the self-concept' in symbolic interactionism, the 'I' is the part of the self that acts, and the 'me' relies on how actions are evaluated and interpreted by others. The future actions of the 'I' become dependent upon previous reactions or attitudes from others (Blumer, 1969). As mentioned, in this study, the participants had decided that it was very important for them to attend and complete secondary school, and this was described as heavily influenced by reactions and attitudes from parents, and sometimes by community members. In other words, participants chose to attend school each day; this action or decision was described, largely, as being based on reactions and attitudes from family and community members.

In addition to these positive reactions and attitudes experienced by participants who were in secondary school, negative reactions and attitudes toward those not in school were also influential. Some had been told that if they were not to finish secondary school, they would be "very disgraced in the society" or led to believe that they would have to resort to a life of criminality. These reactions from family and community members confirmed to participants that

they were making the right choice in focusing on completing secondary school, despite the challenges that were present in achieving this. As such, participants' perceptions of education being important to themselves, to their families, and to their communities, were confirmed and supported.

The symbolic interactionist concept of 'the looking-glass self' was also evident in participants' stories. The 'looking -glass self' is defined as the tendency for an individual to perceive themselves based on how they believe others perceive them (Blumer, 1969). If participants were in school, they thought of themselves, and were seen by others, as "having promise" or "scholars," because their families and communities used language that reinforced these ideas. Youth were wary of not being in school because they thought that those not in school were destined for lives of crime or that they would be disgraced in society, which were also ideas reinforced by family and community members. In this way, familial and societal reactions to secondary school-goers, as compared to non-school-goers, also impacted participants' ideas of self.

To further build on this idea, Affolter and Allaf (2014) write that, "refugees view education as closely related to social prestige and honour, as well as a point of pride" (p. 12). This was something that was confirmed among the participants in this study, especially in terms of pride. Education was not just viewed as something that could provide these participants with "social prestige and honour," but as something that they believed they could use for the greater good. Their participation in secondary school meant that they were doing something not only for their own futures, but for the futures of their families. This is, overall, not surprising in a collectivist culture such as DRC or Tanzania. In brief, a collectivist culture is one in which the needs of a group or community tend to be valued over the needs of the individual (Hofstede,

1980). The findings of this study highlight and exemplify the collectivism that is seen in DRC and Tanzanian cultures, in that they are often placing the needs of the family and/or community over their own needs. While education is perceived to be important for the individual and their own lives, there is also a large focus on the importance of education in assisting families and communities.

Finally, this topic of providing for families as a sense of pride is also where familial role models came into play; these role models provided another means of confirming perceptions of education, in that education was something that would enable them to become more independent and allow them to help their families and/or community. A "why not me" attitude seemed to be part of the reason why participants tended to focus on the positive, on the potential for the future, on maintaining hope, instead of leaving secondary education like so many of their peers. The fact that they were able to see some of their family members benefitting from completing secondary education confirmed or validated their perceptions of the importance of education. In the context of Nyarugusu Camp, the chances of obtaining formal employment upon completion of secondary education are very low, and that reality is known and was recognized among the participants in this study. For example, in 2018, more than 78% of residents reported having no occupation, while approximately 19% were farmers. The only formal occupation among the survey, that of teacher, represented approximately 1% of those in Nyarugusu (UNHCR, 2018 July 31). However, despite the dismal opportunities for formal employment within the camp, there were these familial role models who contributed to motivation and to that "why not me" way of thinking. There was also the idea that despite what happened in the camp, secondary education would allow for a life outside of the camp, whether repatriated or resettled, should that day ever come.

A Theory of Focusing on the Future to Cope with the Present

One of the most prominent psychological theories surrounding human motivation is that of Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943). Maslow (1943) presented five levels of human needs, or goals, in a hierarchical model, indicating that the next level of needs cannot be sought or met until previous needs are satisfied. The model looks like this:

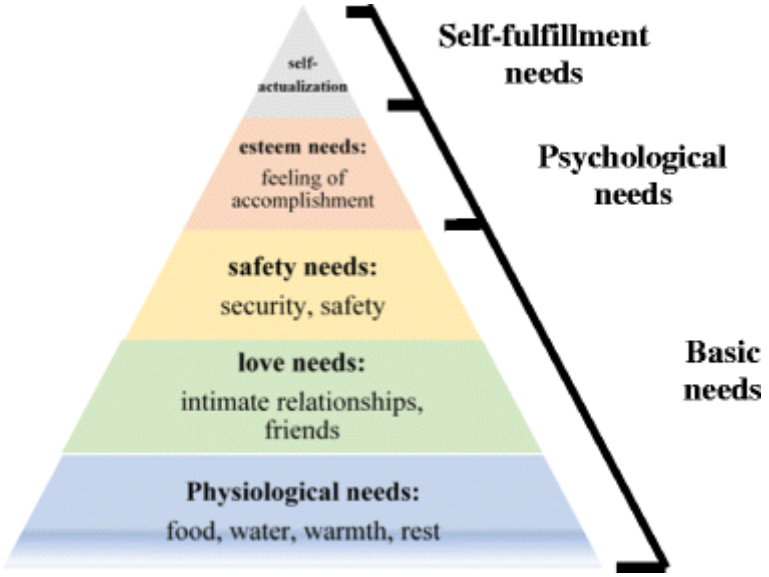


Figure 1: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. From Oved, O. (2017). Rethinking the place of *love needs* in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. *Society, 54*(6), 537.

