PREPARING FOR UNCERTAINTY: EXPLORING ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN DZALEKA REFUGEE CAMP, MALAWI

HEATHER A. DONALD

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

JUNE 2014

© Heather Donald, 2014

ABSTRACT

Against a backdrop of increasingly protracted refugee situations worldwide and on the continent of Africa in particular, education is imperative to facilitate the ability of displaced persons to voice their concerns and ambitions. Drawing on fieldwork carried out in Dzaleka Refugee camp in Malawi during Summer 2013, this thesis adopts an Afro-centered approach to studying the relationship between education and development. Utilizing oral histories and interviews, it explores educational access, the displacement of young people and their desire for higher education. This desire is linked to first, a self-realization that is expressed as control over their lives in a context of heightened uncertainty and second, an increased potential to contribute to the current betterment of their own and their families' lives. Despite increasingly protracted situations for refugees and mixed migrants in Malawi, it is extremely difficult to find cartographic evidence of Dzaleka's existence amongst other documentation of forced migration in the region. This thesis works collaboratively with refugee youth narrators to bring visibility to the place they live. Moreover, this work contributes to the view that those described as refugees in protracted refugee situations can contribute to a discursive and structural shift by 'self-authoring' their own development. Access to higher education is recognized as one of the key ways to enable and support this shift.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a great privilege to spend two years in the Development Studies Graduate Program, and at the Centre for Refugee Studies, at York University. The classmates, faculty, and mentors will always remain dear to me as I move beyond this degree. I would like to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Government of Ontario and York University's Faculty of Graduate Studies for making this fieldwork possible.

I owe much of the success of this MA thesis to a number of key individuals in my life: my parents, who have continued to support their overcommitted and under-organized daughter; my brother; my grandparents, who encourage and follow my learning journey each step of the way; my extended family, who have lovingly stood by and encouraged me, in spite of missing key events while undertaking this research; my closest friends in Ottawa and in Toronto, who understood my commitment to this research and continue to support me; and my friends in the U.S., Rwanda, Malawi, and other parts of the World, who continue to be sources of laughter, joy, and support.

My supervisor Dr. Wenona Giles has been instrumental in the completion of this thesis, providing both inspiration from her own work in Dadaab, Kenya, as well as critical guidance, generous time, and patience, particularly in the finishing stages. Special thanks to my committee members, Dr. Don Dippo, whose encouragement cannot be undervalued, and Dr. Viviana Patroni, whose kind words picked me up when I was all but drowning in literature. Dr. Pablo Idahosa, a steadying force throughout this degree, continues to remain a source of personal inspiration. The guidance and suggestions of these individuals and many others has been invaluable; however, any errors remain mine alone. A special thank you to Shweta Sanzgiri for the digital rendering of the two concept maps included in this thesis.

I want to acknowledge the continued support received from both Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) and the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) throughout this project, and it is my great hope that this research contributes to the wider conversation on refugee education in Malawi and beyond. A good number of friends and colleagues in Malawi merit endless appreciation in your unwavering commitment to *Ubuntu*, and I believe they know who they are. All of you deserve continued happiness throughout your lives.

With much gratitude and love,

Heather

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT II

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS III

ACRONYMS VI

LIST OF TABLES VII

LIST OF FIGURES VIII

CHAPTER I: LINKING DEVELOPMENT WITH HIGHER EDUCATION FOR REFUGEES 1

1.1 REFUGEEISM AND DEVELOPMENT 1
1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES 7
1.3 AIMS AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY 9
1.4 CONFLICT IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION AND A SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF REFUGEES IN MALAWI . 10
1.5 REFUGEES IN MALAWI: ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS 17
1.6 CONCEPTUALIZING REFUGEES AND EDUCATION IN MALAWI 22
1.7 OUTLINE OF THESIS 24

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH PROCESS AND METHODS – DECONSTRUCTING 'DEVELOPMENT' IN RESEARCH WITH REFUGEES 26

2.1 INTRODUCTION 26
2.2 STUDY AREA SELECTION 27
2.3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS 28
2.4 RESEARCH PLAN AND APPROACHES 30
2.5 DATA COLLECTION 33
2.5 INFORMED CONSENT AND MINIMIZING RISKS 37
2.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND CODING 38
2.7 METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY 39
2.9 TOWARDS A PRAXIS-DRIVEN METHODOLOGY 41

CHAPTER 3: FRAMING HIGHER EDUCATION AS 'DEVELOPMENT' FOR REFUGEES IN AFRICA 43

3. 1 EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA – COLONIAL CONTINUITIES OR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION? ... 44
3.1.1 Historicizing Education and Development in Africa *45*
3.1.2 The University in Africa *46*
3.1.3 Linking Higher Education for Refugees and Development *51*
3.1.4 Linking Higher Education for Refugees and Development in Africa *57*
3.2 HIGHER EDUCATION FOR REFUGEES AS SELF-REALIZATION AND AGENCY 60
3.3 'COMMUNITY', EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN REFUGEE SITUATIONS 61
3.4 TOWARDS REFUGEE HIGHER EDUCATION FOR SELF, FAMILY AND COMMUNITY 65

CHAPTER 4: NARRATIVES OF REFUGEE YOUNG PEOPLE: ACCESSING HIGHER EDUCATION IN MALAWI 68

4.1 CONNECTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION TO 'FAMILY' 72
4.2 PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE AND AVOIDING IDLENESS THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION 78
4.3 THE ROLE OF GENDER IN ACCESS TO HE: COMPLEX AND DIFFERENTIAL 88
4.4 REFUGEE YOUNG PEOPLE PREPARING FOR AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION 90

CHAPTER 5: TOWARDS ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE FOR DEVELOPMENT 91

5.1 RE-CONCEPTUALIZING ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE IN DZALEKA REFUGEE CAMP 91
5.2 IN-CAMP LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES TODAY 92
5.3 CHANGING FRAMES/RESEARCH APPROACHES 94

5.4 THE FUTURE IS YOUTHFUL IN AFRICA 95
BIBLIOGRAPHY **97**
APPENDIX A **110**
APPENDIX B **111**

ACRONYMS

ACU	Australian Catholic University
BHER	Borderless Higher Education for Refugees
CHRR	Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation (Malawi)
CSLT	Community Service Learning Track (JRS)
DAFI	Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EiE	Education in Emergencies
HE	Higher Education
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INEE	International Network on Education in Emergencies
IOM	International Organization on Migration
JAM	Joint Assessment Mission
JC: HEM	Jesuit Commons Higher Education at the Margins
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Services
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKW	Malawi Kwacha
MoHAISIS	Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security (Malawi)
MRCS	Malawi Red Cross Society
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PRS	Protracted Refugee Situation
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SRP	Student Refugee Program
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TIH	There is Hope Ministries
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
USCRI	U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
WFP	World Food Programme
WUSC	World University Service of Canada

LIST OF TABLES

Box 1.3
Organizations that administer official programs or provide support in Dzaleka Refugee camp……………………………………………………………21

Table 2.41
Institutional interviews………………………………………………………...……………..31

Table 2.42
Individual interviews…………………………...…………………………………...…….32

Table 2.43
Oral histories with young people……………………...………………………………….32

Table 3.1
Refugee Policy and Education Practices in Malawi and Tanzania……………...……….58

Table 4.1
Displacement and re-displacement routes covered by six young narrators, with coloured indicators mapping out the routes …….………………………………….…70

Table 4.2
Narrator household / family composition………………………………………………..74

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1
Principle Sources and Routes of Refugees to Malawi and Dzaleka Refugee Camp………12

Figure 1.3
An aerial photo of Dzaleka Refugee Camp, showing the orientation
of the camp towards the capital city, Lilongwe and nearest town, Dowa…………………14

Figure 4
Map showing the routes travelled by each of the six young narrators included
in this thesis before arriving in Malawi and in Dzaleka Refugee camp…………...……....71

Figure 4.2
Photo showing a cluster of houses in Dzaleka camp, as well as a borehole
location in the right foreground.……………………………………………………..……..…83

Figure 5
Photo showing the JC: HEM distance learning classroom in Dzaleka camp…………..…93

POEM
If you’d come to Dzaleka

If you'd come for moments
Taste the dust of Dzaleka
Home for all survivors and remnants
A cell of the heart of Africa
Feel the notorious coldness trickle into your veins
Just for a spell, learn what life means to rovers
Sleep on bare mat for a night
So ants and mouse pleasure to gnaw your hair
Feel the fresh air blowing from the "Dambos"
Only if you'd love to come
Maybe you'd love to dance
With culture enthusiast juvenile dancers
For save culture remnant in their survived blood
All were grabbed and made to forget
Maybe you'd be so friendly
To spend a day with lonesome old farmers
Isolated from the noise of crying babies of Dzaleka
Ploughing all days to harvest mirage
Cherishing only the days survival
Dzaleka taught that's what life means

Wouldn't you love to greet all kinds here?
To stand at a bridge that joins a hundred roads
To be welcomed in Kiswahili and last sent off in Kirundi
Maybe you'd love to see hopeless kids hover in the street
Young talents fading into Cinderella
Wouldn't you love to heave them a smile
To charge their faint-frail hope
Maybe you'd love to spend days
Taste the chronic African Ugali and Nandoro
If you only would like to come

The gates are opened inviting
Ready to welcome if you’d love to come
Tour the slum pattern less Dzaleka
Gazing at wreckage of humans
Share some of your time with hopeless Dzalekians
Drink the unhealthy that has brought up this generation
Hear a story of the despair and dispirited
But never wonder if you see them heave smiles
Life now means mere existence
If you’d come feel the rhythm of life in Dzaleka,
If you only would love to!

(A Poem from *Collection of Refugee Poetry*, JC: HEM Performing Arts)

CHAPTER I: LINKING DEVELOPMENT WITH HIGHER EDUCATION FOR REFUGEES

"If knowledge is power, then changing the terrain of discourse is the first but very important step. It makes it possible to fight the opposition on the ground of one's choosing'
(Gita Sen, 2004: 13, citing Sun Tzu's Art of War)

1.1 Refugeeism and Development

Worldwide, the number of displaced persons and refugees[1] has decreased over the past decade (UNHCR, 2008); nevertheless in Africa, these numbers, particularly those in protracted refugee situations,[2] have been on the rise (UNHCR, 2012). Moreover, refugee situations have become increasingly protracted spaces of permanent liminality, where displaced individuals find themselves unable to continue formal learning. The development and delivery of education, especially higher education[3], is ordinarily tied to the nation-state (Water & Leblanc, 2005), but refugee camps typically lack this link to a protective state, and thus refugees are unable to claim the right to education. This scarcity of state support is especially true when camps are located in host countries, but may similarly occur in camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs).

To date, East Africa and Asia, specifically refugee camps in Kenya and along the Thai-Burma border, figure uppermost amongst sites where higher education for refugees has been explored, challenged and examined in some depth. Such massive, long-term refugee situations

---

[1] Most African states look to the 1969 OAU Convention definition of a refugee, which is defined as someone who, "owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality" (OAU, 1969, Article 1.2).

[2] According to the UNHCR, the vast majority of protracted refugee situations (PRS), where refugees have been in exile for more than five years, are found in countries in Asia and in Africa (2012), where host governments themselves strain to meet the needs of their own populations.

[3] Higher education is also referred to as tertiary or post-secondary education, and primarily encompasses formal educational opportunities available to graduates of secondary school. These opportunities are independent from the more common 'vocational' or 'adult' education programs in refugee camps, with training in areas such as carpentry, tailoring and bricklaying.

are better known through popular media than smaller protracted situations, such as Dzaleka refugee camp in Malawi, where fieldwork for this thesis took place. While more 'invisible' on the global stage, Dzaleka brings forward important issues pertaining to the desire for higher education among refugee youth, and the relationship between education, development, and agency among displaced persons, and in particular, young people.[4] I will argue that refugees regard higher education as a means to articulate more effectively their lived experiences[5] in the so-called marginal spaces of Africa and as a means to support their families in the context of an uncertain future. It is my supposition, based on a limited fieldwork experience, that this knowledge can ultimately reveal the so-called margins as the centre. In this thesis I will argue that displaced young people regard higher education as a means towards self-realization and a more stable future in a context which they describe as being very uncertain. They expect that higher education will enable them to provide a future beyond the camp, not only for themselves, but also for their families, both by birth and extended.

Refugee camps, or 'settlements' as they often become over time, do not exist in a vacuum outside of host-country politics and power relations. Structural inequalities are reproduced and experienced within the refugee camp itself. As sites in which displaced persons seek refuge from conflict and persecution in their countries of origin, refugee camps are ideally spaces where asylum-seekers are relatively safe, and wherein they are treated 'fairly' and can access basic rights. In reality, however, these processes are severely limited. Historically and frequently,

[4] The term 'young people' or 'young person' has been chosen for this research as opposed to the terms child (legally understood as 0-18 years of age) or youth, generally understood to be up to age 30. While the term young people/person can be more ambiguous, it lends itself to more flexibility in line with a social age definition (Clark-Kazak, 2009) better suited to situations of displacement. This research refers to 'young people' as those who self-identify as young according to social, chronological or political stages of life.

[5] The term 'lived experiences' in this thesis is inspired by Malkki (1992), and refers to the self-definition of one's own circumstances of displacement and exile.

those who have been labeled as refugees are viewed as 'passive victims,' are allowed limited agency and control over their circumstances, and are vulnerable due to shifting development and humanitarian priorities at the global level (Malkki, 1996; Nyers, 2009; Limbu, 2009; Rajaram, 2002).

Since the emergence of African post-colonial states between the 1950s and 1970s, conflict and displacement, compounded by events such as floods, droughts, and famines, have largely characterized the African continental landscape and continued into the last half century. In its most recent Global Appeal, UNHCR articulates its recognition of the growth in mixed migration movements in southern Africa, in particular (2014). These migration flows have led to increasing hostilities towards refugees and a consequent squeeze on protection space. With the February 2013 closure of Mtabila Refugee camp in Tanzania that was still housing more than 33,000 refugees, the movement of refugees within that region continues to be of great concern. In effect, the 'emptying' of Tanzania of refugees and asylum-seekers may give the appearance that the refugee 'problem' has been solved in the region (Hovil & Mbazumutima, 2012); however, many of these persons have been further displaced to Malawi.[6]

Although Africa accounted for more than half of the world's total refugee population at the turn of the millennium (Gatrell, 2013), research has been limited to the 'containment' and management of refugee flows on the continent, with an increasing emphasis on the politicization and securitization of protracted refugee situations. While Sub-Saharan Africa's economic growth continues to rise, poverty and inequality remain high (World Bank, 2013), and thus, humanitarian and development interventions continue to play a key role in tackling these

[6] Tanzania is often lauded on an international scale for its policy on the naturalization of 1972 Burundian refugees proposed in 2007 (Milner, 2013), however, its delayed implementation is symptomatic of the region's shifting politics. Its increasingly securitized view of refugees solidified after passing more restrictive refugee legislation in the early 2000s.

challenges. This region of Africa figures prominently in the historical timeline of population displacement and as a key site of both humanitarian interventions and the representation of 'the refugee' as de-historicized and/or 'helpless.' As a continent, Africa itself is often portrayed using the same descriptors (Nsamenang, 2004). Passive representations are exacerbated by the increasingly long-term or protracted nature of refugee situations around the world, and the continuity of these confined spaces into the foreseeable future. Such representations do little justice to the depth or diversity of imaginaries and stories of displacement that display resilience, courage, and resourcefulness. Through listening to the lived experiences of displaced people, their contributions to development of self and of others can be reframed as strengths rather than as burdens (Jacobson, 2002). More broadly, these contributions to global scholarship have the potential to assist in addressing 'errors' in development and scholarship about and from Africa that "have been so commonplace as to look normal" (Nsamenang, 2004, p. 9).

It is now recognized that a trajectory from 'emergency' to 'long-term development' is built on a false dichotomy. This dichotomization does not recognize a relief-development continuum, or a more recently defined 'humanitarian-development nexus' (Zetter, 2014), where long-term development considerations are integrated throughout what may be deemed an emergency or humanitarian crisis. In cases wherein a relief-development continuum is marked by increasing politicization and securitization, specifically as pertaining to displaced people, then the continuum is of a non-linear nature. For example, in Rwanda, segments of the population have remained in crises ranging from less to more severe originating before independence up to the present (Jones, 2004), and this complicates definitions of a 'conflict' to 'post-conflict" continuum'. Therein can be seen a multiplicity of situations that exist simultaneously along a continuum within a given site.

Humanitarian and development agencies have begun to rethink definitions of events that they previously labelled 'emergencies.' For example, it is now generally agreed that better planning and use of resources can contribute to avoiding environmental 'disasters' (Hyndman, 2010). Thus the idea of 'development' is appealing to some humanitarian organizations as a general approach to managing displacement. But while many of these projects are able to take a longer-term view, they often do not address difficult structural transformations around representation that allow the incorporation of "freely expressed wishes of refugees" (Gatrell, 2013, p. 233). Central among the expressed wishes of refugees is access to education. A number of authors have reasoned that appropriate and ongoing education is imperative to refugees for a number of reasons, including, but not limited to long-term stability (Kawasonga, 2005), peace (Dryden-Peterson, 2011), self-sufficiency (Jacobson, 2002) and access to social, economic, legal and political rights (Durieux & McAdam, 2004).

In the last decade in particular, there has been a gradual shift towards *provision* of services in humanitarian situations beyond those deemed 'necessary.' For example, education in refugee situations is now viewed as the 'fourth pillar' of humanitarian assistance, as important as food, shelter and health services (El Jack, 2010; Zeus, 2009; Water & Leblanc, 2005), and particularly so when defined by camp residents themselves (Courtney, 2007). This shift has opened up space to discuss the fields of post-primary education for refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Brown, 2012), and higher education for refugees more specifically (Zeus, 2009; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010; Dippo, Orgocka, & Giles, 2012; Williams, 2012; Oh, 2012; Muvandimwe, 2013; Kavuro, 2013). While migration is often regarded as a powerful tool for development with the same transformative power as trade or technology transfer, access to

knowledge, especially higher forms of education, is often not considered within migration research.

I conceptualize higher education as a form of education that is linked to the development of a political voice, a 'critical consciousness' (Freire, 1979), a self-authoring, and an active understanding of and claim to rights.[7] Herein I am building on Butler's use of the term 'self-authorisation', whereby she refers to the term as "small dramas" or acts of resistance in the public sphere by those normally excluded from it (Butler, 2014). I propose to open the term 'self-authoring' beyond the symbolic to encompass the ability to determine oneself, including exerting power and control across numerous forms of communication by oneself. Agier also discusses 'self-authoring' of Rwandan and Burundian refugees in Maheba Refugee camp in Zambia through collective testimonies, as a way of "coming together and speaking out" on the histories of displacement in this space (2011, p. 174).

Education can be seen as an important vehicle for both acquiring capacities and being perceived as having capacity by international actors. Therefore, by being able to speak the same language, both literally and figuratively, as policy-makers and other actors, young people can choose to be more politically visible and can more easily articulate and participate in decisions affecting their lives and the lives of those in their 'community,' and education is an important vehicle for this acquisition of capacities. While the young people I spoke with often wanted to improve their English, it was interesting to note that many had quickly learned the local language of Chichewa, as both a compulsory subject for those who complete secondary school in Malawi and as a covert coping strategy for ease of mobility outside the camp.

[7] I use the term education in this thesis to refer to formal education, based on a classroom model (on-line and/or in-person).

Malawi, located in southern Africa and home to approximately 20,000 refugees and asylum-seekers[8], presents an interesting case to explore the possibilities for those confined to 'the margins' to contribute to development on their own terms, through access to higher education. As well, Dzaleka Refugee camp itself has been studied very little in the last decade.

1.2 Research Objectives

Young people who have been displaced much of their lives and grow up in exile are overwhelmingly future-oriented and see higher education as a means to achieve their life goals, There has been a clear recognition in research and praxis of the need to move beyond conceptions of refugees as 'victims,' 'passive,' or 'helpless'. However, moving beyond this discursive recognition necessitates a better understanding of how power and knowledge are (re) produced and contested. Despite being subject to forced displacement, and an associated lack of choices, young people in refugee contexts can reclaim more agency and capacity to actively choose development of self, of their family, and community, and on their own terms. I argue that those described as refugees in protracted refugee situations can contribute to a discursive and structural shift by authoring their own development, and that one of the ways that this can be accomplished is through accessing and engaging in higher education. I also recognize the importance of acknowledging individual acts of resilience by refugees that contribute towards securing a better future for themselves, their families, and their larger 'community.'[9]

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Malawi, represent 27 out of 30 of the least developed countries (2013),

---

[8] An asylum-seeker is an individual who has crossed an international border and has claimed refugee status; but whose claim has not yet been accepted or denied (UNHCR, 2008).

[9] Community is conceptualized in a multitude of ways according to displaced individuals who were interviewed; however, generally did not extend beyond the site of refuge with the exception of family members.

presenting particular constraints to hosting large and/or lengthy refugee situations. Malawi is often a second or third site for displaced people and thus houses a growing population of young people who were born into exile. While young people progress through primary and secondary school in the country's only refugee camp, Dzaleka, there are only a handful of possibilities for higher education available for those who wish to continue their studies. As new initiatives in distance learning becoming available, there is a need to examine both structural and individual barriers to accessing higher education for refugees. Moving beyond the *provision* of higher education in protracted refugee situations, which centers its focus on institutions, structures and interventions, this thesis re-orients the center of the conversation around the lived experiences of attempting to gain or gaining *access* to higher education as a refugee in Malawi. This approach is intentional, as a means to shift the research respondents away from the margins wherever possible, and aligns itself with language used by emerging authors speaking about refugee education on the continent (Muvandimwe, 2013; Kavuro, 2013). While the benefits of placing refugees and displaced persons at the core of development practice are widely documented from an economic perspective (Zetter, 2014), for these benefits to more fully come to fruition, international and national actors must continue hearing the voices and claims of those re-centered bodies.

Interviews, oral histories, and other archival research, reveal the nature of access to education in the so-called 'temporary' and limited spaces of a long-term southern African refugee camp, and raise questions about humanitarian structures and responsibilities, and the right to education. Thus, this thesis has two main and interrelated objectives:

1) To examine the extent to which refugee young people in Malawi, and in Dzaleka Refugee camp in particular, want to access higher education; and

2) To explore the reasons they give for this desire, including:

    - Self-realization, namely expressed as control over their lives and a more secure future, and;
    - Contribution to the betterment of their lives now and in the future, and that of their birth or extended family as well.

1.3 Aims and Rationale of the Study

While the literature concerning Education in Emergencies (EiE) and in conflict-affected communities is growing,[10] there remains minimal scholarship around higher education in long-term refugee camps (Corrigan, 2005). This research, however, is primarily concerned with examining the lived experiences of young people on their journeys to access higher education for a 'better future'. Such limits on its scope prevent this work from discussing such related issues as camp-based curriculums, education and resettlement, and teacher development in camps.

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in Dzaleka Refugee camp in 2013, where there exists both a high demand, but also some opportunities for higher education for refugees. Apart from being a very under-researched site in refugee and development studies, Malawi is increasingly becoming a site of second or third asylum for refugees, with education anecdotally described as a contributing 'pull-factor' for seeking asylum there. For example, the capacity of the education system in Burundi to absorb returnees is limited (Anselme & Zeus, 2012), and based on both interviews and oral histories in Malawi, education is a strong motivating factor for 'choosing' a further site of displacement that appears to offer additional opportunities.

Since the early 1990s, Malawi has hosted displaced populations of a multitude of different ethnicities, and countries of origin, from across the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. Malawi, and Dzaleka camp specifically, is a small (both in population and area) and

---

[10] This is particularly so with the growth of the International Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE) and the launch of the Journal on Education in Emergencies in 2014.

accessible research site that has made some post-secondary opportunities available to displaced people. In this study, I focus on the production of 'situated knowledge'[11] about refugees and displaced persons in Malawi, by examining the individual lived experiences of refugee young people who are either accessing or attempting to access higher education. My dual purpose is to 'visibilize' a little known site of displacement, and consider how refugee young people access higher education, while simultaneously reflecting on the potential of higher education for refugees to contribute to more authentic representations of refugees themselves.

1.4 Conflict in the Great Lakes region and a Socio-Historical Analysis of Refugees in Malawi

"Refugees and Africa seem almost synonymous" (Adelman, 1994). The aforementioned statement was written twenty years ago when the number of conflicts in post-colonial states throughout the Great Lakes region and Horn of Africa had already begun displacing millions of individuals. While outside these regions, Malawi has its own post-colonial history of both refugee production and hosting. Malawi is a small, demographically youthful and densely populated country in southern Africa, landlocked and bordering Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique. Having gained its independence from Britain in 1964, Malawi was a *de jure* one party state until a multi-party political system was instituted in 1994. Former 'life-President' of Malawi, Hastings Kamuzu Banda led Malawi to independence from British colonial rule in 1964 and ruled the country as a single-party dictatorship of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) up to 1994. During Banda's regime, Dzaleka was one of three maximum-security prisons for political detainees. The prison was closed shortly after his rule ended in 1994, but it was quickly re-opened as a refugee camp in December of the same year to accommodate refugees coming

[11] Hardaway defines situated knowledge as specific to a particular situation through "mutual and usually unequal structuring…[that] makes room for surprises and irony at the heart of all knowledge production" (1988, p. 594).

primarily from the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa regions. Interestingly, the space was originally closed as a prison as it “reminded Malawians of Dr. Banda’s torture” (Africa Research Bulletin, 2005, p. 16117).

Historically, Malawi has hosted refugees since the late 1970s, when more than one million refugees from neighbouring Mozambique fled from the country’s long civil war. Reaching a peak of 1.7 million refugees from Mozambique, as well as from Zimbabwe (the former Rhodesia) (Makhema, 2009, p. 11) in the late 1980s, the Government of Malawi called for international assistance in 1987. Thus, Malawi was obliged to ratify both the 1951 Refugee Convention and its Protocol, as well as the 1969 OAU Convention (Callamard, 1994). The one million refugees, both those in camps and those dispersed amongst the local population were regarded by the local population as having a negative economic impact on their lives (Shawa, 2005). This was due, at least partly, to the fact that Malawi received little or no international assistance for hosting Mozambican refugees, placing locals and refugees in competition for the same state resources. By and large, these Mozambicans did overwhelmingly return to their country in the early 1990s, the civil war in Mozambique officially ended in October 1992.

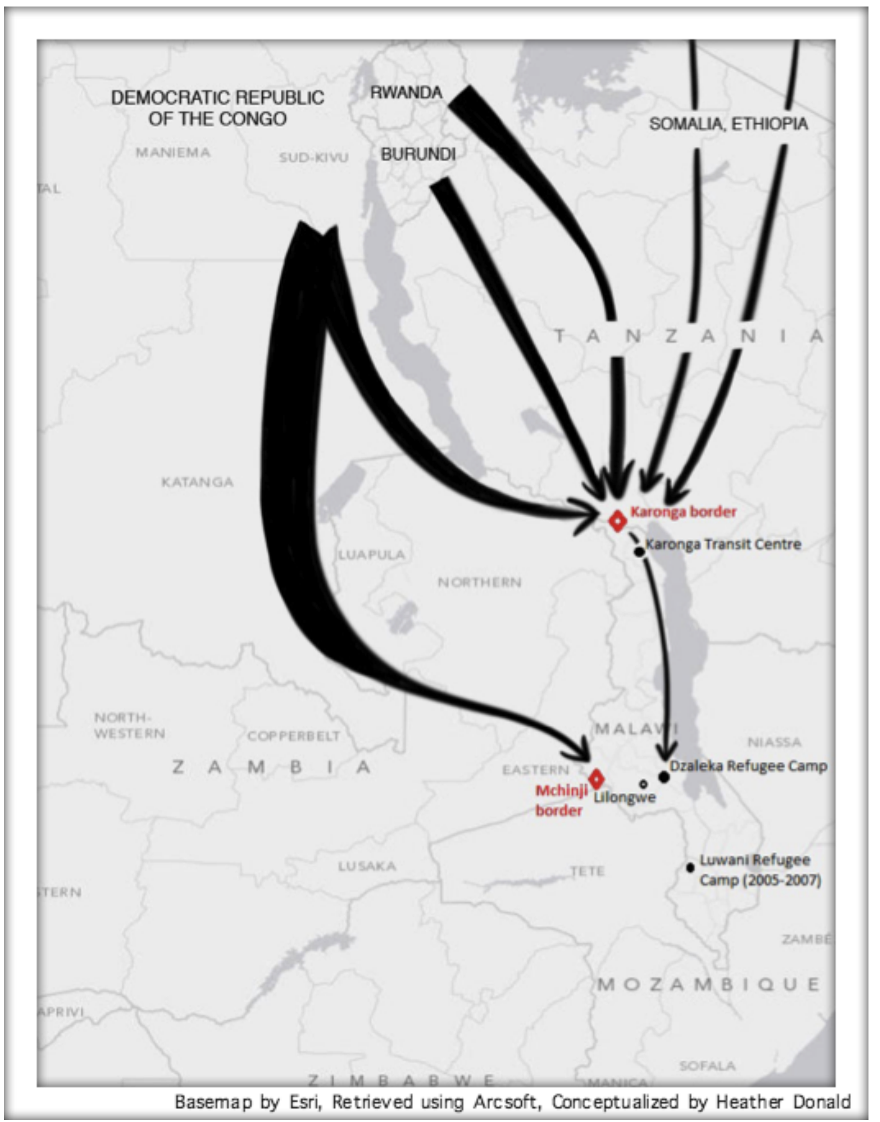


Figure 1.1: Principle Sources and Routes of Refugees to Malawi and Dzaleka Refugee Camp

Malawi itself was a producer of refugees in the 1960s and 1970s when Jehovah Witness followers fled religious persecution after clashing with Banda’s ruling Party (Mvula, 2009). Coupled with a history of political repression within Malawi, there are real limitations to the protection and services provided by the nation-state to refugees within its borders. This is evidenced by Malawi entering nine reservations to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the enforcement of encampment policies enshrined in its 1989 Refugee Act. Dzaleka Refugee camp

exists in a state of 'permanent temporariness' (Bailey, Wright, Mountz, & Miyares, 2002) and its future remains uncertain as government officials argue the space is already earmarked for a government hospital (Ministry of Home Affairs of Malawi official, 2013), with rumours of its closure ongoing in the media for many years.[12] Dzaleka emerged, as do many refugee camps cum-settlements globally, in the early 1990s as a short-term stopgap for large populations displaced by post-independence conflicts (Gatrell, 2013).

Dzaleka Refugee camp is located roughly 50km northwest of Malawi's capital city of Lilongwe, situated geographically between elevations contributing to its colder, dry climate (see Figure 1.3). At the end of 2013, Dzaleka Refugee camp hosted approximately 18,800 registered refugees and asylum-seekers[13], from a total of 14 different countries (UNHCR, 2013). These displaced persons originate almost exclusively from the Great Lakes and Horn of Africa regions, namely the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Burundi, with smaller populations from Somalia and Ethiopia. According to UNHCR projections, refugee numbers will continue to rise in the foreseeable future, and are expected to reach over 23,000 in 2015 (WFP, 2012). Prolonged conflicts in the aforementioned regions have resulted in an ongoing flow of refugees into Malawi. This flow continues as Tanzania has explicitly declared its intention to be a 'refugee-free' country (Milner, 2013). Since 2002, Tanzania has been 'forcibly repatriating' thousands of Rwandan and Burundian refugees; however, it is not known how many returned to their countries of origin or experienced further displacement.

---

[12] *The Nyasa Times* and *The Nation* in Malawi frequently run stories, generally equating refugees with illegal immigrants.

[13] Population figures from other sources vary upwards to 23,000 refugees and asylum-seeks in Malawi, likely taking into account urban refugees as well.

Figure 1.3: An aerial photo of Dzaleka Refugee Camp, showing the orientation of the camp towards the capital city, Lilongwe and nearest town, Dowa. Photo courtesy of Patrick Garety (2013); labels added by author.

With these repatriations and a large number of camps in Tanzania closing down in the last decade, Malawi has been gradually accommodating larger numbers of refugee and asylum-seekers within its borders. The country has also become a major transit route for migrants to reach South Africa, particularly young men from Somalia and Ethiopia (WFP, 2012). A process for granting transit asylum is not yet in place, but it appears that this could be done in the future in line with domestic law (Nkhoma, T., 2010), which may aid in shifting the discourse surrounding refugees as illegal immigrants. The Karonga Transit Centre, located in the northern region of the country along the Malawi-Tanzania border, is the only official entry point for refugees and asylum-seekers, although some Congolese do enter Malawi via Zambia and arrive

at the Mchinji border post (MoHAIS[14] official, 2013). Displaced persons claiming refugee status upon entry into Malawi are kept at the Karonga Transit Centre for up to three months[15] before being transported to Dzaleka. There was a second refugee camp in Malawi, Luwani, which opened in the southern region for a short time from 2005 to 2009 (Mvula, 2009); however, after its consolidation, the population of Dzaleka, the country's only refugee camp, has continued expanding.

Despite this protracted situation of growing refugee numbers in Malawi, it is extremely difficult to find cartographic evidence[16] of Dzaleka's existence amongst other documentation of forced migration in the region. Baker describes the site as a place, with a "history of secrecy" that cannot be found on any local or international map (2011, p. 34). This cartographical invisibilization of the camp, itself mirrors the marginalization of voices emerging from the persons confined to residing in this space. B. Nkhoma calls the refugee population in Malawi an "insignificant number of people" that has "reduced significantly" (2012, p. 107), despite evidence to the contrary. Even the United Nations in Malawi website wrongfully states that Dzaleka "no longer receives new arrivals" (2014), further entrenching the impression of a stagnant, insignificant population.

Dzaleka Refugee camp, and Malawi's hosting of refugee populations, appears both cartographically invisible and discursively absent in many texts on refugee flows, containment,

[14] Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security (MoHAISIS), Government of Malawi
[15] This number varies from two weeks (MoHAIS official, 2013) to three months (Teacher in Dzaleka, 2013).
[16] Esri situates the "50 most populous refugee camps" globally in 2013, leaving out Dzaleka despite its official population being more than that of those listed in the bottom one-fifth (2013). In addition, Gatrell maps refugee outflows in the Great Lakes region and does not show Dzaleka (2013, p. 236).

and populations in the region. The country and camp are either omitted completely[17] or reduced to an 'etc.'[18] Likewise, the absence of the 'CNN Effect'[19] in Malawi and this cartographic and discursive invisibility of refugees in Malawi, means that such 'permanent precariousness' continues to pervade in the camp. While the normalization of isolation of protracted refugee situations is noted by a number of authors (Agier, 2011), the spatial memory of Malawi's Dzaleka camp is as a highly political and repressed site of confinement as a prison.[20]

Two independent research projects have been conducted in Dzaleka (Velasquez, 2006; Carlson, 2005), both of which focus on community and household-level violence (domestic and intercommunal) within the camp. In 2005, at about half its current size and with many new arrivals, Dzaleka was described as a 'textbook' camp. Now, ten years later, conceptualizing this long-term camp as a city community allows for a re-orientation of the camp towards a view of its residents as agential, as having development potential, and as being assets to Malawi. This work recognizes that individual experiences and aspirations for the future cannot be simplified, and that some young people in exile may desire (or not) to be an asset to their host country, while others may see education as a passport to elsewhere, either a country of resettlement and/or some version of 'home.'

---

[17] Harrell-Bond & Verdirame (2005, p. 76, footnote 44) note instances of refugee hosting states in the region doing so without international assistance, forgetting to include Malawi and the country's hosting of Mozambicans for more than 15 years.
[18] Noting many other refugee hosting countries in southern and East Africa, Agier adds 'etc.' while leaving out Malawi (2011, p. 53).
[19] In highly visible mass displacement situations, the 'CNN Effect' describes the high volume of media coverage on a given situation within the initial stages of the emergency, which may inadvertently pressure national and international governments to intervene, and in particular ways (Hyndman, 2013). In the case of Malawi, it has been steadily taking in refugees and asylum-seekers for the past twenty years, but has not elicited much outside media attention.
[20] Some authors draw parallels between the prison and the refugee camp, as 'extra-territorial' spaces; however, this thesis is only concerned with historicizing this spaces from which to more fully understand access to the public, and by extension, higher education.

1.5 Refugees in Malawi: Economic, Legal and Political Considerations

Malawi has a long history of hosting Mozambican refugees in a secure environment, but attitudes have shifted in the past two decades with local population expectations increasing around refugee repatriation, as well as rising xenophobia, reported cases of insecurity, and negative media coverage (Nkhoma B., 2012; JAM, 2012, p. 6). Virtually all refugees from Mozambique in Malawi subsequently repatriated between 1992 and 1996 after the end of the country's civil war. This massive repatriation has resulted in a predominant view and expectation amongst both the population and the Government of Malawi that refugees from Burundi and Rwanda should repatriate just as readily as the Mozambicans did, now that their conflicts have 'ceased' according to the international community (Nkhoma, T., 2010). In a complex refugee caseload situation such as Malawi, where most refugees and asylum-seekers are categorized as 'irregular movers,'[21] reasons for flight go beyond civil war or conflict. Despite Article 10 (1) of the 1989 Refugee Act outlining the guarantee of *non-refoulement*, 'forced' repatriation of refugees from Malawi back to Rwanda is being constantly threatened. Rwandans who left their country between 1958 and 1998 again are being told they will have to repatriate, or at least leave Malawi, because of the cessation of their refugee status by UNHCR (IRIN, 2013). The situation is complex, as many will face (re) displacement[22] to another country of asylum, particularly if they feel repatriation to a 'home' is not an option for them.

With continued devaluations of the Malawi Kwacha (MKW) currency in the past few years, coupled with increased social and economic challenges overall, levels of xenophobia towards refugees appear to be increasing (JAM, 2012; Nkhoma, T., 2010). At times, cooperation

---

[21] 'Irregular movers' are refugees and asylum-seekers that have crossed one or two other countries before seeking asylum in Malawi. B. Nkhoma (2012, p. 8, footnote 30) cites ill-treatment of refugees in Tanzania and proximity to their country of origin as the principal reason for refugees choosing Malawi.

[22] Re-displacement is understood as a second (or third) period of movement and settlement in another country of asylum, either directly from a neighbouring country, or after a period of repatriation.

is apparent between residents of Dowa, the nearest town to the camp, the villages surrounding Dzaleka, and the camp residents. This cooperation generally centres around shared utilization of social services, including the camp's UNHCR-funded clinic and secondary school, as well as capitalizing on the weekly market day near the camp. On the other hand, refugees often seek out firewood from neighbouring villages for making charcoal, contributing to environmental degradation and this practice along with competition from refugee-run small businesses is contributing to tensions between the refugee and non-refugee populations. I often joined refugees on my morning walk from the home of my Malawian family host in Dowa town to the main Dowa-Dzaleka road, where I would catch transportation onwards to the camp. These individuals would explain how expensive charcoal was, and the restrictive prices to grind their maize ration to make it edible, thus necessitating these types of coping strategies. In referring to cutting down trees to make charcoal, one man told me: "I know this is not the best thing to do, but no choice to survive."

Furthermore, the rights of refugees in Malawi remain an important legal concern. The Government of Malawi has enacted reservations and limitations to the various legal instruments governing the rights and protection of refugees, to which they are a signatory.[23] Malawi is also a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which includes the right to seek and enjoy asylum; however, this right is not enshrined in Malawian domestic legislation. Nationally, Malawi enacted its own refugee legislation – the 1989 Republic of Malawi Refugee Act – that guides the implementation of activities, namely "control and administration" (Maluwa, 1991), related to asylum-seekers and refugees in the country. Despite Article 10 (4) of the

[23] Malawi has nine reservations to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and is also signatory to its 1967 Protocol, and regional treaties such as the 1969 OAU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (specifically Article 12.3).