Maslow's hierarchy has been used by some researchers working with refugees. However, many have concluded that for refugees, especially those in humanitarian contexts, such as refugee camps, Maslow's hierarchy of needs does not fit well (Bouaiti et al., 2016; Niyongabo, 2017; Wordsworth, 2017). For example, Niyangabo (2017) writes that the static progression of needs, as presented in Maslow's model, means that these needs are determined and sought after in a linear fashion. However, as Wordsworth (2017) highlights, "refugees come to us not as a sequence of needs, but as a whole person" (para. 1). He goes on to say that, "when helping

refugees, we start in the lower layers and don't prioritize the higher ones until the basic physiological needs have been met (often meaning never). And we assume that refugees think in this sequential way, too" (para. 10). This way of thinking is, I would argue, especially significant when working with refugees in protracted camp situations, such as that of Nyarugusu Camp. For example, Bouaiti et al. (2017), in their study with Syrian refugees in Al Za'atari Camp in Morocco, found that "new arrivals have higher importance for basic needs than a former resident does" (p. 119).

To reiterate, protracted refugee camp situations are defined by Crisp (2002) as those which have existed for 5+ years, and still, there is no durable solution in the foreseeable future. Nyarugusu Camp was established in 1996, and many of the refugees living in the camp have been there for 15+ years. Among my interview participants, nearly half (7/15) had been born in the camp and had never left; from talking to others in the camp, informally, this is not uncommon. Given the length of time that many families have spent in Nyarugusu Camp, the camp largely resembles and functions as a village. A majority of residents in the camp have turned their UNHCR tents into typical sub-Saharan village-style homes, using mud and clay. A person in the camp is able to purchase just about anything they might need or desire, if they have the means to do so. I was able to visit small shops to purchase mobile phone credits, rice, soda, tissue, etc. Also, because the camp is established, procedures such as collecting rations or clean water have become second nature. Many residents, especially those in the Congolese community, have lived in the camp for many, many years, and they have built families and communities that provide belongingness and love. Among many of the Congolese that I spoke to, the church played an important role in their lives, and many spent a lot of their time at the church, outside of the regular Sunday service hours. This description is not to imply that basic

needs have been met, in a satisfactory way, in Nyarugusu, but to provide some context, in relation to Maslow's theory, to understand some of the ways that daily life in Nyarugusu functions.

Based on this study's findings, and the voices and stories of the participants in this study, it is the pursuit of *all* of the needs, simultaneously, that influences the perceptions and actions surrounding education. Participants spoke of basic, lower-level needs nearly as often as they spoke of higher-level needs. For example, discussions of the importance of secondary completion revolved around this idea of a "future life." This future life not only included meeting one's full potential through meaningful employment or further education (self-actualization), but also included protecting one's family, by becoming dependable and being able to provide basic necessities (physiological needs, safety needs). In this sense, the participants in this study perceived the completion of secondary education to be the way to fulfill *all* of Maslow's needs, from physiological to self-actualization. Below, I have highlighted examples of topics discussed by participants in regard to each of Maslow's needs:

Physiological: food, rest, shelter, clothing

Love: intimate relationships, friends, family, community

Safety: security (independence/self-reliance)

Esteem: secondary certificate, "scholar," feeling of accomplishment

Self-actualization: obtain meaningful employment, attend university, become "important person"

It is clear that, in discussing all of these needs at the same time, participants are in pursuit of satisfaction of all of these needs simultaneously, and they perceive the way to meet these

needs is through the completion of secondary education. While they may have their needs at some levels met to *some* extent (e.g. physiological), they are not satisfied and are in pursuit of more stability. As stated by Niyangabo (2017), all of Maslow's needs are interconnected and interdependent, and the findings in this particular study have supported that idea.

Implications of the Study

The findings of this study provide more context and understanding to the development of perceptions of education among Congolese youth in Nyarugusu Camp. They also contribute to further understandings of the experiences of youth in attending and completing secondary education. The experiences, challenges, and ideas shared in this study have significant implications for a number of stakeholders involved in refugee education in Nyarugusu Camp. First, in refugee camp situations, especially those of a protracted nature, it is necessary to be concerned about the educational opportunities provided to children and youth. As demonstrated, in Nyarugusu Camp, like in much of the world, a focus on other levels of education has meant that secondary education as been largely overlooked by the international community and those responsible for education in the camps. In fact, currently, the funding focus, as per Education Cannot Wait (2019, July 9), is on pre-primary education. While all levels of education are, of course, important, and absolutely need to be funded, one level cannot be improved or promoted at the expense of another. In Nyarugusu Camp, educational opportunities dwindle the higher that one attempts to climb; as shown in the statistics and in my findings, access to and availability of quality secondary education tends to be much more difficult than primary access and availability. When you look higher, to tertiary education, it is nearly impossible in Nyarugusu Camp. The findings in this study have demonstrated that vocational schooling may be taking some of the

focus away from secondary education in Nyarugusu. While this focus on vocational schooling was perceived by participants as having been set up to accommodate youth out of secondary school, as some of the participants in this study have highlighted, it is also working to pull students from secondary education into vocational training, as the skills that youth are learning can be more immediately used to generate income. As I mentioned previously, vocational training should not be introduced or encouraged as a replacement for secondary education. It is my recommendation that there is a shift in focus from separating vocational and secondary education to combining the two, therefore encouraging higher enrollment and completion rates. Those involved in planning and delivering education, such as International Rescue Committee and UNHCR, might consider ways in which vocational training can be embedded into the secondary school curriculum, making secondary education more useful and relevant in students' immediate lives, instead of just their future lives. As outlined, the participants in this study described a pursuit of all needs, basic, psychological, and self-fulfillment (Maslow, 1943). Because some participants described leaving secondary school for vocational school in search of skills needed to better meet their basic, more day-to-day needs, better inclusion or integration of vocational training within the secondary school curriculum might work to retain students, as they can use some of the skills learned to generate income, while at the same time remaining in secondary school to hopefully, eventually, meet their higher-level esteem needs and self-actualization.

Second, I want to acknowledge that I recognize that many of the issues related to teachers, including bribes, and quality of education revolve around a lack of adequate funding. Nyarugusu Camp, like many refugee camps, is chronically underfunded, and when there is a lack of funding for adequate food or healthcare, it can, of course, be difficult to also find adequate

funding for education. However, as I mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, my assumptions are that not only is secondary education a fundamental human right, but access to and completion of secondary schooling for youth in refugee camps, particularly in protracted situations like Nyarugusu Camp, is essential for individuals and their communities. It is important for international donor governments and NGOs to prioritize education, secondary education included, in the quest for an appropriate durable solution. In action, prioritizing education in Nyarugusu Camp would mean ensuring that teachers are paid adequately, regularly, and timely; this may help to reduce instances of soliciting bribes and may increase teacher satisfaction. In particular, international donor governments need to better understand the potential consequences of underfunding refugee camp situations and refugee education. This study has highlighted some of the possible issues related to education and a chronic lack of funding in Nyarugusu.

Third, I recommend that the International Rescue Committee, that is responsible for education in Nyarugusu Camp, and UNHCR, that is responsible for oversight of the entire camp, consider ways in which student progress might be better tracked. A system which better tracks student grades throughout the semester and school year might help to eliminate or decrease incidences of bribery and/or inappropriate student-teacher relationships. For example, if student grades and progress are maintained in a more central database, or if student progress must be submitted to IRC at regular intervals throughout the school year, it might limit the opportunities for teachers to solicit bribes from or take advantage of students who simply want to pass their courses, whether such a grade is deserved or not. Those responsible for camp operation and management, including UNHCR and IRC, should work on more closely monitoring the education of refugees and the day-to-day experiences of students in camps.

Fourth, and along similar lines, those responsible for providing secondary education in Nyarugusu Camp should provide professional development opportunities for teachers, at both the primary and secondary school levels, to better understand and implement concepts such as ethical student-teacher relationships and equity in the classroom. These types of professional development opportunities may be beneficial to both teachers and students, in that students' prospects for moving ahead and continuing education, through to secondary school completion, may be increased.

Limitations of the Study & Suggestions for Further Research

This section will address some limitations to this study that could be addressed in future research. First, the study participants were mostly male. 8/31 written respondents (26%) and 2/15 interview participants (13%) were female. This could be due a number of factors, including more traditional gender roles or a lower rate of female participation in secondary education as a whole, but this would need to be further explored. Further research might focus specifically on female secondary school students to gain a better understanding of female perceptions and experiences.

Second, requirements for participants in this study specified that participants must have lived in Nyarugusu for 5 or more years, which is the definition of a protracted refugee situation, as defined by Crisp (2002). Among my participants, the length of time spent in the camp varied largely, from 5 years to 18 years. In addition, there were a number of interview participants (8/15) who had been born in Nyarugusu and had never left. These differences among participants may have resulted in varying perceptions and experiences. For example, those who had never left the camp may have different perceptions and experiences from those who arrived 5 years ago, even though they both fit Crisp's (2002) definition of a protracted refugee. As such, further

research might want to look at the experiences of those refugee youth who have been born and raised in the camp.

Finally, it is important to note that given the importance that participants placed on education and wanting to complete secondary education to provide them with independence, employment, etc. in the future, many participants were probably hesitant to criticize the education and teaching staff that was provided. In a refugee camp situation, especially one that has an encampment policy, there are not many options for education, which might cause youth to feel like they should simply be grateful for what is provided. As I previously mentioned, much of the literature on refugees in camp settings is conducted by stakeholders, and as a result, the voices of refugees themselves are often missing. Because those providing education do not often ask for their opinions or ideas, the participants in this study may have been uncomfortable voicing their opinions or sharing their experiences about school.

Generalizability

In positivist research approaches, generalizability of findings tends to be a requirement of a research study; however, in interpretivist approaches, such as constructivist grounded theory, generalizability is not the goal (Carminati, 2018). While Carminati (2018) states that generalizability *can* be the goal in qualitative research, it would need to be one of the main objectives of the research study. For this research study, generalizability was not the goal. This was also part of the reason that I chose to employ constructivist grounded theory, instead of classic grounded theory. While classic grounded theory lists generalizability as an important aspect of the research design (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978), Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory does not. Instead, Charmaz (2006) says that the purpose of constructivist grounded theory is to explore local issues in local contexts. Findings, and generated theory, do

not need to be generalized away from the context of origin. In this study, my intent was to explore perceptions of and experiences with secondary education among Congolese youth in Nyarugusu Camp. My findings are relevant to that local context, and I cannot say that those findings are generalizable to other contexts, nor did I set out to do that. As such, the findings of this study, and the subsequent theory of focusing on the future to cope with the present, are presented as an exploration of a topic, or phenomenon, in its local context, Nyarugusu Camp. Instead, the focus of this research study was trustworthiness. I used triangulation, or the use of more than one method of data collection, to ensure validity. My use of written responses, individual interviews, and memos meant that I was able to use multiple sources of data to explore and produce an understanding of what participants were saying. My methods of data analysis, especially the use of constant comparative analysis, also worked to ensure trustworthiness.