Refugee Act prohibiting sanctions for illegal entry of asylum-seekers in the country,[24] in practice there have been numerous media reports of arrests and imprisonment in the northern districts of Malawi (Mvula, 2009; Nkhoma, B., 2012). In addition, because the Malawi Refugee Act was enacted in 1989, while Malawi was still a one-party state and before it had updated its 1994 Constitution (Nkhoma, T., 2010), many of the provisions in the Act remain unconstitutional and are in need of urgent reform. In addition, this Act came into force at the time when the country's Constitution did not contain a Bill of Rights, and thus it was not likely that a State that denies its citizens enforceable rights could guarantee the same to refugees (Mvula, 2009).

Malawi's 1989 Refugee Act has adopted a broad definition of a refugee by combining the definitions reflected in the 1951 Refugee Convention and the OAU Convention, mirroring the practical reality that conflict and persecution can exist simultaneously; however, the Act makes no substantive provisions with regard to the rights of refugees (Nkhoma, T., 2010, p. 109). Malawian police can detain refugees for short periods of time if they are caught leaving Dzaleka camp, as restrictions on movement are strictly enforced. While the country's encampment policy was successfully defended in the High Courts in Malawi (USCRI, 2009), selected refugees such as those trained in the medical profession who could work in a city hospital, can receive urban refugee designation. Access to higher education can also provide a form of freedom or reduction of these restrictions.

As mentioned previously, although Malawi has agreed to the various refugee conventions, it has done so with reservations, many of which hinder efforts towards local integration and self-reliance by refugees (WFP, 2013). There are nine reservations with regards to the 1951 Refugee Convention acceded in 1987 in Malawi, including the freedom of movement, the right to employment, and the right to public education. Malawi's reservation to

[24] This is in line with Article 31 of the 1951 Convention.

Article 22 of the 1951 Refugee Convention means that the state does not see as legally binding that "Refugees should receive the same treatment as nationals regarding access to elementary education, and treatment 'as favourable as possible' regarding other education." Some authors have argued that the influx of more than one million Mozambican refugees into the country between the 1980s and early 1990s forced Malawi to rush the process of ratifying international refugee instruments, as well as drafting the 1989 Refugee Act (Maluwa, 1991; Mvula, 2009; Nkhoma, T., 2010). As such, the Refugee Act is both brief and targeted to address the specific concerns arising out of the circumstances of the refugee influx from Mozambique faced by Malawi for the 10 years prior to 1989 (Maluwa, 1991). This dated Act and the numerous reservations to other international refugee conventions, limit the protection of rights, including the right to education, for refugees in the country.

With multiple legislation and conventions affecting refugees in Malawi, the lines between different ministries and government departments involved are not always clear (Nkhoma, T., 2010). The Government of Malawi, through the Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security (MoHAIS),[25] is the main body responsible for handling refugee issues in the country. MoHAIS is responsible for the establishment and maintenance of all refugee camps and transit shelters; is lead on determining the status of refugees/asylum-seekers coming into Malawi through the Refugee Committee; and is tasked with providing for their well-being and security. As such, the Government of Malawi manages the camp with support from UNHCR which has a number of implementing partner non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to provide social services within the camp.

[25] Prior to publication, the Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security was re-organized and re-named the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Public Security, which includes the Department of Refugees. This could be further evidence of a declining environment for rights of non-nationals in Malawi, utilizing language of increased securitization.

Despite the fact that Section 10 (4) of the Malawi Refugee Act details that illegal entry of any person for purpose of seeking asylum does not disqualify the applicant from becoming a refugee, such entry is seen as a 'transnational threat' by many in the country (Nkhoma, B., 2012). Immigration, including the presence of refugees, is seen by some to threaten the "collective identity" of Malawi (Nkhoma, B., 2012). However, the collective Malawian imaginary, who are weary of the influx of refugees, is composed of different ethnic minorities who themselves immigrated to Malawi decades or centuries ago.[26] Despite this national history and the accession of a number of international refugee conventions, the international principle of *non-refoulement*[27] is not always respected in practice, as evidenced in Malawi by a number of cases of detention or deportation of asylum-seekers (Nkhoma, T., 2010, p. 113). Refugees and asylum-seekers from the Great Lakes region, as opposed to those from the Horn of Africa region, often share linguistic and social characteristics, such as the Kiswahili language, with residents of northern Malawi. These attributes often mean that coping strategies and actions of resistance are more easily enacted to enable access to protection and services. Such racialization by Malawians towards refugees and asylum-seekers from Ethiopia and Somalia could be linked with their perceived trafficked and transitory nature. Interestingly, when rural Mozambicans first began fleeing their country to Malawi in the 1980s, they did not live in separate refugee camps, nor did they receive separate educational opportunities from nationals. According to Smawfield, "the official policy stand was that Mozambicans taking asylum were not 'refugees,' but Malawians, [who had] artificially [been] divided by the legacy of colonialism" (as cited in Waters & Leblanc, 2005, p. 143).

---

[26] People who have come to be called Malawians in the region (Tumbukas, Chikulamayembe, Ngondes, Ngonis, and Tonga) came to the country as immigrants a century ago (Nkhoma, B., 2012, 34).
[27] According to the UN Refugee Convention, no exceptions may be made to the *non-refoulement* obligation (Article 21(1)).

1.6 Conceptualizing Refugees and Education in Malawi

While Baker argues that refugees in Dzaleka camp “seem content enough” to see to the simplicity of ordinary life and “do not think about their future” (2011, p. 40), based on observations, interviews and oral histories of young people, this is far removed from the reality of young people and adults alike in the camp. The demand for educational opportunities is highly visible with an overcrowded primary and secondary school in the camp, with limited places in the Bridging Programme for the secondary school to accommodate those who complete primary school in French in their countries of origin, and with more than four times the applicants applying for limited higher education places in the camp (WUSC & JRS staff, 2013).

There are a number of organizations and agencies officially working in Dzaleka refugee camp, as noted in Box 1.3, while others may work in the camp without formal agreements with the Government of Malawi and UNHCR. As the official implementing agency for education for the UNHCR in Malawi, the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) is tasked with providing primary and secondary-level education to both refugees and some Malawians in the villages surrounding Dzaleka. There is one primary school, Umodzi Katubza Primary, and one secondary school, Dzaleka Community Secondary, serving the diverse refugee population. The former serves approximately 4,000 refugee and asylum-seeking children (UNHCR, 2013) and the latter has approximately 440 spaces (Camp

Box 1.3 Organizations that administer official programs or provide support in Dzaleka Refugee camp

1. UNHCR – Malawi
2. Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security (MoHAIS) – Government of Malawi
3. Ministry of Health – Government of Malawi
4. The Malawi Police
5. The Malawi Red Cross Society (MRCS)*
6. Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS)

* Since completing fieldwork in August 2013, MRCS is no longer working in the camp, and has been replaced by a local organization doing food distribution.

educator, 2013) in total.[28] After the closure of Luwani refugee camp in May 2007[29] and the movement of the remaining 3,000 refugees to Dzaleka in the following five months, the UNHCR built Dzaleka Community Secondary School to allow the swelling population of school-aged young people to access secondary schooling on a wider scale. Prior to the opening of the camp's secondary school, JRS provided select scholarships at government secondary schools for those refugees chosen to pursue their secondary education outside the camp (JRS Staff, 2013).

Accessing university, or post-secondary education more generally, is very difficult both for residents of Malawi, and for refugees. Refugee young people selected by the University of Malawi, Mzuzu University, or other technical colleges, are expected to pay higher and restrictive international student fees.[30] Some documented exceptions to this general rule do seem to exist and there is minimal support from UNHCR for higher education for some secondary school graduates. In 2008, one refugee young woman was offered a UNHCR scholarship to study pathology[31] in China, and was subsequently granted Malawian citizenship (Mvula, 2009; MoHAIS official, 2013); however, during my interviews with Malawian Government officials, this case seems to be the singular and oft cited example of UNHCR/Government of Malawi support for higher education for refugees in Malawi. Some argue that if the Malawian government was committed to reducing the 'refugee problem' in Malawi, it could have done so by providing citizenship status (Mvula, 2009), as Tanzania did with some long-term Burundian

[28] Dzaleka Community Secondary School generally admits 80 percent refugees and 20 percent Malawians; however, numbers have been closer to 50/50 in 2012 (JRS staff, 2013).
[29] The UN reports Luwani camp was closed due to security concerns and asylum seekers from the Horn of Africa being involved in human trafficking (UN Malawi, 2014).
[30] This information was confirmed both in an interview with a MoHAIS official and by phone with administrative staff of Mzuzu University.
[31] According to a MoHAIS official, Malawi had only one qualified pathologist at the time of the scholarship being awarded, and thus the economic benefit for the host national must be stressed (2013).

residents.[32] While officially holding reservations to the 1951 Refugee Convention restricting access to education for refugees in public institutions, the Government of Malawi does appear to treat these reservations with flexibility (MoHAIS official, 2013). One MoHAIS official stated, "If refugees could just be allowed to go [to universities] as any other Malawian, it could be best," conceding that unless politicians see some benefit to themselves, they will not "help refugees" (MoHAIS official, personal communication, 2013). Such challenges of resource allocation, political will and issue framing continue to impact refugee rights, and specifically, access to higher education for refugees, in Malawi.

1.7 Outline of Thesis

In Chapter 1, I have introduced the thesis topic and its accompanying objectives. I have also provided the context for the research: the historical, legal, political, economic and social specificities of Malawi as a refugee host country. I have begun to provide a picture of Dzaleka Refugee camp as a site for education, mixed migration movements and multiple refugee experiences. Included in this section is a discussion of policies and practices related to refugee education in Malawi, providing an understanding of the structures and systems that maintain what Malkki (1995) deems 'the national order of things,' or the systematic de-contextualization of refugees and displaced persons. Chapter 2 will examine the approaches and methodologies used by the researcher in undertaking this study, including limitations, scope, and methods of data collection and analysis. In an effort to place this research within the larger conversation on development, access to knowledge, and education in refugee situations, Chapter 3 constructs the state of the literature on education, and specifically higher education, for refugees, and its interaction with a long-term framework of development in Africa in particular. Literature on

[32] However, this picture is further complicated by Tanzania's recent rejections of asylum claims (Milner, 2013).

community and migration will also be explored to gain an enhanced understanding of how refugee young people might see themselves and the potential for higher education on multiple levels. Chapter 4 focuses on the educational experiences of six young people in Dzaleka Refugee camp in an effort to turn the narrative of (re) victimization of refugees, and young people in particular, upside down to highlight their individual agency and motivations in accessing higher education and what it means or represents for them. These 'ordinary human interactions' are often missing from historical state narratives (Umutesi, 2004, p. 6), but are essential to do justice to the multiple meanings and experiences of displacement and educational access. Chapter 5 concludes this research by looking at the potentials of these individual experiences of access to higher education for re-conceptualizations of displaced individuals and their contributions to knowledge and development. The contribution of this study to the praxis of development, education and refugeeism highlights the need for an ongoing examination of both institutional and humanitarian structures and listening to individual voices in order to understand the multiplicity of refugee experiences.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH PROCESS AND METHODS – DECONSTRUCTING 'DEVELOPMENT' IN RESEARCH WITH REFUGEES

"Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects that must be saved from a burning building."
(Freire, 1970, p. 34)

2.1 Introduction

This thesis takes as its point of departure that much of the literature in the field of refugee studies is based on a construction of the 'refugee' as an *object* of representation (Limbu, 2009). This approach is similar to dominant development discourse that constructs and reinforces particular people and social groups as needing development assistance or intervention (Escobar, 1995). The objectification of people underlies the justification of humanitarian projects, programs, interventions and accompanying funds that are expected to remedy or 'fix' the 'problem'. But complex development dilemmas cannot be fixed easily. For example, the 'African refugee' experience, from the 1980s through to the present, has often been labeled a 'problem.' From the 1969 OAU Convention and the International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (1981, 1984), to numerous publications (Kibreab, 1985; Blavo, 1999; Maluwa, 2005), this label has led many from outside of Africa to find an elusive 'solution' to a problem that is not normally or only of the refugees' own making. Instead, re-orienting the conversation to centre on the multiplicity of individual displacement contexts and experiences gives a more nuanced and, I would argue, authentic understanding of the situation. A Congolese friend in Dzaleka described a *colonization secrète* at play among international actors who recognized challenges faced by refugees, but still did not allow displaced persons to integrate and contribute to sustainable, long-term development. "Colonization means imposing power over [something], and some [developed] countries are still secretly doing this to others."

The continent of Africa, and specifically south of the Sahara, is often constructed as a modern day trope for all that is not 'developed' (Poku & Mdee, 2011), with the figure of the refugee further imagined at the periphery of this 'non-development.' There are multiple definitions of development ranging from its identification as a disruptive process to a harmonious one. While recognizing my own middle-class subjectivity positioned in the "performance of goodness" (Heron, 2007, p. 7) of doing such development fieldwork, I attempt to draw from Southern, and specifically African, development theorists, who shift development from economic change towards social transformation. This transformation is enacted through self-enrichment arising from the social, spiritual and non-material circumstances of a people who utilize resources to their full potential (Dei, 1993; Nkulu, 2005; Mkandawire, 2010; Nsamenang, 2004; Nyamnjoh, 2011). It is this definition of having the power to define one's own development that remains at the core of epistemological considerations of why higher education is of particular importance for refugees and asylum-seekers.

2.2 Study Area Selection

The research location for this project was chosen based on my ability to access a protracted refugee camp situation, as well as prior experience working in the Great Lakes region of Africa. Access can certainly hinder the operationalization of a research plan; however, commencing eight months prior to my planned fieldwork departure, I began to contact the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) about the possibility of doing research through WUSC in one of the refugee camps in Sub-Saharan Africa where they work. Malawi was selected, as there are at least two post-secondary education opportunities for young people in the camps, thus providing a possibility to use these points of access to understand the desires for and experiences of higher education by refugee young people.

I had worked previously in Malawi in 2011, as well as with resettled refugees in Canada since 2006. I selected Malawi, and specifically the Dzaleka camp, as my research site due to my familiarity with the Great Lakes region, as well as having at least a working proficiency in a number of its languages (English, French, and Kiswahili). Although this access was conditional on fulfilling the responsibilities of a full-time internship with WUSC while in Malawi, the benefits of being connected with an established NGO did outweigh the resultant difficulty of a compressed work schedule that also included intensive fieldwork for this thesis. In addition to time constraints, I was and remain concerned about issues of power and privilege as a researcher from a Canadian higher education institution. My approach to the research therefore always requires a cautious and concerted effort to think carefully about the ways to actualize an intention and dedication to an epistemology and ontology of emancipation to the degree possible (Scotland, 2012). While research in and of itself may not lead to emancipation, the chronicling and valuing of (hi)stories and of everyday lived experiences may impact and encourage conversations about who should define, contribute to, and benefit from development.

2.3 Methodological Considerations

Research methodologies matter, and coming from a critical development perspective, I am most interested in uncovering and contesting power relations. This thesis has a key element of self-advocacy towards an increased self-authoring (Agier, 2011) of the young narrators in the future. Thus, it is important to understand the link between research, as the ability to gain strategic knowledge beyond that which we know, and the exercise of informed 'citizenship' (Appadurai, 2009). Although the term 'citizen' when applied to refugees and asylum-seekers is problematic in that they do not possess legal nationality in their host countries, I viewed my research as a way to enact a broader active form of citizenship that creates a space for refugees to

speak up and make claims as active citizens on matters that are shaping their ‘community’ and indeed the world. Certainly, the image of the asylum-seeker is complicated by the fact that their claim to ‘refugee-ness’ (refugee status) has yet to be accepted; however, it can take years to obtain refugee status, and in the meantime it is important to acknowledge their capabilities and claims to self-authorship.

Refugees and asylum-seekers are outside the legal arena of ‘citizenship’ per se, and as Arendt observes, it is only when a human is also a citizen of a nation-state that he/she can access rights pertaining to legal citizenship (Limbu, 2009; Arendt, 1966). Conversely, it is a consideration of the refugee as fundamentally ‘a world citizen’, whose voice should be heard and should contribute to democratic processes, which underpins my approach to fieldwork. According to Malkki, the refugee exposes the limits of inclusion in a political community, and/or disrupts the national order of things (Malkki, 1995, p. 517), thus providing an opportunity for a “rethinking of politics and a different political future” (Limbu, 2009, p. 266). Knowledge that can distinguish between and across ever-growing and globalizing sources of information is vital for exercising informed decision-making, particularly in the cases of many post-colonial African states.

My fieldwork, including this thesis research, represents an attempt to be both collaborative and open with the young people who narrated their oral histories to me, with a view of authentically representing their voices, and working with them to document their experiences. My epistemological stance on the nature and production of knowledge is that if individuals are able to access knowledge and critical thinking skills, they are capable of achieving ‘cognitive liberation’ (Ngugi, 1994). This holds true particularly for displaced peoples, who can begin regaining their humanity and dignity through authoring their own claims to development.

Despite nearly two decades of critical deconstruction of representations of refugees and asylum-seekers by scholars of refugee studies (Harrell-Bond, 1999; Limbu, 2009; Rajaram, 2002; Daley, 2013), humanitarian images and language surrounding displaced persons continue to portray refugees as having limited agency, uprooted against their will, and perpetual outsiders. Although these descriptors are not inaccurate, such labels do not recognize how these individuals continue to move forward and search for normalcy. This thesis research is grounded in a critique of positivism, the desire for emancipatory research, the need for recognition of the refugee as a political agent by multiple actors (national governments, development agencies, their 'communities', and themselves), and at its heart, the aim to give space to the subjective voices of my respondents. The research process can be marginalizing to many people if researchers remain complicit in the very structures that are being critiqued, perpetuating inequalities that researchers themselves purport to work to overcome.

2.4 Research Plan and Approaches

The data for this thesis was gathered from **ten institutional interviews** with UN and NGO representatives and Government of Malawi officials in order to glean a more in-depth understanding of the institutional structures, as well as attitudes, impacting refugees and refugee education in the country (see Figure 2.41). In addition, **three individual interviews** with teachers and a researcher were intentionally chosen based on their personal and professional experiences in tackling educational and programmatic challenges within the refugee camp, as well as between refugees and the host government (See Figure 2.42). These challenges provide a site for a more nuanced exploration of the structures that dominate access to higher education for young people. With a view to highlight resilient representations and value the experiences of young people, I chose to do **six oral histories** centered on educational trajectories, with young

men (3) and women (3) aged 17 to 24 years (See Figure 2.43). All narrators have completed secondary school, as it was assumed that they had to complete secondary before attempting to access higher education. All six of the narrators had spent between 9 and 12 years in Malawi as asylum-seekers or refugees, with many being born in exile, which is not uncommon amongst young displaced persons from the Great Lakes region. In addition, **one group interview** was carried out with six psychosocial counsellors who work with youth who have 'dropped out' of secondary school in Dzaleka camp, with the purpose to broaden my understanding of structural and cultural factors impacting access to higher education within the broader education continuum. Beyond these 20 interviews, my engagement in the day-to-day life in the camp provided additional information incorporated into the analysis. Other factors influencing choice of approaches were related to logistics and access to the research site, security and political sensitivities, as well as time allocated for data collection.

Figure 2.41: Institutional interviews

Respondent Type	Individuals	Objective of Interview
UNHCR	2	Understand the education policies and practices implemented by UNHCR.
Government of Malawi (Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security)	3	Gather camp-based statistics; discuss socio-historical context of camp, and its relations within and outside the country.
Education NGOs (Jesuit Refugee Services, World University Service of Canada, and There is Hope Ministries)	3	Gather statistics, secondary materials, and gain snapshot of current practices and challenges in Education field.
Non-Education NGOs (Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation, and the Malawi Red Cross Society)[33]	2	Gather information on human rights work with refugees; food distribution; and more general information about education and life in the camp.

[33] Malawi Red Cross Society (MRCS) are no longer the implementing agency for food and non-food distribution in Dzaleka, with another local organization taking over that role for UNHCR in 2014.