Conclusions

This study sought to explore and to better understand what it means to be a secondary student in Nyarugusu Camp, by considering perceptions of and experiences with education among Congolese youth. It has highlighted the ways in which perceptions of education develop, specifically the influence that parents have on developing youth's perceptions of education. Likewise, these perceptions of the purpose and function of education are confirmed, or supported by, both family and community members' attitudes and reactions toward secondary students compared to those out of school. The participants in this study have indicated that they perceive secondary education to be the best way to improve their future lives, as well as the lives of their family members and community. For the participants in this study, the challenges of today, such

as hunger and difficult student-teacher relationships, were dealt with by "toughing it out" and focusing on the future. Specifically, participants described focusing on the idea that secondary education can provide them with all of their needs, from basic needs such as food and independence/self-reliance to higher-level needs such as a sense of accomplishment and self-actualization.

The findings in this study have highlighted that secondary education in Nyarugusu Camp is currently viewed as a "luxury." Oftentimes, humanitarian work perceives education, especially secondary and tertiary education, to be a less important right than what are deemed "life-saving" rights, such as food, water, shelter, and healthcare. In all refugee camp contexts, but particularly in a protracted refugee situation such as Nyarugusu Camp, these distinctions between life-saving and life-sustaining rights cannot be made. Education, at all levels, needs to be prioritized as with other aspects such as food, healthcare, and shelter. International and national human rights documents do not differentiate between life-saving and life-sustaining rights; however, somewhere along the line in the area of humanitarian and relief work, this distinction has been made. Perhaps these distinctions have been made to better satisfy international government donors. I believe that it has contributed to a case of chronic underfunding, at all levels and in all sectors, of refugee camps, and especially in protracted refugee camps. Instead of simply focusing on resettlement, of which levels are very low, education needs to be considered part of a comprehensive plan for durable solutions.

Overall, this study adds to the small, but growing, body of independent research on refugees in refugee camp situations. In particular, this study adds to the understanding of the educational perceptions and experiences of Congolese youth, specifically, in Nyarugusu Camp, which is one of the world's oldest and largest, but often more forgotten, refugee camps.

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Appendix A: Verbal Script - Introduction

Hello, my name is Jessica Msofe. I am a graduate student at Lakehead University in Canada, in the Education Department. I am conducting research on the perceptions of and experiences with secondary school in Nyarugusu Camp, and I am inviting you to participate because you are Congolese secondary school students.

Participation in this research will include completing anonymous written responses to 3 questions, and/or individual telephone interviews that will be audiotaped. You may choose to participate in one, two, or none of these stages. Written responses will take place at an educational session, which will be outside of school hours. These sessions will be described in greater detail in the coming week. Individual interviews will take place by phone and will last 60-90 minutes. You will be provided with a pre-paid mobile phone card to replace the minutes on your phone, so the interview will not cost you anything. In addition to your own consent to participate, you will also need to provide parental/guardian consent if you are under the age of 18. In any phase of the research, it is important to know that you can quit the study at any time. You also do not have to answer any questions that you don't want to answer or that make you uncomfortable. In every aspect of the study, I will be the only person who knows the identity of the students who are participating.

Participation in the research will not provide you any direct benefits or any advantages over those who do not participate. Your participation will have no impact on chances for resettlement, repatriation, or Tanzanian naturalization. This means that participation will have no impact on whether or not you are given legal basis to stay in Tanzania or another safe country, or returned to your home country. However, your experiences and thoughts may help others better understand how education might be improved or adapted to meet the needs of more youth in Nyarugusu Camp.

Confidentiality precautions will be taken to protect your identity. For example, if you participate in a phone interview, you will be assigned a pseudonym (fake name) to use in your interview. This pseudonym will also be used in any of my writing or presentations. In addition, information that may identify you, such as the names of relatives or your birthdate, will be omitted or changed to protect your identity. If you participate in the written response stage, it will be anonymous, and no names or identifying information about you will be collected.

I will be holding an information session next week. The invitation letter that I will hand out now includes information about the time and location of the meeting. This is just a place for you to obtain more information on the study, ask questions, and sign consent forms, if you would like to participate. If you are under the age of 18, your parents should also attend the information session with you. I will be in your classroom and school for the upcoming weeks. If you have any questions or would like to participate in the research, you or your parents can ask me, in

person, at any time. If you'd prefer, you can contact me by email (jmcdowal@lakeheadu.ca), or by telephone or WhatsApp at +255-687-749-[redacted].

Appendix B: Written Response Questions - English

Please write as much or as little as you would like. You may choose to answer **some, all, or none** of the written questions. I have included a number of pencils and pens, as well as a number of blank papers. You do not need to use all of these.

Please **do not** write your name or any identifying information (e.g. address, names of relatives) in your answers.

When you are finished writing your response, please place the papers in the envelope and seal the envelope before returning it to the researcher.

Question #1: How important is it for you to complete secondary school? Is it important to your family that you finish?

Question #2: Why is it important for you to be a student? What does education mean to you?

Question #3: How does being a student affect your daily life and responsibilities? (Positively and/or negatively)

Appendix C: Written Response Questions – Swahili

Tafadhali andika mengi au kidogo kama vile ungetaka. Unaweza kuchagua kujibu baadhi, yote, au hakuna yoyote ya maswali yaliyoandikwa. Nimejumuisha idadi ya penseli na kalamu, na pia idadi ya karatasi tupu. Huna haja ya kutumia hizi yote.

Tafadhali usiandike jina lako ya kitambulisho (k.m. anwani, majina ya jamaa) kwenye majibu yako.

Unapomaliza kuandika majibu yako, tafadhali weka karatasi kwenye bahasha na muhuri bahasha kabla ya kuirudisha kwa mtafiti.

Swali #1 : Ni muhimu gani kwako kumaliza shule ya sekondari ? Ni muhimu kwa familia yako kwamba umalize ?

Swali #2: Kwa nini ni muhimu kwako kuwa mwanafunzi ? Elimu ina maana gani kwako ?

Swali #3: Kuwa mwanafunzi huathiri maisha yako ya kila siku na majukumu yako ? (vyema na vibaya)

Appendix D: Interview Guide - English

1. What do you think is the purpose and/or function of education and school? Are these the same in both primary and secondary school?
2. How would you describe how you viewed education before coming to Nyarugusu Camp?
3. When did you first experience schooling?
4. What did you think then? How did you view or think of education and school? Who, if anyone, influenced your beliefs about education and school? Tell me about how he/she/they influenced you.
5. As you look back on your education before you came to Nyarugusu, what events stand out in your mind?
6. How long after arriving in Nyarugusu did you begin attending school?
7. How do you view or think of education and school now? Who, if anyone, influences your beliefs about education and school? Tell me about how he/she/they influenced you.
8. What does the school represent for you?
9. How important is it for you to complete secondary school?
10. Tell me about education and school in Nyarugusu.
11. Tell me about your relationships, if any, with your teachers.
12. What is a typical day like for you?
13. What is a typical school day like for you? Tell me about your classroom(s) and schedule?
14. What challenges, if any, do you face in attending school regularly?
15. What changes, if any, would you like to see in your school?

16. Tell me about your favorite school experience. Tell me about your worst school experience. How did these experiences make you feel? What effect, if any, did they have on your thoughts about school?
17. How have your experiences in secondary school differed from those in primary school?
18. What advice would you give to someone who wanted to complete secondary school in Nyarugusu?
19. What advice would you give to those running the school (administration, teachers, agencies, etc)?
20. Is there anything else you want to tell me about your schooling?
21. Is there anything that you would like to ask me?

Appendix E: Interview Guide – Swahili

1. Umeishi Nyarugusu muda mrefu kiasi gani?
2. Ulikuwa na umri gani wakati ulianza shule?
3. Unadhani elimu ina umuhimu gani maishani ? Na je kusudi hilo ni sawa katika shule za msingi na za sekondari ?
4. Kabla ya kuja Nyarugusu ulikuwa unafikiriaje swala la elimu ?
5. Nani, ikiwa mtu yeyote, alie wai kuku shauri kuhusu elimu na shule ? Niambi jinsi alivyokushawishi.
6. Kabla ya kuja Nyarugusu, unaweza kuelezaje elimu yako ?
7. Ni mda gani baada ya kufika Nyarugusu, ulipo weza kuanza shule ?
8. Shule kwako ina maana gani?
9. Ulionaje Maisha ya shule ya msingi uki fananisha na maisha ya sekondari?
10. Ni muhimuje kwako kukamilisha shule ya sekondari? Kwa nini?
11. Niambie kuhusu elimu yako na shule za Nyarugusu.
12. Niambie kuhusu uhusiano na uhusiano wako na walimu wako.
13. Niambie ni kitu gani uli kuwa una ki penda ukiwa shuleni ?
14. Na ni kumbukumbu ipi, ilikuwa mbaya kwako wakati wa shule ?
15. Siku ya shule kawaida kwako inakuaje ? Na kwaida mna vipindi gani ?
16. Ni changamoto gani unazokabiliana nazo wakati wa kuhuduria shule kila siku ?
17. Ikiwa hakuna shule (kwa mafano, mwishoni mwa wiki), unafanya nini badala yake ?
18. Ni mabadiliko gani ungependa kuona katika shule yako ?
19. Unataka wengine kuelewa nini kuhusu maisha yako kama mwanafunzi?
20. Ushauri gani unawepa wale wanaofundisha ? (walimu, kiongozi mkuu, etc)