Figure 2.42: Individual interviews

Respondent Type	Number of Individuals	Objective of Interview
Educators / Teachers	2	Gather a snapshot of both pedagogical and development challenges in the camp.
Independent Researcher (Malawian)	1	Gain additional information regarding development projects, knowledge production and research on refugees in Malawi.

Figure 2.43: Oral histories with young people

Pseudonyms	Respondent Sex	Age	Country of Origin
Nadine	Female	23	Burundi
Grace	Female	22	Rwanda
Clémentine	Female	17	Rwanda
Emmanuel	Male	24	Congo
Jean-Paul	Male	21	Burundi
Dieudonné	Male	22	Burundi

In addition to the aforementioned factors, my fieldwork approach was influenced by a number of praxis-related factors. I value place-generated knowledge (Bowns, 2011) and thus, the primary research for this study was gathered using open-ended interviews and oral histories.[34] Oral histories are particularly suited to discovering the ambiguities and contradictions in every day experiences, emphasizing individual agency, a plurality of experiences, and the richness of humanity (Bennett & McDowell, 2012; Ghorashi, 2006; Powles, 2004). These traits make this method particularly suited for understanding the experiences of young people who are trying to, or are in the process of, accessing higher education in a refugee context, as it provides space and time to understand the "different layers involved in the stories told" (Ghorashi, 2006, p. 131). In addition, oral history is said to bring history into and out of the community, both making for

[34] Oral history, or life history, is defined as "any retrospective account by the individual of his [or her] life in whole or part…*that has been elicited or prompted by another person*" (Watson & Watson-Franke, 1985, 2, italics in original, as quoted by Powles, 2004, 1). An oral history differs from an interview in that its objective is centered on a more in-depth understanding of an individual's experiences and memories through open-ended questions, whereas an interview tends to focus on more specific questions.

"fuller human beings" and helping narrators towards a "future of their own making" (Thompson, 1978, p. 226). This technique is "unapologetically qualitative," (Bennett & McDowell, 2012, p. 28) and pays specific attention to peoples' subjective experiences and interpretations at a local level, providing greater insights into the connections and structural inequalities than solely literature-based studies. I regard the process of interpretation and analysis of oral histories as necessary to gain as full and as contextualized an understanding as possible (Powles, 2004). In this research I used oral histories as a tool through which to frame an individual's educational trajectories, allowing the respondents/narrators to direct their own narrative, with minimal guiding questions. The process of recording appeared to have a certain element of catharsis or 'empowerment' for some narrators, underlining that their experiences and perspectives do matter within a humanitarian system that tends to devalue their voices (Powles, 2004).

2.5 Data Collection

This thesis is a product of fieldwork carried out between June 2 and September 9, 2013 in the study area, Dzaleka Refugee camp in Malawi. As mentioned above, during the period of fieldwork, I volunteered full-time with two international NGOs, WUSC and JRS, each with a long history of work in education in Malawi. During this time, I facilitated a three-month pre-departure Canada Life course for students accepted on resettlement scholarships through WUSC, and also assisted with discussion groups and tutoring for the Jesuit Commons Higher Education at the Margins (JC: HEM)[35] diploma program.

During this time period, I was living in a Malawian household near the refugee camp, and working regularly in the education sector in the camp with WUSC and JRS. This allowed both access to the camp as a research site, as well as access to students and institutional respondents. I

[35] JC: HEM program works with Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) to offer online higher education courses towards a Diploma in Liberal Studies in refugee situations around the world.

felt strongly that it was essential to be engaged as much as possible in the everyday lived realities of refugees and asylum-seekers in and around Dzaleka Refugee camp. The six young narrators whom I interviewed were relatively close in age with me, which I believe helped to make them feel at ease talking about their lives. As well, being a young woman, I may have contributed to an enabling research environment vis-à-vis the female respondents, who could feel more comfortable being alone with me for the interview.

Despite being counselled upon arrival that I should avoid the term ‘research’ when asking questions because of previous experiences in the camp, all respondents were aware that I was a graduate student from Canada and interested in the experiences of refugees around higher education. Likely these respondents all agreed to speak with me, less so because they saw my research as valuable but more so because of a direct or indirect relationship I had with them prior to the interview itself. As noted previously, I strived to be transparent about my dual, but separate, roles in the camp as a volunteer and a graduate student researcher. Apart from the interviews conducted for this study, I also did a joint research paper as part of my volunteer work for JRS, based on focus group discussions with girls enrolled at the secondary school. They unanimously showed a keen interest in furthering their studies, if they felt that opportunities for doing so were realistically available (Cossette & Donald, 2013). The research project completed for JRS also allowed me to establish myself as a ‘community researcher,’ contributing to my positive visibility as a researcher within the camp.

As I walked around the small town of Dowa where I lived, which is the closest town to the refugee camp, it was clear that my presence disrupted the regular flow of daily life in some ways, altering the social dynamics of schools and churches that I visited. These disruptions were mirrored in the refugee camp, where as an *mzungu* (White foreigner), graciousness and sharing

of particular information was likely influenced by my perceived social status, or those of past foreign volunteers and researchers. Performativity or a form of re-victimization of the self has frequently become normalized for young people growing up in exile, manipulating systems to eke any gains possible. In addition, cultural reproduction continues to privilege whiteness over blackness, with a mystification that glorifies the Western 'helping imperative' in development work, rooted in 'colonial continuities' (Heron, 2007). There is no denying that my privileged position had some impact on the research. It is my hope, however, that those whom I interviewed also recognized an authentically collaborative spirit in our dialogues.

For my thesis research, I chose to use purposive sampling to identify research respondents through multiple means of participation in the everyday life of the camp. Through this participation, I was able to identify and approach individuals who would have particular or situated knowledge that could contribute to understanding access to higher education for refugees. Purposive sampling was used for institutional interviews, as well as for four out of six oral history interviews. Snowball sampling was also used for the remaining two oral history interviews, while recognizing that there could be response bias towards respondents who may share similar characteristics. Two individuals whom I had previously interviewed introduced me to two others. Due to my limited language skills in Swahili, Kirundi, Kinyarwanda, Lingala, and other languages used in the camp, the research over-represents individuals who could speak French or English. This means the respondents had completed some formal education, and the research has a consequent bias towards the inclusion of mostly 'middle-class' individuals. In the camp context, middle-class refers to individuals who have been able to access enough financial resources and support to complete secondary school.

Having received approval for this study from the Government of Malawi on August 6, 2013 (*See Appendix A*), the interviews and oral histories were conducted over the proceeding five weeks. By the start of data collection, I had been working in a volunteer capacity with WUSC and JRS in Dzaleka refugee camp for more than two months, and I had accepted a number of church invitations, lunch visits, and sports matches, and thus I was fairly visible in the everyday life of the camp. While some respondents may have chosen to frame particular stories or experiences with the view that I was in a position to influence others to their benefit, and/or provide privileged access to educational resources (Desai & Potter, 2006), response bias appeared to be minimal.

Interviews were held in a variety of locations, depending on availability and the comfort-level of respondents. Generally, institutional interviews were conducted in the offices, or similar professional space, of the respondents, with one interview conducted in French. Oral histories were done in empty classrooms, in respondents' homes, or in semi-private outdoor spaces, sometimes 'informalizing' the interaction by providing refreshments. Such interviews with young people were generally dialogical in nature, allowing for the young people to ask questions of me or to deviate from the question, to share information of importance to them. In a relatively small refugee camp setting, there were challenges of maintaining complete confidentiality, as often meeting places were in outdoor spaces or unused classrooms, where interviews and conversations had the potential to be interrupted or overheard. In addition, oral history interview respondents are termed 'narrators' throughout this thesis to stress their active role in the research, emphasizing trust and local knowledge (Bennett & McDowell, 2012).

Apart from the interviews, supplemental secondary sources were gathered in-country and consisted of the following: the 1989 Malawi Refugee Act, a copy of the Constitution of Malawi,

and unpublished reports and research from JRS around educational provision for refugees in the country.[36] These sources were accessible to me because of the openness of individuals working with refugees, and likely because of my internship work in education in the camp. As one Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHAIS) official put it when I inquired about accessing camp statistics: "You have been working in the camp; I don't see there is any problem for you."

In addition, refugee colleagues took a number of photographs used in this thesis to complement the topic and I have included one community-designed map of the camp, created by students studying community health through JRS (*Appendix B*). As well, I created a number of maps using a base map from Esri, to highlight the location of the camp itself, as well as the educational migration trajectories of the young people interviewed (Figures 1.3; 4).

2.5 Informed Consent and Minimizing Risks

For each interview, either oral or written informed consent was gained from respondents, opening a space to ensure suspicions around the term 'research' were addressed. Informed consent was an ongoing relational process. I attempted to ensure that the refugees themselves did not feel that researchers are "just coming and stealing [their] stories" (Hugman et al., 2011, p. 657). Wherever possible, copies of transcripts from interviews were provided to respondents for cross-reference. Incentive payments were not provided to oral history narrators; however, on occasion, I provided non-monetary contribution depending on personal situations, such as providing mentorship in preparing applications for higher education opportunities. In addition, risks to institutional respondents were minimal, as respondents were speaking within their professional capacities.

---

[36] These documents are listed in the Bibliography, and with the exception of the Constitution of Malawi, are not available electronically.

On the question of psychological risk to respondents, Dolan rightfully points out that asking certain types of questions about deeply personal or sensitive experiences is ethically wrong if it puts the respondent in a difficult situation and/or "open[s] wounds which the researcher has no way of dressing" (2009, p. 26). A respondent may choose to divulge emotion-laden information beyond the control of the researcher. However, ethically, the researcher should not intentionally cause harm or distress to the individual. In addition, risks to myself as a researcher were also fairly minimal, but included health concerns, and security implications surrounding the correlation between 'whiteness' and wealth.

2.6 Data Analysis and Coding

The process of data analysis involved the collection of secondary sources and the complete transcription of both interviews and oral histories. As mentioned earlier, participatory processes continued throughout the research design, including the analysis and coding stage, as I engaged in 'virtual dialogues' (Horst, 2006) with my respondents. Continued dialogue allowed for discussions around findings and representation with a number of respondents and key informants in Malawi through email and phone within the confidentiality parameters assured to them. In addition, a principal contact originating in the research site, a refugee and a 'critical friend,'[37] continues to be of assistance to me in understanding the field site. This individual, referred to in the thesis as Lionel, himself embodies the emancipatory spirit of higher education, and often pushes me to see a different angle to a story or viewpoint. Since we understand knowledge as socially constructed, it therefore requires the participation of others to be truly useful and liberating (Huiskamp, 2002), and such consultations aid in this process. By remaining

[37] Hugman et al. refer to this type of person as someone whom a researcher trusts and can consult regarding actions and decisions made in the research process (2011, p. 663).

connected with narrators and Lionel via social media and by phone, I have attempted to continue to make the research as collaborative as possible.

Selected quotes from respondents have been used throughout this thesis vis-à-vis the wider conversation of 'refugeeism', development, and access to education, recognizing that these quotes may not be the ones that respondents would select to present themselves. To protect the identity of respondents, anonymity has been written-in, with pseudonyms assigned to all respondents, chosen in consultation with them, whenever possible. Analysis of primary research data was done through categorization, with the view to producing situated knowledge based on a particular moment in time and place. It is acknowledged that the interpretation of data is inherently influenced by the researcher's (my own) power and privilege, despite a commitment to deconstruct power relations within the research study.

2.7 Methodological Challenges and Limitations of Study

There are a number of challenges and limitations encountered in this research. I accept my own personal biases' in the context, working with and alongside many refugee students as both a workshop facilitator and academic tutor. This daily interaction was likely heightened by an intellectual empathy for the situations of refugee students, and in light of these connections, I continued to practice self-reflexivity throughout the research process.

I was successful in achieving equal male and female representation amongst oral history narrators. However, ethnic composition was not equally maintained, with those of Burundian origin overrepresented in the sample. Irrespective of this, the link between ethnicity and access to education is 'fuzzy' and likely only a minor factor in understanding the broader equity-in-access picture in this particular camp. In addition, I experienced a particular constraint with a lack of female institutional interviews, as at the time there were few females employed within the

organizations working with refugees in Malawi. In addition, I could certainly have interviewed more community members and families of youth, had I spoken more Kiswahili and perhaps Kirundi, Kinyarwanda or Lingala.

One of the most difficult ethical considerations to address is the responsibility of what to do with this new knowledge. Do I have obligations as a 'witness' to inform other outsiders of the situation of refugees in Malawi? With the recognition of a dearth of research in this particular field site, both within and beyond the domain of education, constructive tension arises between research and practice that should be continuously assessed. This research experience highlighted some of the difficulties of working with NGOs to facilitate research, as their daily programmatic activities always take priority.

It is clear when conducting fieldwork that nobody, whether an 'insider' or 'outsider', has the only description, the whole picture or the only answer to a situation (Dolan, 2009, p. 37), and that little value, or even negative contribution, can come from essentializing those researched as 'singular,' 'knowable,' and 'fixed.' I have engaged in continuous reflexivity throughout the research process, working to move past the research experience as "theoretical tourism…where the margin becomes a linguistic or critical vacation" (Kaplan, 1987, p. 191). Such an academic venture must both reflect and contest the different privileges and positions of power, while working dialogically with those in the place of research to generate meanings and interpretations of social order. While 'tourism' renders the Other exotic, emancipatory research must strive towards contesting unequal relations of power, with the view towards valuing the everyday experiences of individual power struggles. This thesis does not purport to deconstruct the underlying incoherencies and challenges in and between refugee producing and refugee hosting countries and refugees themselves. Instead, it places the focus on the refugee and the self-

authoring of development claims, so as to shift structures of power domination at multiple levels of social relations.

2.9 Towards a Praxis-driven Methodology

A number of lessons can be drawn from my fieldwork in Dzaleka camp, which are applicable to a more nuanced understanding of research in spaces at the 'margins' of development. Such philosophical underpinnings include the co-production of knowledge with the view of contributing to the process of engaging *with* those in the 'community' being researched, to represent the voices of refugees and asylum-seekers with dignity and humanity, and to contest assumptions of powerlessness and dependence of displaced peoples. I have attempted to discuss how the research methods were operationalized, including limitations, challenges and surprises, highlighting the importance of maintaining flexible and responsive approaches to research. If we consider research, or rather access to knowledge and tools, as the "essential capacity for democratic citizenship" (Appadurai, 2006, p. 176), refugees, asylum-seekers and other 'non-citizens' stand to benefit most from such capacities to speak up about matters in their lives and their worlds. Creating spaces for these 'liberated' voices remains of continued relevance moving forward in ensuring the global refugee apparatus remains as relevant as possible. Such relevancy hangs in the air amidst continued challenges in understanding mixed migration flows and providing enabling and secure environments for refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, centered on a desire for socially relevant research, an intentional effort was made to ensure the language used in this thesis is also accessible.

I recognize my own power in being seen as 'providing' legitimacy to these alternative narratives (Nyers, 2009). Conversely, these experiences of access to higher education contribute to confronting and untangling both the political impasse for many exiled individuals and the

unresolved paradoxes of their situations (Zeus, 2009) of 'permanent temporariness' in refugee camps. From my perspective, as I gain a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of young people in accessing higher education both within and outside of the refugee camp, I can envision more ethical dialogical encounters with them (Fraser, 2009). Migration is a growing feature of the contemporary global landscape, and there are major changes envisaged to the normative and architectural framework of the international refugee regime in the coming decade (Kumin, 2013) that should include more scholars from the Global South, refugee scholars and spaces for knowledge production within refugee camps themselves. While access to higher education for refugees both within and outside of refugee camps appears to be on the rise, there are currently few spaces for dialogue where national and international actors can meaningfully 'hear' the voices of those refugees who are developing critical thinking skills and new knowledge from university coursework. How might the students of Dzaleka affect refugee-driven change both within the camp and the wider host country, and in the process, include/re-orient/re-evaluate contributions from displaced persons in a broader development conversation at all levels?

CHAPTER 3: FRAMING HIGHER EDUCATION AS 'DEVELOPMENT' FOR REFUGEES IN AFRICA

"I believe the refugee can do something, that's what I believe, because as of now, the President of DRC was a refugee, in Burundi they had, and Paul Kagame [President of Rwanda] was a refugee also. So me too, I can do something as long as I have that opportunity to continue my education."
– Emmanuel, Congolese, age 24

The future leaders in Africa are increasingly being educated on their own continent (Mkandawire, 2010), and such institutions provide the potential for utilizing regionally available resources and knowledge (Hoodfar, 2010; Morlang & Stolte, 2007) for development, or more broadly, social transformation. The continent of Africa and the pursuit of higher education have a complex history, ranging from pre-colonial Christian and Islamic studies in Ethiopia and Egypt, to Western education in multiple colonial contexts throughout the continent. Currently there is a movement towards what has been termed an 'African Renaissance', which includes reclaiming the African University as a site of intellectual liberation and freedom of choice, and shifting away from the continent's colonial past (Solomon, 2001, p. 114; Ade Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 27; Nkulu, 2005, p. 27). Perhaps the greatest potential for moving towards such educational transformation, particularly in Africa, lies within the figure of the 'refugee' or displaced person, for a number of reasons. First, displacement has characterized the post-colonial development landscape of Africa, which entails increasing mixed migration flows with a range of economic, political and social motivations. Second, the 'refugee' symbolizes both the limits and the failures of colonially constructed nation-states in Africa. Spatially and discursively located at the 'margins', so-called refugees are in a unique position to highlight development alternatives. By considering refugee access to higher education as a development contribution on the continent, we can move further away from colonial continuities.

This chapter will explore multiple conversations around education and development, moving towards highlighting the links between higher education, refugees, and development as social transformation. Second, the chapter looks at the potential of higher education for refugees in development of self, and in turn, agency and the ability to contest dominant power relations. Last, the chapter examines how education and 'community' are linked to social transformation within the refugee camp context, with a view to understanding how displaced people envision a 'better life.'

This chapter takes an Africa-centered perspective intentionally for a number of reasons noted in Chapter 2, not least of which is to contribute to counteracting the perceived marginalization of African scholarship on the whole. Not to render Africa an exception per se, I acknowledge Wiredu's wisdom that the quest for knowledge and development of any type is a "characteristically human endeavour" (as cited in Abdi, 2005, p. 38) and not exclusive to the continent of Africa and its 57 countries.

3. 1 Education and Development in Africa – colonial continuities or social transformation?

The wider conversation surrounding the connections between education and development in Africa is a contested one. Escobar argues that "development has functioned as a discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what point, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise" (1995, p. 41). Education has the potential to empower the subaltern's conception of its own authority relative to that of its colonizers. Understanding development as continued colonial discourse opens the door for disrupting the authority of development rather than taking it as given (Zein-Elabdin, 2011). The ability to author can provide authority, legitimacy and power, as explained in Chapter 1.

3.1.1 Historicizing Education and Development in Africa

Much of the literature around education and its linkages with forms of development in Africa focuses overwhelmingly on the colonial and post-colonial periods, while more Afrocentric perspectives also incorporate an acknowledgement and exploration of pre-colonial higher learning on the continent. Europe's colonization of the majority of Africa, described so eloquently by van Sertime (1991) as a "cataclysm" that "uprooted and displaced" vast populations, went beyond the mere subjugation of bodies but also of the systems of education and knowledge of African peoples (Abdi, 2005, p. 27). A number of African and Western intellectuals argue that education was an important tool for the completing of 'colonial projects' in states during the colonial era and primarily served the interests of colonizers (Nkulu, 2005, Nsamenang, 2004). Nsamenang argues the school was introduced in Africa not to enable Africans to understand themselves and develop the capacity to deal with their world, but as a civilizing tool to pull Africa out of a so-called 'backwardness' (2004, p. 18). Severe neglect or restrictions on Africans receiving secondary education were most extreme at the level of higher education, where Africans were 'starved' of or seen 'unfit' for education (Ade Ajayi et al, 1996, p. 52). It is notable that in some cases, such as Belgian Congo, colonial powers actively discouraged education connected to self-help and community involvement, and preferred vocation or technical schooling instead (Ibid, 1996, p. 41). While these views have long since been discredited, the erasure from the collective memories of all on the continent is not so easily achieved.