Appendix F: Extensive List of Initial Coding

"key of success"	"stand on your own feet"	Making good decisions
Aware	Parental obligation	Taking care of myself
"comfortable and confident in life"	"be a good example"	Taking care of community
Experience scenarios	Becoming a useful person	Correcting behaviour
Important to family	Having a good reputation	Living with others
Leading others	Bringing respect to family	Becoming good leader
Teaching others	Bringing happiness	Beneficial in today's world
Managing family	Climbing the ladder	Learning in many ways
Caring for family	Obtaining education-related job	Learning useful things
Gaining employment	Meeting my needs	Making me important
"life without doubts or worries"	Meeting family's needs	Avoiding life of crime
Scholar	Becoming different from others	"respected in the world"
Furthering education	Protecting family	Making parents happy
"have promise"	Helping others	Receiving rewards/benefits
"direction for my future"	Increasing intelligence	Helping my life
"get a job"	Helping country	"foundation of my future life"
Helping family	"foundation of life"	"being a student is good"
"my responsibility"	"improve my life"	Putting education/school first
"key to my life"	Education is meaningful	Fighting for things
Becoming enlightened	Reducing ignorance	Affecting other responsibilities

“treasure to my family”	Gaining life skills	Hoping for a good future
Benefitting family	Gaining confidence	Struggling with student life
Becoming multilingual	Building honesty	Education doesn’t mean job
Supporting family	Building integrity	Discouraged from attending
“doing my best”	“education makes somebody”	Getting knowledge
Building future	Education is necessary	Learning new things
“important to me”	Learning many things	Increasing intelligence
“important for life”	Allowing future success	Studying for good life later
Preparing for future life	Important for girls	Receiving advice from father
Removing ignorance	“gives me more skills”	Motivating me to study
“sustain myself”	“my responsibility”	Giving education most focus
“important for community”	Understanding the world	Helping parents later in life
Helping community	Reading and writing	“children can’t stay without education”
“expand one’s mind	“foundation of my future”	“education is life”
“gives you a good life”	Building happy life	Avoiding temptations
Staying in line	Taking school seriously	Practicing self-discipline
Seeking education	Graduating was “joyous”	Giving effort
Increasing education	“math is very important”	Walking great distances
Teachers teaching well	“you can’t do everything”	Struggling to be on time
Praising camp education	Taking sociology	Returning home tired

Praising teachers	Studying entrepreneurship	Trying to succeed
Helping peers succeed	Teachers “setting a bad example”	Completing house chores
Studying leadership	Teachers “misbehaving”	Desiring to be a student
Taking many subjects	Wanting to get away	Changing my life
Receiving punishment	Taking care of family	Using skills immediately
Lagging behind peers	Working during school	Finding work
Arriving late to school	Suffering from hunger	Returning to Congo
Attending late shift	“the hard life”	Prioritizing school
Overcoming challenges	Experiencing overcrowdedness	Avoiding boys
Making an effort	Missing privacy	Learning morals
Working hard	Copying work	Hiring lazy teachers
Persevering	Attending school in shifts	Loving school
Walking to school	Making time for studies	Beating the odds
“a job I must finish”	Learning to read a person	Achieving goals
Working as a driver	Reporting teacher misconduct	Corruption makes education “rotten”
“schools are overpopulated”	Focusing on students	Becoming self-conscious
Growing student numbers	Preparing students	Receiving benefits from edu
Benefitting from education	“education is important in the camp”	“Expanding human intelligence”
Finding purpose through education	Having future goals	“power in these times”
Ignoring bad influences	Understanding meaning of education	Influence of parents

Being strong	Feeling stuck	Studying is important
Educating future generation	Tutoring others	Succeeding benefits parents
Taking advantage of students	Struggling to attend vocational	Believing in education
Paying to pass	Self-sacrificing parents	Pushing me to attend
Paying for opportunities	Dreaming of university	Growing and learning
Deteriorating education	Just existing	Thinking about school
Keeping distance from teachers	Prioritizing reading and writing	Using my brain
Acting as “wingmen”	Defining a school	Learning practical skills
Maintaining boundaries	Wanting to study	Looking up to family members
Teachers leaving	Avoiding punishment	Dreaming of a good life
Enjoying skilled trades	Enduring	Problems with teachers
Learning bravery	Hanging in there	Ruining students’ lives
Practicing skills	Obtaining school supplies	Wasting students’ time
Taking trades and secondary	Struggling to get a uniform	Refusing to help
Chasing women	Using connections	Using secondary to do another thing
Becoming too familiar with teachers	Applying for jobs	Wanting to attend university
Swapping students’ grades	“where will I go?”	Studying only theory
Starting vocational schools	Focusing on school	Missing practical

Attending vocational and secondary simultaneously	Achieving goals	Mingling with women
Not seeing importance of school	Avoiding idleness	Studying while hungry
Attending vocational for free	Responding to difficult students	Studying “same old things”
Dropping secondary for vocational	Teachers arriving late	Staying idle
Getting opportunities with vocational	Teachers having troubles	Punishing students
Challenges with young teachers	Leaving the camp	Fulfilling my goals
Going after education	Paying fees (in Congo)	Getting beaten by teachers
Attending school with a purpose	Housework interfering with school	Parents pushing me to education
Fighting for education	Missing school for rations	Encouraging education at home
Training for teachers	Catching up on work	Parental engagement
Enduring a lot	Farming	Liking school
Keep going	Remaining idle	Telling stories
Realizing benefits of teaching	Advising friends	Transferring teachers
Giving ideas about home	Struggling with hunger	Learning about the world
Opening your mind	Missing school	Getting insight
Building “your own life”	Earning money to eat	Girls dropping out
Achieving independence	Sneaking out of camp	Failing to see significance
Contributing to education (parents)	“Don’t give up”	Vocational “next step”
Controlling your own life	Experiencing ridicule	Wanting to be a doctor