In contrast, other authors argue long-term, inclusive social transformation in Africa can utilize education as a means to move away from colonial continuities and that formal education can still have a role to play in post-colonial development. The former President of Tanzania,

Julius Nyerere, notes that instead education should prepare young people for their future membership in society and their active participation in its development (Nyerere, 1968, p. 268). The independence vision in many states saw education as the ‘golden key’ for a new Africa; however, an urgent re-thinking of the linkages between community, human development and education are needed to realize this vision (Nsamenang, 2004). Therefore, education in an African context should address specialized life realities that people encounter in their everyday lives, with a focus on transforming societies for the better in ways that would not be “counter-community” (Abdi, 2005, 31; Nkulu, 2005, p. 140). The role of ‘community’ as defined by its members is thus imperative to understand development as social transformation and its linkages with education. As Segalowitz argues, denying the possibility of being involved in one’s own development appears to “denigrate human initiative and dignity” (2003, p. 2). Nkulu adds that development must include liberation from social prejudices and the furtherance of human capacity for self-determination (2005, p. 83), which is particularly relevant when speaking of displaced persons occupying sites of confinement, where their voices are not always or barely heard. While acknowledging the challenge of moving towards an institutionalization of education that is relevant for Africa’s development, education can play a role in building individual and community agency.

3.1.2 The University in Africa

Formal education may arguably have been established on the continent to facilitate colonial projects that were modeled after the university structure of the colony and linked it with European institutions; however, scholarly institutions have undergone changes in Africa since the decades of independence. Soon after independence, Sub-Saharan African countries invested heavily in the development of human resources through expansion of higher education; however,

neoliberal restructuring and resulting socio-economic conditions limited this investment in recent decades (Zalanga, 2009). During the 1980s and early 1990s, the World Bank argued that the rates of return on investment in higher education were lower than primary education investment, which had a huge impact on private funding for universities across Africa (Mkandawire, 2010). Universities in developing countries, and in Africa in particular, were established to "play a pioneering role in addressing…problems of underdevelopment" (Mosha, 1986, p. 93) and for "socio-economic and political transformation" (Msiska, 1997, p. 6), lending themselves, not uncritically, as spaces of change contributing to long-term development both in national and global contexts.

McArthur describes the purpose of higher education within development as contributing to social justice. Education is the basis of the reproduction of belief systems and ideologies that justify inequalities, regardless of who has access to it. However, some argue that higher education can perpetuate social inequalities by regulating who is included and who is excluded from accessing knowledge (2011). Thus, Nyamnjoh argues that African universities, academics and researchers have a responsibility to challenge unfounded assumptions of who is 'fit' to access higher learning by deconstructing vested interests and hidden agendas (2011, p. 153). He adds that nearly three decades ago, Fonlon (1978) appealed to African universities to become a place for genuine intellectuals dedicated to the common good and to a real, multifaceted liberation of the continent and *all* its peoples, rich and poor. Universities needed a national character to ensure 'Africanization' of development post-Independence (Mamdani, 1993). While some authors argue that higher education in developing countries widens social inequalities producing an 'elite' class, Bloom, Canning and Chan argue that increasing higher education in Africa may accelerate technological diffusion, which would decrease knowledge gaps and help

reduce poverty in the region (2005, p. 30). Aboagye argues that access to higher education, which is a right taken for granted in the West, is still a challenge for young people in post-colonial spaces (2007). This is particularly so given the control imposed by international financial institutions whose interests are more corporate than educational. Nkulu provides an interesting example of a strike by university students in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania against mandatory national service for academics (2005). He argues that political leaders give the impression that they want higher education to empower individuals with critical thinking skills, but they find it difficult to be challenged by those same individuals (Ibid, p. 123). This contradiction exists within the refugee camp as well: higher education in camps can potentially provide a challenge to the humanitarian regime.

Sehool and Knight (2013) argue that higher education can contribute to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and strengthen Africa's development and "social cohesion" by producing "global citizens who are imbued with the values of human rights and social justice" (p. 178). However, these authors do not look at *who* is able to access these higher education institutions. In the African context, these global citizens may have an increased likelihood of appropriating characteristics of Fanon's 'distant bourgeoisie,' out of touch with the reality of ordinary peoples in Africa (1961). The authors further posit that higher education has a vital role to play in supporting the concept of citizenship that is "accepting in outlook, pluralistic in composition, and inclusive in practice" (Heyneman et al., 2007, p. 59, as quoted in Sehool and Knight, 2013, p. 179). This would necessarily mean looking at how non-citizens, or refugees specifically, are being excluded from this pluralistic space, despite their potential to contribute to the social good. If a "sense of humanism" (Ibid, p. 181) is to be fostered in higher education, even those who are most marginalized by the nation state must be included and valued.

Hwami, through the example of the 'crisis' of higher education in Zimbabwe, argues that radical capitalism or neoliberalism have 'commodified' university education in the country, and in Sub-Saharan Africa more broadly, undermining equitable access, efficiency and quality of higher education (2011). Echoing Mkandawire and others, he explains how structural adjustment programs throughout the region roll back public spending on higher education, leading to the undercapitalization of universities. A number of authors discuss the link between the commodification of knowledge and education worldwide, which can be seen more particularly as the growing gap between higher education and the vision of development as social transformation. Neoliberalism and privatization of higher education distorted the ideal role of the university in society, with those who can afford to access, treating education as a "private commodity for themselves" (Zalanga, 2009, p. 37). This means less social responsibility or feeling of responsibility to those defined as one's community, whereas refugee students are more likely to see the direct link between higher education and a better future for their families (Rosenfeld, 2004). These neoliberal reforms are only good for creating further opportunities to access education for those who can afford to pay, but effectively decreasing equity and equality of opportunity for those with less financial means, thereby diminishing the role of higher education in the social goal of African Renaissance or liberation.

Conversely, McArthur advocates for the role of education in contributing to greater social justice and for the purpose of higher education to be redefined to ensure universities are sites of human creativity (2011, p. 737). She argues that the results of university education must benefit all members of society, which could certainly be extended to include those at the margins, such as refugees and displaced persons. In addition to social justice, Nkulu adds that higher education should be committed to serving 'the community' (2005, p. 20).

A number of scholars argue on the side of colonial continuities that particularly in Africa, the university is a site of neo-colonial power relations, educating elites who are far removed from the everyday realities of most African people and of African social transformation. A vision of the 'Africanization' of education on the continent, and within higher education in particular, is nonetheless foundational to understanding the *potentials* for social transformation that exist at the margins, such as in a refugee camp. In the wisdom of Kenyan anthropologist Achola Pala Okeyo: "If you are going to change a system, you had better understand it" (cited in Creekmore, 1986, p. 44).

Arguably, the increasingly important role for knowledge in development globally positions the academy or the university as much more central. It is important that universities create in their own way, their own vision (Mkandawire, 2010). Nyamnjoh argues in the context of Africa that this vision must be in tune with the predicaments of ordinary and marginalized Africans seeking recognition and representation (2011, p. 149). The author even uses Malawi and post-independence life-President Banda as an example of the devaluation of African creativity, agency and value systems in education. In the case of Malawi, the country has only a 0.5 per cent graduation rate from university (UNESCO, 2009),[38] despite "stunningly" high education expenditure at the tertiary level (Su, quoted in Dryden-Peterson, 2010, p. 11). There are only two universities in Malawi,[39] serving a population of over 13 million, which translates into very limited places for both locals and internationals (this latter category encompasses

---

[38] UNESCO, despite its focus on student mobility within the region, has no mention of refugees or asylum-seekers in its tertiary education report, despite the region having very high levels of displacement, generally since the 1970s.

[39] University of Malawi (UNIMA) and Mzuzu University, with UNIMA having five constituent colleges (Chancellor's College, Bunda College of Agriculture, Blantyre College of Medicine, Kamuzu College of Nursing, and Malawi Polytechnic). There are also a number of smaller private, technical colleges throughout the country, as well as new institutions with affiliation to international schools in the UK and Australia.

refugees). It is uncertain to what extent limited access to education for both boys and girls in Tanzania has been truly a force in their decision to re-displace again to Malawi, but evidence suggests that with increasing security crackdowns from the Tanzanian State, educational and livelihood prospects appear better in Malawi. It is interesting to note that in the DRC, a major source country for refugees in Malawi, there is a 0.4 per cent rate of access to university for its own citizens (World Bank, 2000, p. 18), meaning that their likelihood of accessing such higher education may in fact be better as a refugee in Malawi.

With Africa having the fastest growing university population in the world (Mkandawire, 2010), a focus on problems of quality and equity is imperative. For example, Zalanga notes that ethnic politics certainly did play a role in public university creation in a number of countries (2009, p. 39), in the form of location, admission policies, quotas or 'catchment area,' and admission coverage.[40] This favouritism and/or social divisions in access to education, poses additional challenges for non-citizens, and most starkly for refugees and displaced persons.

3.1.3 Linking Higher Education for Refugees and Development

Much of the literature on higher education for refugees looks at Education in Emergencies (EiE), at education in post-conflict settings, and more generally at the need to provide education in places of exile as early as possible. There is a dearth of scholarship exploring the role of education in development in protracted refugee situations, particularly *outside* the first country of asylum. With mixed migration and multiple sites of displacement becoming more normalized globally, and in southern Africa particularly, there is a need to look at the role for refugees and displaced persons in their own development, the development of their families, and their broader 'communities.' While the commodification of knowledge and

[40] For information on Kenya, see Munene and Otiendo, 2008.

education is agreed to be occurring worldwide, Brown found in Thailand that for Burmese refugees, education is seen as a "priceless commodity" that holds "the future of their very existence," both for the individual and for the community as a whole (2005, p. 114).

It is imperative to move beyond the provision of basic or primary education for refugees, as outlined in the 1951 Refugee Convention, as the average number of years that displaced people spend in camps is increasing to 18 years (Milner, 2013). Education at the tertiary level has a greater potential than lower levels of education to contribute to the development of a 'critical consciousness' that enhances the strategic choices that refugees have the ability to make (Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010, p. 5). As noted in Chapter 1, despite the reality that education has been more fully recognized as the 'fourth pillar' of humanitarian intervention (El Jack, 2010), Dryden-Peterson argues that there continue to be low levels of investment in supporting the connection between education, livelihoods and [deterritorialized][41] future security (2010, p. 13). For those displaced, future security is not tied to 'place' or 'space,' and thus could be deemed deterritorialized. Within these 'extraterritorial' spaces of increasing permanence, higher education opportunities can provide the future-oriented motivation for young people to complete primary and secondary schooling (Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010), despite a number of challenges. While a deep and growing body of research is looking at the educational experiences of resettled refugees who are accessing higher education in Northern countries, namely in the U.S. (Konet, 2007; Sallu, 2012; Prokop, 2013), the UK (Refugee Support Network, 2012; Stevenson & Willott, 2007), Australia and Canada, there is a much more cursory amount of work looking at this phenomenon within long-term refugee situations themselves. This small but growing body of work on the whole explores the argument for the importance of the *provision* of

[41] Not tied to 'space' or 'place'

higher education *to* refugees, while there are still fewer looking at higher education from the refugee perspective. The former's focus on provision implies a top-down institutional orientation, whereas recent research on higher education for refugees from the Sub-Saharan African context appears to be adopting the latter orientation centered on refugee experiences (Kavuto, 2013).

When looking specifically at refugees and asylum-seekers, higher education is not legally considered part of 'basic education' and access can therefore not be seen as an enforceable right by law; however, in many cases in southern Africa, refugees and asylum-seekers are allowed to study at colleges and universities. Accessibility then becomes about both structural and individual limitations, as is the case with post-secondary education in developing countries,. This is often mirrored by access problems faced by marginalized citizens of host countries, such as in South Africa (Kavuto, 2013).

Water and Leblanc (2005) argue that schooling, and more broadly education, is a prerequisite for effective participation in the modern world of nation-states. Refugees, who are by definition stateless, reside therefore outside both the modern economy and modern society. Creating education systems for refugees is always embedded in this paradox, which is the root cause of why it is difficult to implement. Emphasizing this contradiction, the authors note life in a refugee camp makes 'the myth of progress' (Ibid, p. 145) implausible; refugees by definition have lost whatever progress they formerly dreamed of. When this is recognized, it becomes apparent that the consistency necessary for a unified schooling system itself is problematic. A return to normalcy is often cited as a reason why education benefits refugee children in particular, and in the case of Malawi, although not unique in this sense, mental health disorders amongst refugees are also quite common. In a study of 370 refugees in the country, Kumwenda

found that more than 60 percent had post-traumatic stress disorder or other mental health problems (n.d., p. 18).

With little mention of higher education in UNHCR's Education Strategy 2010-2012, their 2012-2016 Strategy and accompanying 'Seeds of Hope' supplement does fare better. UNHCR has an objective within its 2012-2016 Education Strategy to increase by 100 per cent the number of students attending tertiary education, which again, focuses primarily on increasing the *provision* of educational opportunities (2012, p. 7, emphasis added). The following objective touches on concerns of lifelong and equitable access. This direction should be continued, and exploring access and lived experiences of young people is therefore even more important to ensure equitable provision and access simultaneously. This area of focus is relatively new for the UNHCR, particularly with advancements in distance learning initiatives being piloted in refugee camps, and there has been little documented in terms of development outcomes or processes (Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Cinta et al., 2012).

Education for refugees is articulated in a number of international conventions, and increasingly so amongst organizations working with youth, education and emergencies.[42] The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees binds signatories to "accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education [and] treatment as favourable as possible […] with respect to education other than elementary education" (Article 22). Seshadri points out that the history of international law is also wholly implicated in and continuous with the history of colonial domination (2008, p. 35), and therefore it can be challenging to break with such legal 'colonial continuities' that often appear less salient in situations of displacement and mixed migration flows. Provisions explicitly referencing higher,

[42] INEE, CRC Convention article 29, 1969 OAU Convention

tertiary or post-secondary education linked with refugees and asylum-seekers are limited, and certainly do not reflect the growing protracted nature of refugee situations, particularly in Africa. Interestingly, the UN Declaration for Human Rights often speaks more 'humanely' to refugees (Neve, 2013) than the 1951 Refugee Convention, with the former declaring boldly "higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit" (1948, Article 26). Despite these declarations, there are few binding mechanisms for the state to be accountable. Moreover, such rights are claimed through the state and generally as a citizen, excluding refugees and asylum-seekers. Conversely, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights provides 'colonized or oppressed peoples,' which can infer refugees, with the right to free themselves from the "bonds of domination using any means recognized by the international community" (1981, Article 20.2 f). This appears to be a paradox within the context of protracted refugee situations, where the term 'peoples' is based on African historical tradition and civilization and not identical with the concept of the modern sovereign state. This would, in fact, allow the refugee to be viewed as having a 'grievable life' (Butler, 2009), recognized, historicized, and agential.

Some authors look at education for refugees as it relates to identity formation and negotiation (Oh, 2012), arguing that refugee identities have been shaped, but not determined, by their exposure to conflict, but also other factors inside and outside the camp context (Carlson, 2005). Like Malkki's Hutu refugees in Tanzania (1996), Hoodfar sees Afghan refugees in Iran (2010) as utilizing their collective identity to justify refugee status and its attached social protection demands. While framing education as "hope for the future" (Dryden-Peterson, 2011), some authors advocate for the importance of education, and post-primary in particular, for the possibility of imaging a better future within and beyond protracted refugee situations. Education

can also serve as a motivating factor for many refugees in challenging circumstances (Corrigan, 2005; Dryden-Peterson, 2010), and where there is a lack of higher education opportunities available, many feel that there is "simply no point" in obtaining further education (Corrigan, 2005, p. 115).

Access to higher education outside of humanitarian structures is difficult for refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2010), where they often face additional challenges in acquiring necessary application documentation (birth certificates, school diplomas, examination results), in paying high international student tuition fees, and in overcoming limited enrolment quotas generally reserved for nationals. While globally, about 26 per cent of young people in the university age group[43] have access to post-secondary education of some form (UNHCR, 2012; UNESCO, 2010), in Sub-Saharan Africa, the region facing the greatest challenges in the provision of higher education, less than six percent of the eligible age group are accessing higher education (UNESCO, 2010). Furthermore, refugees and asylum-seekers in Africa are facing a lower than one per cent access to these opportunities (UNHCR, 2012).

Online distance learning programs for refugees are a relatively new phenomenon. In the last decade in particular, pilot projects in distance learning worldwide have been instituted, including: the JC: HEM program in Kenya, Malawi and Jordan; the Borderless Higher Education for Refugees (BHER) project in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya; and the Australian Catholic University (ACU) program along the Thai-Burma border. With the recent expansion of distance learning initiatives, there is also a need to look at equity of access, in order to understand more fully the interplay between structures of power within development and humanitarianism, and individual agency. Piecemeal global initiatives in distance learning for refugees exist in

[43] University age group is defined as the five-year age group following the official secondary school graduation age (on average, approximately 18 years of age).

protracted situations, such as JC: HEM, ACU, and BHER, as well as UNHCR's DAFI[44] scholarship program and WUSC's Student Refugee Program (SRP), with the latter two being outside the camp setting. However, it appears as though higher education for refugees is still given a relatively low priority by donor agencies, particularly as these educated individuals may challenge the very humanitarian structures that contain refugees in camp spaces to begin with. While resettlement scholarships such as WUSC's SRP are transformative on a personal level (Peterson, 2010), young people who are educated in the region of displacement will know best how to utilize regional available resources (Morlang & Stolte, 2007, p. 63) and to contest dominant discourse and structures within the region.

3.1.4 Linking Higher Education for Refugees and Development in Africa

The nation-state as an entity in Africa is equally an imposition in the sense that borders and grids on the continent were largely forced and unsolicited on the continent by colonial Europe; these borders are not indigenous to Africa (Nsamenang, 2004). Nation building in exile serves as another rationale for the provision of higher education in refugee situations, as a space for skills development and critical thinking, where the end goal of repatriation to home countries serves as a development strategy (Dippo et al., 2009; Oh, 2012; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Williams, 2012). With the case in Dadaab, Kenya, housing 96.7 percent ethnic Somalis (UNHCR Sitrep, 2014), or in camps in Thailand, housing 98.1 percent Burmese refugees (UNHCR Thailand, 2014), these communities are likely more amenable to repatriation, and development as a 'nation in exile.' In 'multi-country of origin' communities, with a multitude of ethnicities and social divisions, the justification for higher education can generally be seen as less tied to the

[44] DAFI is a tertiary education scholarship programme that gives opportunities to some young refugees to study at universities and colleges, primarily in their country of asylum; however, the programme must be established in partnership with the host government before the scholarships can be given in a particular country of asylum (UNHCR, 2012).

myth of return, and could be more focused on the extended family and self-defined community within an individual's social sphere.

Table 3.1: Refugee Policy and Education Practices in Malawi and Tanzania (information adapted from USCRI, 2009; UNHCR, 2012; Personal Interviews, 2013)

	Malawi	Tanzania
Settlement Policy	Encampment	Encampment
Access to Livelihoods	Less severe restrictions on work in practice	Severe restrictions on work
Freedom of Movement	Restricted	Very restricted
Language of Educational Instruction in camps	English	French
Secondary School Certification	Malawi Secondary Certificate of Education (MSCEs)	Diplôme d'État (Burundian)
Can attend post-secondary in country?	Yes, as international students	Yes
DAFI (UNHCR) funded scholarships available to attend university in country?	No	Yes (68 in 2012)

Some authors argue that education in exile can be an instrument of political mobilization, such as in Zimbabwe; however, as Gatrell argues, political ideologies and struggles can be harnessed, not simply hardened (2013, p. 243) through a re-orientation towards future personal, familial and social transformation. As Hoodfar notes, there is little discussion of the role and kind of education that should be provided for long-term refugee children and youth (2010, p. 146), within either academic, policy or practitioner circles. Looking at policy options as twofold, with either an objective to prepare children and youth for integration into the host society, or for repatriation to their country of origin, this dichotomy is helpful to understand state response and attitudes towards refugee populations that they host. Hoodfar adds religion (i.e. 'Muslimness') as a common bond between a refugee population and the host population (2010); however, the case of Malawi may be more unique. Despite majority Christian states with secular school systems in

southern Africa, countries appear to continue to securitize and to frame refugees as the discursive Other.

In the case of Malawi, many refugees have passed through, and spent multiple years, in refugee camps in Tanzania, where treatment towards refugees is seen as more severe and restricted by both policies and practice, as seen in Table 3.1. This is confirmed when comparing general and education-specific policies and practices towards refugees in the two countries, with fewer restrictions for refugee self-development in Malawi.

As Dippo et al. document, the BHER partnership that brings distance and on-site undergraduate degrees to the Dadaab Refugee camp is one of the first university-based education models to be delivered within a protracted refugee situation (2012). In an environment that is often insecure and uncertain, conceptualizing higher education as a 'portable' asset and as a means to counteract the 'silencing' of refugees provides a useful framework for thinking beyond the refugee situation itself. In addition, Dippo et al. argue that higher education and livelihoods are intertwined, with the former opening avenues for better work and life opportunities vis-à-vis resorting to violence or armed recruitment (2012, p. 12).

Gender is also a relatively prominent feature in the literature on education and development in Africa, which focuses on the historical barriers (family, socio-economic, health, etc.) faced by girls and young women in their pursuit of education (Zalanga, 2009).

Dryden-Peterson and Giles, in their introduction to the special issue of *Refuge* on Higher Education for Refugees (2010), emphasize the importance of the provision of higher education opportunities for young people for motivation to complete primary and secondary school despite challenges. Consequently, while universal primary education is a worthy goal for refugees (as stipulated in the 1951 Refugee Convention and a number of other international conventions), the

spectrum of educational levels are deeply intertwined, with arguably greater possibilities for self-realization and linkages to family, community, and societal transformation in many ways. Following on Gateleya (2013) and others noted earlier, higher education assists refugees in making strategic life choices, namely through self-reflection, decision-making and recognition of available opportunities, within that context of family and community.

3.2 Higher Education for Refugees as Self-realization and Agency

There are striking parallels between portrayals of Africa as a 'broken', 'helpless' continent of 'backward' individuals, and the representations of refugees as 'victims' and 'powerless'. Africans, similar to the figure of the 'refugee', are represented discursively in ways that secure them in a marginal location without agency, as 'tragic', 'feminine' and 'sedentary' (Zein-Elabdin, 2011; Giles & Hyndman, 2011). These two 'problems', that is Africans and refugees, must be portrayed as needy recipients, thus sidelining the energies present in the continent. Emerging scholars and authors from Africa are slowly changing these perspectives, arguing for harnessing the tools that Africans are already using to solve problems themselves (Olopade, 2014).

In addition, as Nsamanang observes in Cameroon, since the academic achievement of many children defies the conditions of their lives and poor resource base, the "phenomenon of self-motivation and resilience in African education settings deserves focused research attention" (2004, p. 97). Building on Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*, as it relates to refugees (Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010), and their interactions with their world, Foucault reminds us that this world is shaped by discourse and power (1980). If, therefore, power produces knowledge and vice-versa, as Foucault maintains, then powerful discourses emerge surrounding *objects* of knowledge (Ibid, italics added). Those objects of knowledge are often the same bodies that are

excluded from the political community, which arguably would include refugees and asylum-seekers. Fraser, although not talking explicitly about refugees, argues that those who are excluded from a political community, are "deprived of the possibility of authoring first-order claims [to justice]" (2005, p. 77) and more generally, of building the capacity and knowledge to have the potential to author such claims.

While acknowledging the transformative possibilities of human agency, mental and material conditions also play a role in how individuals interact with their world, which in the case of this research limits itself to interactions of accessibility within the realm of higher education. An examination of the tension between the tendency to depoliticize or exclude refugees from the political community as humanitarian subjects (Malkki, 1996, p. 380) and the transformative potential of higher education could contribute to the possibility of re-thinking the political community (Limbu, 2009). Since higher education belongs to the public/political sphere, refugees become casualties of such structural exclusions when theorized as de-politicized objects. Fraser argues that such exclusions block many who are poor and at the margins from challenging the forces that oppress them (2005, p. 78).

3.3 'Community', Education and Development in Refugee Situations

"Africa…is one cultural river with numerous tributaries characterized by specific responses to history and the environment."
(Asante and Asante, 1990, p. ix-x, as cited in Nsamenang, 2004, p. 6)

Refugee situations in Africa are unique in several important respects. First, these situations appear to be fluid and highly unpredictable, as new drivers of displacement occur in different countries throughout the continent. Second, countries that generate large numbers of refugees also provide asylum for refugees from neighbouring countries. Third, these refugees are drawn from the poorest regions and seek refuge in equally poor countries within the region.

Virtually all refugees are confined to the region and are, in the first instance, assisted by fellow Africans — a process facilitated by ethnic, language, culture and sometimes kinship ties between refugees and people in countries of asylum. This traditional hospitality has now been arguably taxed to the limit (Adepoju, 2000, p. 392). Some authors, such as Malkki (1996), discuss the connection that many refugees or displaced persons have to 'imagined' communities of origin, romanticizing return and ties to such communities.

The term 'community' in a refugee camp context remains relatively un-theorized in that the term itself is generally used with little explanation about who is included and excluded, and the role that ethnicity, social class, religion or other factors, may have in how individuals define their own community or communities. The refugee community is often taken to mean all those resident in a given refugee camp, or divided into communities within camps, based on countries of origin. However, being 'of a place' (country of origin or neighbours in a refugee camp) does not necessarily constitute a community. While displaced individuals living in a given camp may share similar reasons for flight from their countries of origin, the underlying social divisions and conflict in these countries of origin are more often than not reproduced in the microcosm of the refugee camp.

Adepoju shows that migration in Africa is closely linked to family strategies of high investment of their scarce resources in the education of one family member - usually the oldest male child. Since crisis-ridden local economies make it hard to realize the benefits of this investment, the result is often emigration to other African countries in search of better conditions, such as South Africa (Adepoju, 2000, p. 385). Perhaps more than ever, migration in Africa remains very much a 'family matter' in that the family also expects rewards from its investment in the education of its members, where there is a sense of compulsion to remit a

substantial proportion of income to support the family 'left behind'. While migration for education in such cases is argued by Adepoju as being motivated by a desire to mitigate the negative effects of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) on the family, the motivating factors appear to be founded on uncertainty and insecurity in the case of forced migration (2000).

In another setting, research emerging from Dheisheh Refugee camp in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, which was established in 1949 for Palestinian refugees, depicts the importance of and access to higher education as a family project (Rosenfeld, 2004). Those family members who attained some degree of postsecondary studies stressed the pride but more so the sense of obligation to facilitate higher education for young family members. Despite the success of certain refugees attaining some form of higher education originating from Dheisheh – the achievement of 'nine out of nine' children accessing higher education is not exceptional – Rosenfeld argues the role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and of regional governments and institutions in facilitating the studies of those from the camp seeking advanced education cannot be underestimated (2004, p. 140). This 'family project' was also many generations in the making and was facilitated by strong familial control over unmarried daughters and their remittances, decisions regarding temporary migration to the Gulf States, and the openness of regional postsecondary institutions to Palestinians on favourable terms, including low fees and full grants. Many long-term refugee camps in Sub-Saharan Africa cannot take advantage of such regional employment mobility and free postsecondary education.

Lanyaunya & Lesolayia argue that both human development and education are framed by the culture of the community (2001). Nsamenang adds that in many family traditions in Africa,

children are expected to be active participants alongside adults in household activities and livelihood strategies, and this ability to assist is a highly valued moral quality (2004).

Nyers points us to Derrida and the relationship between hospitality and community within the global movement of people (2008), noting there are certainly differences in defining the refugee community in a majority ethnic group camp, as opposed to a multi-ethnic based camp setting. Individuals and groups constantly negotiate choices with regard to their participation in host societies, their relationships with their homelands, and their links to co-ethnics. Their life strategies bring together elements of existence in both national and transnational social space and as such, the notion of primary loyalty to one place is misleading and often of little relevance for migrants in a mobile world. Certainly, conceptualizations of 'community' in the refugee camp cannot be separated from humanitarian organizations in a broader sense, as humanitarian actors often define the 'community' along ethnic lines, with representations and committees participating in 'consultations' along these assumed representative lines. These definitions of community appear to have little relevance to the individual, and may even serve to obscure individual self-determination and the various ways in which emerging communities in displacement are politicizing themselves (Nyers, 2008).

Interestingly, by looking back at the highly incorporative societies that existed in many regions of pre-colonial Africa, Onoma shows that 'latecomers' to a society were overwhelmingly accommodated over time including acquiring citizenship rights the same as 'earlier arrivals' (2013, p. 238). Moreover, he shows that the discrepancy in treating refugees or displaced persons as 'illegal immigrations' or 'aliens' stems from limited knowledge of the positive possibilities that refugees represent for a host society (p. 253). Previous literature specific to Dzaleka

Refugee camp, or displaced persons in Malawi more generally, often uses the term 'community' in a relatively unproblematic way.

The case of Great Lakes and Horn of Africa refugees in Malawi is very under-researched, and as mentioned previously in Chapter 2, appears to be fairly cartographically invisible within most literature around protracted refugee situations in the region. As noted earlier, two academic sources concerning this refugee site were published almost 10 years ago when the population was half the size that it is today. One of these publications concerned domestic violence in the camp (Carlson, 2005) and the other, intercommunal conflict (Velasquez, 2006). Carlson argues that the 'community' plays a large part in resolving domestic violence by facilitating justice and healing, but it can also legitimate domestic violence as justifiable within the home (2005). Conversely, Velasquez maintains refugees' identification with a particular ethnic 'community' is a contributing but not sufficient explanatory factor for conflict in the camp. These publications can also serve to reinforce the view of the camp as a site for both structural and individual violence. My research centers on the experiences of refugee young people, a topic that is not explored explicitly in either of the aforementioned studies. In addition, education in any form was not explored as a means to better the lives of camp residents both within and beyond the site, which this thesis will continue to look at critically.

3.4 Towards Refugee Higher Education for Self, Family and Community

Not all refugees in Africa have been confined to camps, but as both a tool of containment and management, as well as an instrument of political mobilization, the 'camp' has a long history in the Sub-Saharan region. Re-conceptualizing the camp as a city and thus a physical community, Deardorff argues that the word 'camp' is not present in any Refugee Conventions

(2013)[45] but has been utilized by host states and international humanitarian agencies as a means of control, resisting the suggestion that refugees are capable of managing themselves (Hyndman, 1997 as quoted in Harrell-Bond, 1999, p. 147). Within these spaces, a number of authors contend that opportunities for higher education for refugees can strengthen communities, as noted in Kenyan camps (Wright & Plasterer, 2010), as well as in Burmese camps in Thailand (Oh, 2012; Kengkunchorn & Hipsher, 2010; Williams, 2012). Where a camp or camps are composed of displaced persons from the same country of origin, if not ethnicity, there is often an overarching view of rebuilding their nation in exile, awaiting the opportunity to return 'home' to build a better nation. In Malawi, this is less so the case, with a multiplicity of nationalities and displacement experiences sharing the same space.

In addition, alternative cartographic framing, with Dzaleka camp as a city, could allow for a more nuanced understanding of those living in the camp city as fundamentally having the ability for parity of participation, as peers, with young people in the host country (Fraser, 2005, p. 73). Despite the camp being framed as an "enduring present" (Agier, 2011, p. 79), access to higher education for refugees presents both an opportunity and a space for imagining a future beyond such perpetual unease/uncertainty. The current foundations of the global refugee regime are shaped by protracted refugee situations, the externalization of asylum, and regional protection centres among other phenomena. As refugees in the Global South spend more and more time in these spaces of externalization, they should be guaranteed more, not less access to a better future. Historicizing the lived experiences of young refugees in these situations and revealing what it means to be in a space of protracted refugee-ness has convinced me that access to higher education is imperative as a stepping-stone towards a more nuanced understanding of

---

[45] I observed this to be true in the case of the 1969 OAU Convention, which is more frequently used by states in Africa than the 1951 Convention.

the desires and futures of young people in these spaces. These views are further explored through the lived experiences of refugee young people in Malawi in the Chapter that follows.

CHAPTER 4: NARRATIVES OF REFUGEE YOUNG PEOPLE: ACCESSING HIGHER EDUCATION IN MALAWI

"Refugees, we do meet many backwards instead of going forwards,
because when you run away from your place,
you lose some time for education"
- Nadine, Burundian, 21

This chapter moves to refocus on young people and their experiences accessing or attempting to access higher education opportunities as refugees or asylum-seekers in Malawi. I will also present findings from fieldwork, centered on the educational and life experiences of six young narrators (aged 17 – 24 years)[46], with supportive institutional interviews. It is my hope that this chapter sheds light on narratives of young people in long-term refugee situations exerting resiliency and resistance in an effort to "become someone in the future" (Emmanuel, Congolese, 24). The chapter will speak to three principal themes, emerging from these young people, which present both opportunities and barriers to accessing higher education both inside and outside the country. First, I will explore how education in connected to the self, family and community future, how 'family' and 'community' are defined, and how these are connected along a trajectory of displacement. Second, I will explore how education is seen as a means to prepare for an uncertain future for self and others, as well as a way to avoid idleness, and to envision goals for the future. Third, the role of gender in access is explored with the view to argue that despite perceived additional challenges for young women in accessing higher education, men and women experience their own gendered challenges, which should both be acknowledged and addressed differently in practice.

[46] These six narrators are not purported to be representative of all young people in prolonged exile, even within Malawi itself; however, these individuals are inherently political actors, and their acts of resistance impact on and are impacted by both structural and human agency factors.

Over the last few decades, political developments and a media environment of fear and insecurity around refugee presence in the country has hardened the view in Malawi towards displaced persons. Continued talks of moving the entire camp to either Karonga, in the North of Malawi, or Mchinji, along the Zambian border in the West (MoHAIS official, 2013), contribute to the growing future uncertainty surrounding life in Malawi as a refugee. Amid such rumours and negative media discourse, coupled with the Cessation of Refugee Status clause that is meant to push Rwandan refugees to 'voluntarily' repatriate back to Rwanda, the future for young people, in particular, is not very clear. Nadine, a 21-year old Burundian who spent 6 years in Ntabila Refugee camp in western Tanzania, which she left in 2002 for Malawi after the Tanzanian Government forced refugees to leave, explains:

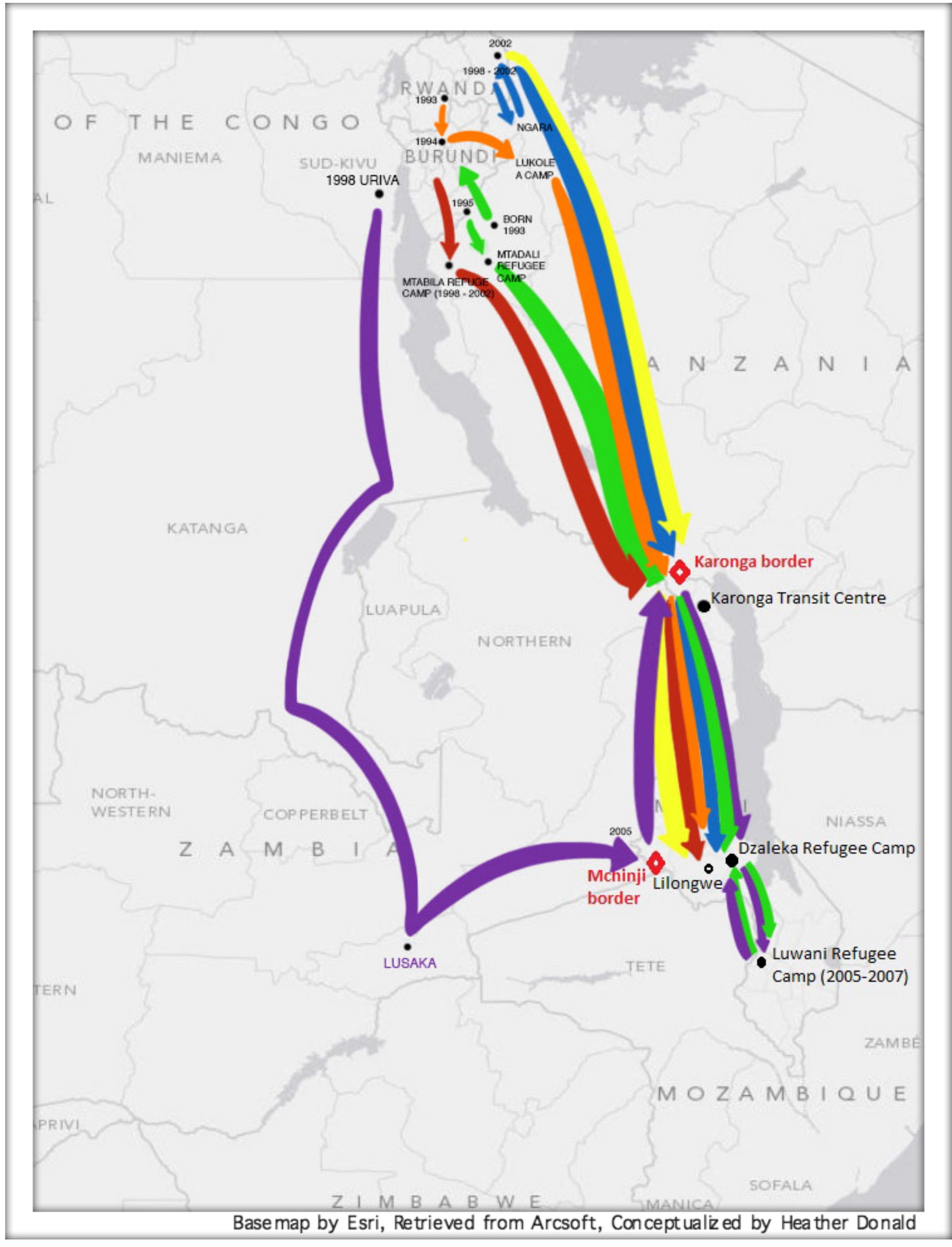
> *You know, a refugee, it's hard to plan what to do in 10 years time because you feel that any time you can be removed from here. We have been hearing so many rumours that refugees will be taken out of Malawi; such things threaten a lot…[and] so many rumours that are heartbreaking.*

This uncertainty for the future at the individual, family and community levels can contribute to feelings of frustration and exacerbated trauma. Comments on access to higher education from the six narrators in this study provide insights into the importance and transformative potential of higher education across these levels and its role in preparing an individual, to the extent possible, for an uncertain future.

Table 4: Displacement and re-displacement routes covered by six young narrators, with coloured indicators mapping out the routes

Pseudonyms	Country of Origin	Displacement Routes	Arrival in Malawi	Coloured Route
Nadine	Burundi	Left Burundi age 3 (1994), spent 8 years in Mtabila Refugee camp in Tanzania. Left for Malawi in 2002.	2002	
Grace	Rwanda	Left Rwanda in 1994 and spent 3 years in Ngara, Tanzania as a refugee before returning to Rwanda in 1998 by foot. Left again for Malawi in 2002.	2002	
Clémentine	Rwanda	Came directly from Rwanda to Malawi, transiting through Tanzania.	2002	
Emmanuel	Democratic Republic of Congo	Displaced internally throughout the DRC for a number of years, transiting through Lusaka, Zambia to Malawi	2005 (spent 2 years in Luwani camp)	
Jean-Paul	Burundi	Born in Rwanda, returned to Burundi in 1993 (age 3), but fled again in 1994. He spent 8 years in Lukole A camp in Tanzania, before coming to Malawi	2002 (spent 2 years in Luwani camp)	
Dieudonné	Burundi	Born in Tanzania, returned to Burundi in 1993, but fled again with his father in 1995. He spent 9 years in Mtandali Refugee camp, before coming to Malawi.	2005 (spent 2 years in Luwani camp)	

Figure 4.1: Map showing the routes travelled by each of the six young narrators included in this thesis before arriving in Malawi and in Dzaleka Refugee camp



4.1 Connection of Higher Education to 'Family'

Defining family can be an important step in understanding what a 'better life' in the future, particularly beyond the uncertainty of the camp, looks like for displaced individuals. Some migration literature defines both families and households as extended, reconstructed, or separated depending on individual experiences of migration (Kurien, 2002; Young & Ansell, 2003). The fluidity of southern African families is related to a long history of internal and external migration described as 'intrinsic' to the region (Young & Ansell, 2003, p. 464). Narrators generally define their family as an extended family system, which according to Nadine is "the culture [she has] been raised in." Dieudonné, another narrator, explains that an elder brother, who was not connected to the family and transient in Mozambique and Zambia, has come to Dzaleka, and therefore becomes part of his family system with an attached responsibility that this brother: "needs to avoid being idle in the camp, especially as he has experienced some trauma, and so I am assisting him to gain knowledge in a health training." While extended family members come and go from the camp space, there is a sense of responsibility towards them when they are in the camp. Family can therefore simultaneously provide both a responsibility for young people, as well as a support system, and family members can contribute to individual self-motivation to pursue studies despite challenges.