Becoming troublemaker, thief	Finishing secondary	Receiving support from friends
Staying out of trouble	Making life easier	Failing
Challenging family circumstances	Looking for sponsors	Not receiving food at school
Interrupting studies	Expecting a job	Lowering attendance during year
Giving everything to studies	“waiting to find meaning”	Hunger preventing attendance
Intending to help family	Getting help from parents	Feeling tired/sleepy
Challenging aspects of education	“stuck with no means”	Failing to see importance of school
Buying supplies/materials	“school is my life”	Feeling demeaned
Providing materials	Knowing many things	Receiving wrongful punishment
Prioritizing women’s education	Memorizing in secondary	Playing checkers
Making an effort	Searching for more information	Focusing on school
Completing beauty school	Needing enthusiasm for school	Paying teachers
Teachers leaving early	Wanting to finish school	Expecting insults from teachers
Accepting challenges	Teachers just finished secondary	Needing enthusiasm for school
Practicing patience	Putting teaching second	Helping my life
Finding employment is difficult	Growing with different skills	Studying too many classes

Receiving certificate	Getting along with teachers	Missing school supplies

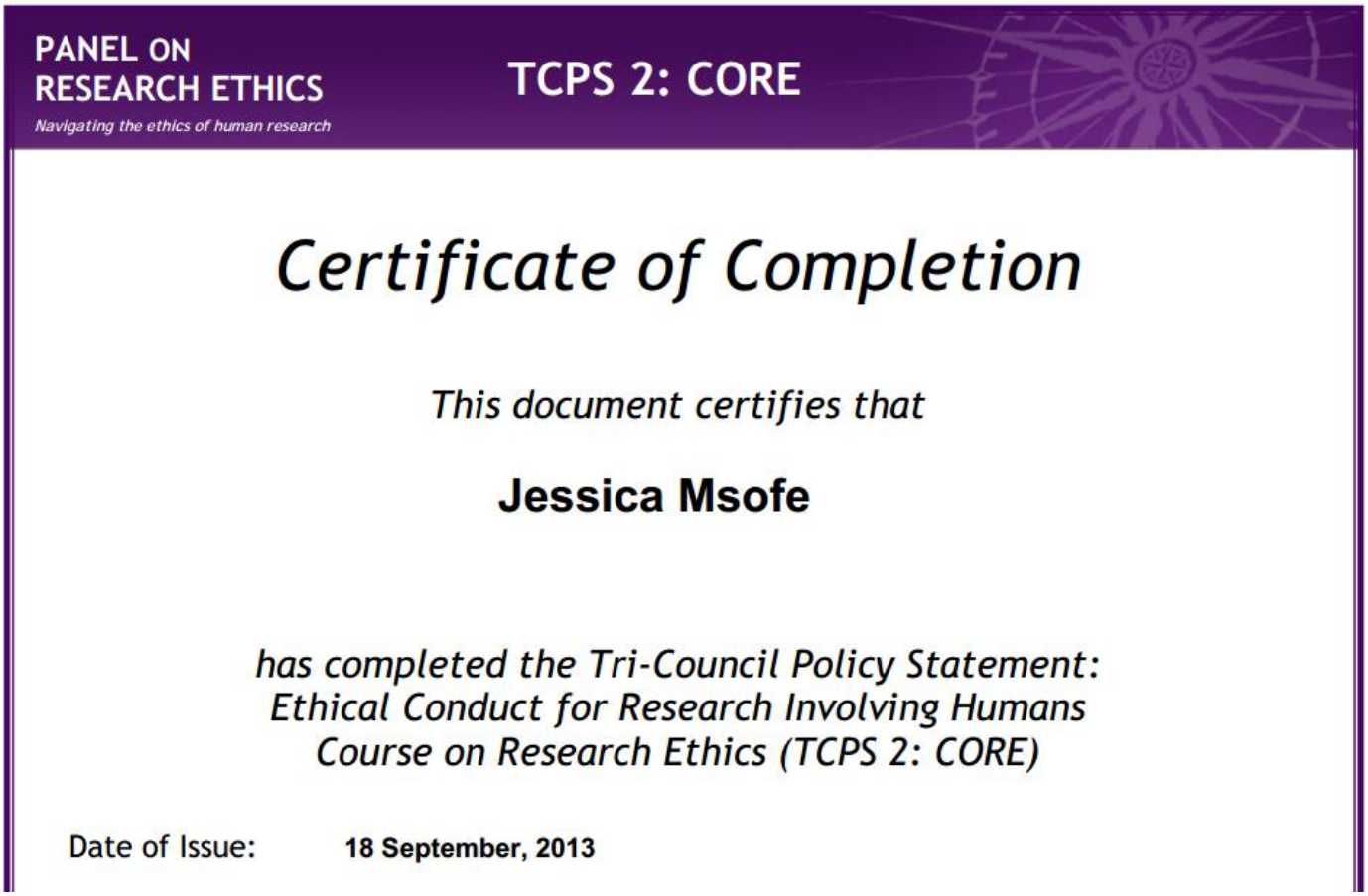
Persuading me to attend	Volunteering in class	Eliminating penalties
Knowing what I'm talking about	Avoiding romantic relationships	"Never stop"
Giving me power	Experiencing distractions	Opening possibilities
Finding job will be easier	Neglecting housework for school	Making me important
"a matter of understanding"	"toughen up"	Developing and educating
"just want to study"	No school = theft, crime	Resettling in another country
Experiencing many challenges	Ruining my life	Freeing others
Adding more school space	Getting bad reputation	Treasuring education
Staying at home	Appreciating education	"preparing my future talent"
Tolerating challenges	Teaching "from the heart"	Expanding perspective
"keep going"	Empathizing with students	"come to terms with it"
Walking in rain	Forced out of school	Fighting to succeed
Thanking teachers	Studying and succeeding	Proving yourself
"profound significance"	Being tough	Climbing up in life
Learning how to live	Needing help	Moving forward
Family depending on me	Encouraging teachers	Using skills immediately
Unable to attend university	Feeling happy going to school	Ignoring bad influences
Getting a good job	Trying to avoid manual labour	Stop asking for bribes
Influencing thoughts on education	Needing longer classes	Returning to finish secondary
"for my own benefit"	Being looked down upon	Dealing with challenges