Nadine confirms that link between higher education and a better future for self and family:

> *Post-secondary contributes to a good future because when one goes to university or college, their mind gets opened enough to become able to understand complex political and economic matters. In Africa, the bigger the school paper, I mean Bachelors, Masters and PhD, the more knowledge the person has and the more open-minded the person becomes. This contributes to achieving a good life for you and your family.*

Chapter 1 noted that refugees in Malawi, and Dzaleka specifically, form invisible transnational communities. However, community and family are certainly not invisible, nor free of tensions, at the individual or household levels. Being a second or third country of asylum for many displaced persons Malawi is often ‘chosen’ (by those on the move who have very limited choices) based on the country’s potential for realizing more socio-economic rights, including education, relative to other refugee-hosting countries in the region. When in 2002, Tanzania entered a tripartite agreement with the UNHCR and the Government of Burundi to ‘voluntarily’ repatriate Burundians,[47] a number of the narrators I spoke to fled with their families during that same year.

> *Though the government in Tanzania is insisting [that Burundians and Rwandans] repatriate, we cannot repatriate, because the reason why [our family] fled Burundi was because our land was taken by other people. I did not ask many questions regarding why our land was taken by other people. I didn't ask many things about that, but what I heard from them was that our land was taken by other people, I don't know what happened. So they would say that there is no way we can go back to our country of origin. Those people may still exist there, and then we are told if we go there, we could be easily killed. Therefore they said that we had better proceed to another country, and that's why we decided to come to Malawi* (Dieudonné, 2013).

On the other hand, Clémentine, 17, had been with her family in Rwanda, trying to get back the land they had lost during the 1994 genocide. In 2002, she and her family were forced to leave Rwanda after losing a number of relatives, but they did not remain in Tanzania as she notes, by “that time Tanzania had already chased the refugees, so it was also bad to be in Tanzania. We just heard that all refugees are in Malawi.”

According to both oral histories and informal conversation with camp residents, the view of Malawi as a ‘decent’ host country appears to be informed through word-of-mouth and

---

[47] A number of international human rights organizations have criticized Tanzania’s repatriation effort as being involuntary and thus in violation of the 1951 Refugee Convention’s *non-refoulement* principle, in part because individual claims for persecution were not being systematically addressed (Amnesty International, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2009).

transnational social networks (Dieudonné, Emmanuel, 2013). Dieudonné explains: "When we were still in Tanzania, we got information saying that in Malawi, refugees were treated well and given anything they need." Of the six narrators, three had almost completed primary school in the French-language Burundian curriculum before their education was disrupted by being forced to leave. More generally during this time, if refugees living in Tanzania felt that they could not repatriate back to Burundi (or Rwanda), and had the financial means available to choose otherwise, they often chose either Uganda, Kenya or Malawi as a site of re-displacement. Displaced individuals actively made decisions to the extent possible to select a country of asylum if repatriation was not an option for them and their families. According to some young people, Malawi was seen as a more habitable option, with more livelihood prospects. Dieudonné notes that through word-of-mouth, he and his family had heard that "in Malawi, there is a lot of security; people do business. When you reach there, you can do business." In reality, refugees can establish informal businesses in Malawi, and some Rwandan refugees have established lucrative businesses in Lilongwe, the country's capital.

Table 4.2 Narrator household / family composition

Narrators	Household size	Family members	Country of Origin
Nadine	3	Nephew, sister	Burundi
Grace	5	Mother, siblings	Rwanda
Clémentine (Urban)	5	Mother, father, brother, sister	Rwanda
Emmanuel	1	Uncle (living in city) / unaccompanied	Congo
Jean-Paul	9	Mother, father, six brothers and sisters	Burundi
Dieudonné	5	Father, four brothers and sisters	Burundi

Others in the camp have noted that of the three-abovementioned re-displacement options available to those leaving Tanzania, Malawi was the only site that was still distributing

paraffin as part of the monthly ration basket, contributing further to the decision to settle there. This non-food item was long since discontinued in food distribution to refugees in Tanzanian camps, and despite its importance and scarcity, it also appears to symbolize Malawi's ability to provide resources to refugees at the time.

WUSC's Student Refugee Program (SRP), and its attached resettlement feature, is also a pull-factor for Malawi, as the approximately 20 prestigious resettlement scholarships awarded to youth between 17 and 24 years of age draw refugees from neighbouring countries not offering the program (WUSC senior staff, 2013). Clémentine confirms that changing ages or nationalities when registering in Dzaleka camp can be one potential strategy to access education:

> *All I know is that [refugees] are still in their country [of origin or exile], and they talk to people in Malawi and they tell them that there is this opportunity, WUSC, people go to Canada and stuff, and you find people are coming here because of that. So when they are registering their names, and their date of birth, they move some years.*

Malawi has been participating in the SRP since 1998, with student numbers increasing between 2004 and 2013, and thus it is likely that the knowledge of such an opportunity spread through transnational social media networks. This type of geographical strategy to qualify for higher education contributes to decision-making for a 'better life' in re-displacement to Malawi. These strategies both historicize and clarify the role and importance of the *possibility* of accessing education, and higher education more specifically, and in motivating displaced individuals to move again.

The term 'community' is often taken for granted or assumed in the context of refugee situations. Based on observation and confirmation from Congolese friend Lionel, social divisions from individual countries of origin are replicated in the microcosmic social structures of the camp. In Malawi, UNHCR supervises the general election of a community leader to represent

each nationality in the camp. From a humanitarian perspective, community is defined by country of origin; however, narrators discussed community as being less tied to nation and more around common values, such as religion, education, vocation, or even simply as your extended family (Dieudonné; Nadine, 2013). However, according to Lionel, there is not really a sense of 'community' around churches, which are composed of mixed nationalities and concerned primarily with running the church. In addition, when families or newcomers arrive in Dzaleka, refugees will hear of former neighbours from a previous camp or distant connections from the same village or region in the country of origin, and will welcome those individuals in their homes. Jean-Paul, a 21-year old Burundian, explains the challenges he faced with his family when his father, a former bicycle repairman, arrived to Dzaleka without any financial or material resources:

> *Still more, we were living under very problematic conditions. A certain man, who used to be a neighbour of ours in Tanzania, was here saying [to my father]: "ah, you are a thinking man, I know you." They introduced each other and found that they knew each other, and he's the one who helped him to buy tools.*

Dieudonné discusses the challenges of not becoming idle or demoralized through multiple displacements, temporary separation from family members, and the feelings of 'going backward' as education is disrupted in displacement:

> *Imagine how should I achieve my goals of changing myself and my family, and also of changing the society? I could say how should I manage this? I'm still young yet instead of proceeding with my education, I am just slowing down. I left high school and now I'm going back to primary school. I could say eeeyyee this is not true. I would say maybe it's a dream. How could I change others now?*

Higher education programs are available for those living in Dzaleka camp, and in the form of resettlement scholarships, numbering a total of about 50 places per year.[48] The other

---

[48] Yearly, about 30 students enroll in the Jesuit-Commons Higher Education at the Margins distance learning program in-camp, about 20 students are selected for post-secondary resettlement sponsorships through World University Service of Canada (WUSC), and about three to five students are sponsored to

types of education programs available fall outside the ‘formal’ schooling system, providing skills-based training primarily. While often helpful from a livelihoods perspective, these vocational opportunities do not focus on knowledge, power and critical thinking skills, towards making informed choices and claims for oneself. Interestingly, while all the young people involved in the oral histories for this thesis expressed the importance of education as a means to achieve their future goals, the ‘why’ and ‘how’ seem more difficult to conceptualize and/or articulate.

> *I am willing to change my life as one of the best goal. Not only my own life, but also the life of my young brothers and sisters, and my father, who is very old now. After that, I don't know how many years, I also wish to change the society. I will try to be part of serving the society after finishing. My life, my family, the society will also follow. That is what is in my heart (Dieudonné, 2013).*

On average, displacement, and in most cases, multiple displacements, seemed to push learners back at least one year, and in some cases two years. Young people must adapt to a new curriculum and new language of instruction, which is English in Malawi, as most young people fled French-language instruction in either their country of origin or previous site of displacement (Grace, Nadine, Jean-Paul, and Dieudonné). In addition, displacement does not necessarily coordinate with the academic year and deadlines for registration are frequently missed. Individuals often internalize what others speak about them, and often ‘perform’ a role that is expected of them by the international community, namely to act as victims.

---

study at universities or colleges in Malawi through There Is Hope (TIH) Ministries, run by an ex-refugee who himself received sponsorship to study in Malawi from a church group. TIH Ministries, while not an official education partner in the camp, does operate there and appears to be held in high regard by many in the refugee population. At the time of publication, they had opened a small, unregistered nursing school in a Baptist church within the camp offering 3-year nursing diplomas taught by in-camp unemployed nurses. Jesuit Refugee Services also offer a handful of 6-month Community Service Learning Tracks (CSLT) on practical topics each year.

4.2 Preparing for the Future and Avoiding Idleness through Higher Education

> *When you are economically poor, it takes you, who is a strong-hearted person, to continue with education. I have realized that with secondary school certificate, without continuing to university level, life is almost useless.*
> - Nadine, Burundian, 21

Multiple actors conceptualized being idle as a refugee in Malawi as negative, including narrators themselves. A Government official described the camp with too many idle youth as "becoming the Devil's workshop" that must be avoided as much as possible.

> *We can't have the [refugees] doing nothing…for goodness sake; I do not want to have that idleness in the camp* (MoHAIS official, 2013).

Young people can become discouraged with time if they continue to be idle (There is Hope staff, 2013), and this can be seen in some of the statements made by Emmanuel, who has been attempting to access higher education for at least three years. He confirms this when he states, "I started last year asking myself if I am the problem." Such discouragement appears to be explicitly linked to idleness, or lack of productivity. Emmanuel later describes his frustrations:

> *It is a dream of becoming someone, but in the end, you become poor, that is very difficult.*

Clémentine, a 17-year old Rwandese, is the only designated urban refugee in Malawi with whom I spoke, and she describes the de-motivation and "desperation" that she sees as particular to the camp setting:

> *When you are in the camp, you almost become desperate. Every day you see people going, settlement people going, reunification people going, and you are still here. You apply for opportunities [for further studies] for years without success, so people get desperate. Those [refugees] from the cities do not become desperate because they can search out other means.*

In contrast, she describes 'town-dwellers' as "open-eyed" and having the ability to look for other ways or means to access a better future, which often centers on further studies. While

there is no systematic data, often those who are officially living in urban centres (Lilongwe or Blantyre) do so because they are more likely to have gained formal employment, mainly in the health field. With a more reliable source of income, families can pay for further studies should children gain admittance to university or college in the country.

A feeling of permanent transience, and accompanying idleness, is unsettling and can augment emotions of trauma as well. Powles notes that the sorts of events that are considered traumatic will tend to be culturally specific, political in nature, and highly individual (2004, p. 9-10). While Dieudonné recognized a number of events he witnessed and experienced during displacement as traumatic and leaving him traumatized – "with the environment, my genetic make-up has somehow changed a bit" – while others, like Clémentine, believed their lives were "pretty much normal" compared to others. This difference in self-perception has a number of contributing factors, including a person's residence in a number of camps in both Tanzania and Malawi (Dieudonné). On the other hand, Clémentine only transited through Tanzania and was able to settle as an urban refugee after only a short while, as her mother was educated as a nurse and gained formal employment in Blantyre city.

There are certain official criteria for accessing higher education that exist and a very limited number of spaces (in-camp, in country and paired with resettlement). Nevertheless, displaced individuals do exert agency over the dominant structures and social order they are faced with. Two senior government officials confirmed that a number of refugees have adopted Malawian names to enable them to access higher education in the country at a domestic student cost.

> *Some clever refugee students, they change names so that they are seen as Malawians, so that they can access [higher education]. They just adopt a Malawian name, then they are selected to go to a secondary school in Malawi.*

> *Therefore, they will be able to go to university as Malawians* (MoHAIS senior official, 2013).

'Nationality-switching' is not an isolated phenomenon amongst refugees in the country and the broader region, with a number of crisscross changes, depending on the 'nationality *du jour*' in the region. This essentially means that at a given point in time, a particular nationality may be prioritized higher on the resettlement roster. While a Malawian name or nationality could be the best local durable solution according to humanitarian actors, often those nationalities that have the highest chance of resettlement and highest chance of success in 'switching', would be considered the most beneficial overall. These nationality switches paint a complex picture of 'community,' displacements, and the ambiguity of nation-states in post-colonial Africa, and highlight coping strategies of young refugees who hope to gain further education in Malawi or through resettlement.

With the cessation of access to refugee status looming for Rwandans across the continent, many Rwandans are registering as Burundians or Congolese (MoHAIS senior official; Dieudonné; Jean-Paul, 2013); the latter have a perceived higher chance of gaining third-country resettlement.[49] These 'switches' are not uncommon for the majority of refugees from the Great Lakes region of Bantu-origin. In some cases, Rwandan refugees are regarded as having greater chances of accessing higher education. Many Malawians and refugees alike perceive them as better at entrepreneurship and therefore more financially able to afford university fees (MoHAIS senior official, 2013). This may be a function of their lengthy time spent in the country. While social class may impact access for Rwandans, precarity surrounding the implementation of the UNHCR refugee status cessation clause has forced many Rwandans to repatriate and thus complicates their ability to access a university or college education.

---

[49] From January-August 2013, more than 75 percent of all resettlement departures were Congolese, with the vast majority being resettled to the United States and Australia (UNHCR, 2013).

There appear to be plenty of resourceful individual strategies of access to higher education certification in Malawi, including the acquisition of forged secondary school diplomas, as in the case of Congolese. This is due to the long delays by the state issuing a *Diplôme d'État* for a student (this may take upwards of 5 years post-graduation). It may also be impossible to retrieve the document even if it does become available, as displaced individuals often lose connections with relatives or contacts that could mail the diploma. This long delay in issuing diplomas makes applying for some opportunities, such as WUSC's Student Refugee Program, impossible (i.e. without the required documentation). Since the language of instruction in secondary schools in the DRC is French, students without documentation would invariably have to learn English, and complete the Bridging Program into Dzaleka Community Secondary School, which would likely take upwards of three years. And with an age cap of 24 years, students can easily 'age out' of opportunities (Congolese Refugee Teacher, 2013). Clark-Kazak (2009) confirms these findings with displaced Congolese young people in Uganda aging out of secondary school as well, and the utility of mainstreaming social age definitions in development, to accommodate such educational disruptions. As Nadine points out "imagine, some could finish [secondary school] when they were 24 years old. So, when they applied [to WUSC], they were left" (2013).

At the forefront of such skills are language acquisition and curriculum adjustment, according to both the narrators and teachers in Malawi. Grace details the challenges she faced coming from a French primary school curriculum in Rwanda:

> *The main challenge is language, you come here speaking French, and you reached here, and they speak English. I remember the first time I was entering in the classroom; I never knew even one word of English.*

Jean-Paul, coming from the Burundian national primary school system in Lukore Refugee camp in Tanzania adds:

> *And then I reached here, because of the new learning system, the curriculum, the language [it was challenging], because in Tanzania we were learning the Burundian system because in the camp in which we are living is the camp of Burundians. Then we are learning Kirundi and French, and math. Then when we reached here, we found that it is Chichewa and English; everything was strange except math.*

In addition, the school curriculums can differ considerably from one country to another within the region, further complicating the language adaptation challenges. According to a Congolese teacher in the camp, secondary schools in Congo, have often focused programs in humanities and education, sciences, literature, or business, but in Malawi, the secondary school curriculum is much more general. He adds that having to "learn everything can also pose problems" for these students and with "insufficient Bridging Programme spots for students coming to Malawi," many young people are not completing secondary school.

A number of narrators expressed the challenges of food poverty and hunger within the camp, affecting their proficiency in the classroom. From the perspective of food distribution, the Malawi Red Cross Society (MRCS) confirmed that despite ongoing discussions between donors, organizations and the Government of Malawi, refugees in Dzaleka are seeing their monthly ration 'basket' decrease to below the bare minimum caloric count (MRCS official, 2013). The real impacts of these continued decreases are shown in the weight given to food poverty within the camp as a contributing factor to decreasing academic completion at the secondary level (Cossette & Donald, 2013). A number of narrators confirmed that both the volume and content of monthly ration baskets has decreased, and there is an expectation that young people must supplement their own household's declining rations. This is so because they are considered to be more mobile due to their general facility with languages and are more able to find informal

labour jobs. Dieudonné notes that with declining rations, refugees *"only see maize"* (2013), while non-food items, such as paraffin for lamps and charcoal for cooking, must be bought with limited means to find such resources.

.

Figure 4.2: Photo showing a cluster of houses in Dzaleka camp, as well as a borehole location in the right foreground. Photo courtesy of Joseph-Kabila Bahulule, Community Communications graduate, JRS (Community Service Learning Track)

While at the global level, in its 2012-2016 Education Strategy, UNHCR clearly articulates goals in provision and access to higher education for refugees, higher education in Malawi is not explicitly part of UNHCR's in-country official mandate – "The general mandate for UNHCR does include secondary, but not post-secondary" (UNHCR official, 2013). Despite this confirmation, UNHCR has facilitated and contributed funding to both the JC: HEM distance learning program and the WUSC resettlement-scholarship programs in the camp. DAFI scholarships for university and college education for refugee students were not available in Malawi, and bringing DAFI to Malawi has been little explored (UNHCR official, 2013). The JC: HEM distance learning program in camp, and the numbers of refugees from francophone

countries of origin, appear to provide a disincentive for pursuing higher education opportunities in country, such as DAFI or domestic student access to Malawian universities (JRS staff, 2013; UNHCR official, 2013). The UNHCR official affirmed, "We don't have a university in Malawi which has [courses] in French," which could be contributing towards a disincentive to provide DAFI scholarships. Furthermore, Government of Malawi officials did confirm that UNHCR Malawi does not directly implicate itself in funding higher education for refugees in the country (MoHAIS official, 2013),[50] apart from a handful of individual exceptions. Little was known of these exceptions by ministry officials, but for one young refugee woman who received a scholarship to study pathology in China, and who later became a Malawian national upon return. This exception was explained because she had a perfect score in her secondary school leaving examination (6 points), and Malawi had only one trained pathologist in the country at the time (MoHAIS official, 2013).

Furthermore, there is strong evidence of individuals' abilities to adapt to language changes between francophone countries of origin and Malawi, where education from primary to tertiary, is provided in English. UNHCR appears to argue that because the country does not have a university offering courses in French, the DAFI program would face too many challenges in its implementation in Malawi. A UNHCR official notes they are "aware of DAFI [but] have not accessed it…maybe because of WUSC [resettlement scholarships] we have not explored much on how we can take advantage of that one" (2013).