Helping each other	“Suppress your feelings”	Gaining social skills
Helping well-off students	“Tough it out”	Focusing on future job
Teachers inexperienced	“give yourself hope”	Feeling overwhelmed
Hoping to further education	Being punished for mistakes	Learning for life
Becoming important	Avoiding punishment	
Increasing self-reliance	Feeling offended	
Increasing employability	Defending yourself	
Primary education basic	Being sent home	
Secondary lessons more helpful	Serving the community	
Providing opportunities	Increasing difficulty	
Becoming a teacher	Discouraging	
Communicating with teachers	Receiving help from teachers	

Appendix G: Focused Coding – List of Concepts

1. Future
2. Knowledge/Intelligence
3. Family/Parents
4. Independence
5. Community
6. Leadership
7. Reputation/Respect/Important
8. Ignorance
9. Foundation/Basis/Key of Life
10. Skills
11. Help
12. Bribes/Corruption
13. Teachers
14. Vocational school
15. Effort/Perseverance/Endure
16. Challenge/Challenging/Struggle
17. Employment/Employability
18. Hunger
19. Punishment
20. Idle
21. Other Obligations/Housework
22. Trouble/Disgrace
23. Supplies/Materials
24. Drop out
25. Further Education/University
26. Tough
27. Success/Succeed
28. Bad Influences
29. Urban refugees/Leaving camp
30. Stuck

Appendix H: Tri-Council Ethics Certificate of Completion



PANEL ON RESEARCH ETHICS
Navigating the ethics of human research

TCPS 2: CORE

Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Jessica Msofe

has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)

Date of Issue: **18 September, 2013**

Appendix I: COSTECH Research Permit

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)

RESEARCH PERMIT

Permit No.	2019–135- NA-2019- 179
Date	24th April 2019
Researcher's Name	Jessica Msofe
Nationality	Canadian
Research Title	Secondary schooled students, educational perceptions and experiences in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp
Research Area(s)/Region(s)	Kigoma
Validity	From: 24th April 2019 to 23rd March 2020
Local contact/collaborator (*with affiliated institution*)	[redacted] Kigoma

PROGRAMM OFFICER | **DIRECTOR GENERAL**

IMPORTANT REQUIREMENTS

- *Research permit that involve collecting human, plant or animal materials / data that will be exported outside Tanzania must submit a signed Material Transfer Agreement (MTA), Data Transfer Agreement (DTA) between Tanzania host institution and the foreign counterpart. The MTA/DTA will indicate terms for collecting, storing/managing, transporting, disposal or returning of the materials/DATA to Tanzania after the closure of the research project.*
- *Any patent or intellectual property and royalty emanating from any research approved by the National Research Registration Committee (NRRC) shall be owned as stipulated in the research proposals and in accordance with the IP policy of the respective research institutions.*
- *All researchers are required to report to a Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS) of the study area and present the introduction letter and activity schedule(plan) prior starting any research activity.*
- *All researchers are required to submit quarterly progress reports and all relevant publications made after completion of the research.*
- *All communications should be addressed to COSTECH Director General through rclearance@costech.or.tz; dg@costech.or.tz or +255222700749; +255 (022) 2771358. Terms and conditions of the permit are found at www.costech.or.tz*

Appendix J: Lakehead REB Approval Letter

Research Ethics Board
t: (807) 343-8283
research@lakeheadu.ca

June 12, 2018

Principal Investigator: Dr. Seth Agbo
Student: Jessica Msofe
Faculty of Education (Orillia)
Lakehead University
500 University Avenue
Orillia L3V 0B9

Dear Dr. Agbo and Ms. Msofe:

Re: Romeo File No: 1466515
Granting Agency: N/A
Agency Reference #: N/A

On behalf of the Research Ethics Board, I am pleased to grant ethical approval to your research project titled, "Secondary School Students' Educational Perceptions & Experiences in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp".

Ethics approval is valid until June 12, 2019. Please submit a Request for Renewal to the Office of Research Services via the Romeo Research Portal by May 12, 2019 if your research involving human participants will continue for longer than one year. A Final Report must be submitted promptly upon completion of the project. Access the Romeo Research Portal by logging into myInfo at:

https://orgwp.lakeheadu.ca/

During the course of the study, any modifications to the protocol or forms must not be initiated without prior written approval from the REB. You must promptly notify the REB of any adverse events that may occur.

Best wishes for a successful research project.

Sincerely,

Dr. Kristin Burnett
A/Chair, Research Ethics Board

/am