Refugees and asylum-seekers are generally ignored by many host country NGOs in developing countries, with Malawi being no exception, save for one human rights organization,

---

[50] A UNHCR official claimed UNHCR paid for two students in 2002/03 and perhaps another on a separate occasion, and in all cases I was told that they "somehow" only had to pay domestic fees.

which was interested in supporting a call for DAFI.[51] Similarly, refugee issues are never on the agendas of the country's decision-makers (University of Malawi Researcher, 2013), further stigmatizing this growing population and increasing their 'out-of-placeness.' Even within Dowa district, the administrative cadre within the Central region of the country, where Dzaleka has been hosting refugees since 1994, the researcher explains that the district continues to see refugees as "Aliens and not the same as them…[because they] do not see that something like that could happen to them" (2013).

Refugee Status Determination (RSD) delays also appear to play a notable role in limiting how and when students can access higher education opportunities in Dzaleka Refugee camp. In its 1989 Refugee Act, Malawi outlines its refugee status determination process through a Refugee Committee that sits twice per year to evaluate refugee status applications; however, status determination generally takes many years, with estimates on average from three (WUSC staff, 2013) to eight (Dzaleka teacher, 2013) years. Without this refugee status designation, accessibility to opportunities is restricted, particularly the most 'prestigious' resettlement scholarship to Canada through WUSC. Regardless of their refugee status, refugees in Malawi are competing for very limited spaces in national universities and are admitted as international students, and therefore subject to prohibitively high tuition fees. While there are no government laws that prohibit refugees from accessing higher education itself, very high international student fees – *"Where could you get that money? It's a lot of Kwachas!"* (Nadine) – often place higher education out of reach for most refugees. This is so despite its transformative potential for the development of self, family and community. A UNHCR official adds further that the Government of Malawi would like to treat refugees as foreign students, making higher education

[51] The Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation (CHRR) does offer individual legal consultations to refugees on a case-by-case basis, but does not have programming for refugees in Malawi because of limited resources (CHRR staff, 2013).

"prohibitive" and "very expensive" (2013), namely because they do not see an incentive for them to decrease fees (MoHAIS official, 2013). This could be because the government sees high fees as incentives for refugees not to access the few spots available at universities in the country. Furthermore, this international student designation for refugees in Malawi is consistent with Kavuro's findings that refugees accessing universities in South Africa also pay prohibitive international student fees (2013). This is so despite the Southern African Development Community (SADC)[52] Protocol on Education enshrining that international students who come from the SADC region should be treated as 'home students for the purpose of fees and accommodation' (1997, Preamble).

In addition, for those who entered Malawi with little or no financial or familial resources, higher education appears even less accessible. For example, Dieudonné and his family had all their belongings stolen at the Tanzanian-Malawi border, which appears to be not uncommon:

> *When we reached at the Tanzanian border, we met with scrambles [robbers]. We met with challenges where all of our properties and all the money that we had was stolen by thieves and vandals. We met with difficulties there. Everything that we had was taken there at Karonga border. So we reached Malawi but we had nothing. Either clothes, either shoes, either money. We remained with the clothes that we were wearing at that time.*

Similarly, Jean-Paul experienced a challenging journey and entry into Malawi from Tanzania:

> *There in Tanzania, I think you know Tanzania, it is full of crooks. They are very harsh. So they started to ask me: 'Who are you? What tribe are you? What do you want?' [We were] running from problems, then finding new problems.*

Furthermore, those who have been orphaned with little financial resources, like Nadine, also found additional challenges. She lost both parents in Burundi, grew up under the guardianship of her (late) elder brother, and after his death, had many additional family responsibilities. Nadine insists that she needed education to start a better life for her and her

[52] SADC member countries are Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

family, while acknowledging misfortunes: “I said no problem since I need education, so I had to take courage. Of course it pained me but I couldn’t do otherwise.” Emmanuel also lost both parents in Congo before fleeing with his uncle to Malawi.

In addition, evidence from Malawi supports Zeus’ finding (2009) that UNHCR appears to view refugee ‘brain drain’ as a developmental loss for the camp. Zeus found that donors fear brain drain through resettlement as it means their ‘investments’ in individual higher education will not yield any returns to the local communities (2009, p. 84). Despite the inability to integrate educated refugees in positions where their skills and human potential are being utilized, a UNHCR staff member noted that “it’s unfortunate because some of the students who are from the camp, those who score so well, they are lost to Canada.” The perception of the human development potential of young people in the refugee camp contrasts with the inability of the nation-state and humanitarian actors to utilize this potential towards social, and economic, transformation for the (host) country. This disconnect highlights the limits of the nation-state framework in utilizing the specialized skills and lived experience knowledge of displaced peoples in developing the very regions that forced them to the margins that they currently occupy. Relatedly, a Government official argued that in terms of opportunities for higher education, refugees “don’t have the information, but they do have the access [to universities]” (MoHAIS official, 2013). This statement appears to be an oxymoron.

Prospects of resettlement also factor into young people’s experiences of accessing higher education. Nadine, who received a scholarship through TIH to study for a Bachelor of Education at a university in Malawi, said she was happy to receive the opportunity to study. But since the

Government of Malawi only allows refugees to work in the medical sector,[53] she still felt that accessing higher education through resettlement would be the most ideal option.

> *In life we are supposed to see what is of great value than the other. I had done education in Malawi. But being a refugee, now if a chance comes to go and be a Canadian, so that the name of being a refugee should be rubbed off from you, what can you pick?* (Nadine, 2013)

It is clear that refugee young men and women see access to education, and higher education in particular, as a means to a better future and decision-making power. Higher education for refugees in protracted situations appears as a means to prepare for a future, which is inherently uncertain.

4.3 The Role of Gender in Access to HE: Complex and Differential

"I think school is the only thing that can make me not stranded in life"
- Clémentine, Rwandese, 17

I expected that gender would play a key role in explaining differential opportunities to access higher education. However, despite the need to continue recognizing and addressing the predominantly household-based gendered division of labour and girl-specific challenges, both young men and young women said they experienced more commonalities than differences in their experiences. As such, individual motivation, with family encouragement as a contributing factor, appeared to play a large role in persevering to find some avenues to access higher education despite challenges for both young women and men. Nadine explains:

> *For me, I had tried so hard to go forward with my education. I couldn't imagine stopping my education at a secondary school level. When I was in my teens, in my mind I had put that I would not be depending on men. I hated begging all the things from man because here in Africa, the man is on top according to gender. For me I had a feeling of being independent* (Nadine, 2013).

---

[53] In theory, refugees can be gainfully employed in both the medical and teaching fields outside the camp; however, the latter appears to be a fairly lengthy and expensive certification process.

Clémentine affirms the link between parental support and valuing of education, highlighting explicitly how livelihood, a 'better life' for family, and education are connected:

> *I'm lucky because I have educated parents…[and] I would say it's my mom who tells us the importance of school. She tells us that if she wasn't educated right now, we probably would still be in the camp because she couldn't have gotten a job then. My parents are definitely encouraging about school.*

Students who have family members that support them morally or materially appear more likely to develop a strong personality that places a high value on the pursuit of higher education. Grace adds:

> *I am still having a heart of growing up with my education. And I am sure there are many people here in the camp who have that heart, not because of their parents or their guardians, no, but their motivation of growing up with their education.*

Young men also experience additional responsibilities with separated families, to provide for their other siblings and family members. Jean-Paul recalls his own parents telling him: "you are a boy and you will take care of your family and relatives…and you have responsibilities," and Dieudonné, being the eldest son present in the camp, also has additional responsibilities of providing for his aged father, who "has characteristics of trauma" like alcoholism, and his three younger siblings after the death of his mother in the camp.

These individual experiences of the narrators around gender and education for refugees in Malawi highlight the different expectations as well as challenges faced by each gender, ranging from additional family responsibilities to peer pressure in secondary school. Thus, gender features relatively prominently in the literature on education and development in Africa, namely focusing on the historical barriers (family, socio-economic, health, etc.) faced by girls and young women in their pursuit of education (Zalanga, 2009; Matlou, 1999; Buck & Silver, 2012). Those

experiences, while still gendered seemed to present as less unequal in Dzaleka, though young men and women each have their own gendered challenges.

4.4 Refugee Young People Preparing for an Uncertain Future through Higher Education

> *You know, to be studying is to be having peace in your mind, peace in you [because] we don't know what will happen tomorrow.*
> - Grace, Rwandese, 21

There remains a pressing need to reinforce the image of refugees as imperative to realizing development as social transformation in Africa. While policies on development aid, humanitarian relief, regional migration, and refugee protection are internally inconsistent and occasionally contradictory, education, and higher education in particular, present an invaluable means through which to incorporate those at the margins to improve development efforts in Africa.

CHAPTER 5: TOWARDS ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE FOR DEVELOPMENT

"Though [distance learning] is located in the camp, at least little by little, I will grow up. The knowledge I will get there will push me to another level, which I do not know yet."
Dieudonné, Burundian, 22

With increasing numbers of complex protracted refugee situations worldwide, and a large number continuing in Africa, there are many implications for policy and practice for educational *access*, and not simply *provision*, in these spaces of long-term limbo. By re-orienting research attention away from questions of provision towards equity, agency and access, the emerging long-term development focus of Education in Emergencies (EiE) can be further expanded and re-centered around displaced persons themselves. As Zeus observes, higher education can be a way "toward allowing refugees to *be* agents of development…[instead of] objects of international charity" (2009, p. 85). While it remains imperative to explore education interventions and to continue enabling and developing opportunities for refugees to access higher education, parallel deconstructions of differential access must be occurring in collaboration with refugees themselves. Through a focus on higher education, other forms of education should not be sidelined and education for refugees should have a place in the 'national order of things' (Malkki, 1995), where the right to education can be claimable alongside nationals of the host country.

5.1 Re-conceptualizing Access to Knowledge in Dzaleka Refugee camp

The case of refugees in Malawi, and specifically in Dzaleka Refugee camp, is an enlightening case study, as it highlights the increasingly mixed migration flows throughout Africa and worldwide, many of which are characterized as protracted refugee situations. These dialogical spaces provide an opportunity to re-conceptualize the lens through which the 'the refugee' is seen and to value knowledge produced at the margins by these individuals. With the

emergence of the first diploma graduates from online distance learning in the camp, this is a crucial time to examine how these individuals, and others, can apply and develop their skills and knowledge further, both within the camp and within a national development framework. In addition, with limited research being done on refugees in Malawi, more extensive fieldwork would be beneficial to understand the potential for human development in camps, as well as the connections between individual, family and communities in working towards a 'better life' for refugees through gaining higher education and its accompanying accreditation. Despite yearly rumours that the camp will be relocated within the country or closed completely to make space for an earmarked central hospital, Dzaleka, and indeed Malawi as a whole, remains a key site for hosting long-term refugees.

By acknowledging and valuing knowledge and insights emerging from refugee situations, humanitarian and development communities, as well as nation-state actors can engage in more collaborative and informed dialogue to bring those who have been marginalized back from the margins. If we see development as both a journey and an approach to social transformation, then the building of 'critical consciousness' amongst the most marginalized in society (i.e. refugees and asylum-seekers) can help to narrow the knowledge gap that perpetuates structural inequalities in developing countries.

5.2 In-Camp Learning Opportunities Today

As the JC: HEM program expands beyond its 3-year pilot phase to include more refugee camp sites, and the York University-led BHER project in the Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya emerges, along with other efforts that aim to harness information communication technologies (ICTs) in the name of development, new knowledge is being created in these spaces of 'permanent temporariness' by individuals who both affect and are affected by access to higher

education. Initiatives such as the African Virtual University, also provide avenues for innovation to continue focusing on inclusivity in access to higher education for displaced persons and its potential to contribute to wider development for self, family and community.

Figure 5: Photo showing the JC: HEM distance learning classroom in Dzaleka Refugee camp. Photo taken by author (2013).

Universities traditionally provide a place for the creation and critique of knowledge, and certainly a number of authors rightfully critique the absence of the first-hand refugee perspective in most current scholarship on displacement, exile and development. Dadaab and BHER could provide one much model, but other sites of possibility should be explored. The JC: HEM program could also provide such a space, as well as a more formal network of refugees accessing higher education in host country institutions, through personal, DAFI or privately sponsored means. In addition, procedural, regulatory and legal reforms, while slow in coming to fruition

(e.g. the delay in updating Malawi's Refugee Act), should include the requirement to engage meaningfully with displaced persons more fully through inventive social, political, and economic processes.

While in-camp distance learning provides the opportunity and knowledge for refugee youth and adults to develop their voice and articulate concerns, there are few spaces existing for dialogue with national and international actors to meaningfully 'hear' these voices and to affect refugee-driven change both within the camp and the wider host country. What responsibility do research, policy and practice have in shifting focus to conceptualize refugee camps as sites of knowledge production, rather than simply knowledge extraction? How might these critical young scholars and intellectuals, rather than 'victims', themselves challenge the unequal global social order?

5.3 Changing Frames/Research Approaches

Often in an effort to contribute to knowledge within refugee and forced migration studies, graduate student researchers can, in the process, contribute to the discursive representation of the refugee and displaced person as simply a 'victim.' Through utilizing a development approach focused on a more Afrocentric view of development, and through reflexivity on my part, I have attempted to render this narrative more individually-centred and complex. By continuing to frame 'the refugee' as a problem, their agency, resilience, and ability to author claims, is thus removed. Since relatively little social data is available on the rates of access to higher education for refugees worldwide, largely because of small-scale programs and widespread registration of refugees as 'international students' in host country postsecondary institutions, it is difficult to gain accurate numbers and deeper understanding of its importance to individual lives.

Education remains in high demand in refugee contexts and will continue to play an important role in refugee emergencies. Future research and policy discussions should concentrate on imagining what a highly educated refugee population would look like and how it would differ from what we see today in terms of incorporating these ideas and skills into alternative approaches to development. References to increasing numbers of uneducated or radicalized refugees in camps seeking vengeance against their persecutors, while at times accurate, are also far too simplistic when generalized.

5.4 The Future is Youthful in Africa

"Youth represent the possibility of […] an exit from Africa's current predicament" (de Waal, 2002, 9), and many recognize the need for young people to be included for meaningful social healing (Guyot, 2007, 160; Dolan, 2009) and development. Parallel to Malawi's own largely youthful population, the WFP (2012) notes that the majority of the camp residents are young people, whose time and energy are not being used effectively. Young people who have predominantly grown up in exile are thus uniquely placed to make and define meaningful contributions to development and changing refugee conditions. Coupled with the view that "old hierarchies…are no longer valid," youth are often expected to lead their families into the future with a grasp of host countries language(s), adaptation and acculturation skills, etc. (Guyot, 2007, p. 169; Boyden, 2001). In addition, young people have a strong sense of what is wrong with service provision, what may be lacking in their communities, and how these stressors might be ameliorated (Guyot, 2007). Errors in development and scholarship in Africa have been so commonplace as to look normal, and Nsamenang rightly notes that despite political rhetoric that refers to young people as future leaders, development processes often either deny them a role, or provide for a marginal one (2004, p. 9).

If Africa is marginalized in the creation and valuation of knowledge, those outside the confines of the nation-state frame, namely displaced persons, will epitomize this devalued condition. Some may see the view of improving conditions for youth to live more years in refugee camps as not a worthy enough goal (Cooper, 2007). However, by centering the conversation on the refugee themselves, their own individual self-realization, and their access to knowledge and skills that enable them to author their own rights claims, this research advocates for the development of critical skills through higher education to transform those structures of domination reproducing conditions of exile.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdi, A. A. (2005). African philosophies of education: counter-colonial criticisms. In A. A. Abdi & A. Cleghorn (Eds.), *Issues in African Education: Sociological Perspectives* (pp. 25–41). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aboagye, E. (2007). Financing Students in Higher Education: Examining Trends and Funding Options in Africa and Canada. In S. N. Dlamini (Ed.), *New Directions in African Education: Challenges and Possibilities* (pp. 201–228). Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Ade Ajayi, J. F., Goma, L. K. H., & Ampah Johnson, G. (1996). *The African Experience with Higher Education*. Accra: The Association of African Universities.

Adelman, H., & Sorenson, J. (1994). *African Refugees: Development Aid and Repatriation.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Adepoju, A. (2000). Issues and recent trends in international migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Social Science Journal*, 56(165), 383–394.

Africa Research Bulletin. (2005). African Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series, 42(2), 16095–16130.

African News Bulletin. (2001). Africa: The Refugee Law needs Reforming. Bulletin. Retrieved February 16, 2014, from http://ospiti.peacelink.it/anb-bia/nr412/e02.html

Agier, M. (2011). *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Amnesty International. (2009). *Tanzania: Burundian refugees must not be intimidated to return home*. London, UK: Amnesty International. Retrieved April 5, 2014, from http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/tanzania-burundian-refugees-must-not-be-intimidated-return-home-20090629

Anselme, M. L., & Zeus, B. (2012). Education as an essential component of prevention of youth re-displacement. *Forced Migration Review* 41, 32.

Appadurai, A. (2006). The right to research. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 4(2), 167–177.

Arendt, H. (1966). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego and New York: Harcourt.

Azevedo, M. J. (2002). *Tragedy and Triumph: Mozambique Refugees in Southern Africa 1977-2001*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Bailey, A., Wright, R., Mountz, A., & Miyares, I. (2002). (Re)producing Salvadoran Transnational Geographies. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92(1), 125–144.

Baker, C. (2011). Come Walk with Me: Three Visits to Dzaleka. *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 64(1), 34–41.

Bennett, O., & McDowell, C. (2012). The Individual Voice: The Challenges and Benefits of Listening to Personal Narratives. In *Displaced: The Human Costs of Development and Resettlement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blavo, E. O. (1999). *The Problems of Refugees in Africa: Boundaries and borders*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Bloom, D., Canning, D., & Chan, K. (2006). *Higher Education and Economic Development in Africa*. Harvard University: World Bank.

Borland, K. (2006). "That's Not What I Said" Interpretive conflict in oral narrative research. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (2nd ed., pp. 310–321). London, UK: Routledge.

Bowns, C. (2011). Facilitating the Production of Place-Based Knowledge for Participatory Community Development in Rural Pennsylvania. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 21(1), 275–292.

Boyden, J. (2003). Children Under Fire: Challenging Assumptions about Children's Resilience. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 13(1).

Bronson, A. (2013). *Gender and Recruitment in the Jesuit Commons: Higher Education at the Margins Diploma Course* (Unpublished). Malawi: Jesuit Refugee Services.

Brown, T. (2012). Post-Primary Education Dilemmas in Protracted Refugee Situations. In F. E. McCarthy & M. H. Vickers (Eds.), *Refugee and Immigrant Students: Achieving Equity in Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Buck, P., & Silver, R. (2012). If Any Culture is in Need of a Change, it's Somali Culture: Enlightenment and Girls' and Women's Empowerment in the Dadaab Refugee Camps. In *Educated for Change? Muslim Refugee Women in the West*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Butler, J. (2009). *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* London: Verso.

Butler, J. (2014). *Public Assembly and Plural Action*. Presented at the Alexander Lecture, University College, University of Toronto, Toronto. February 11th.

Callamard, A. (1994). Malawian refugee policy, international politics and the one-party regime. *Journal of International Affairs*, 47(2), 525–556.

Carlson, S. (2005). *Contesting and Reinforcing Patriarchy: An Analysis of Domestic Violence in Dzaleka Refugee Camp* (RSC Working Paper No. 23). Oxford: University of Oxford.

Castles, S. (2002). Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization. *International Migration Review*, 36(4), 1143–1168.

Clark-Kazak, C. (2009). Towards a Working Definition and Application of Social Age in International Development Studies. *Journal of Development Studies*, 45(8), 1307–1324.

Clark-Kazak, C. (2010). The Politics of Formal Schooling in Refugee Contexts: Education, Class, and Decision-Making among Congolese in Uganda. *Refuge*, 27(2), 57–64.

Cooper, E. (2007). Praxis in a Refugee Camp? Meanings of Participation and Empowerment for Long-Term Refugee Youth. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 17(3), 104–121.

Cornwall, A. (2007). Buzzwords and fuzzwords: deconstructing development discourse. *Development in Practice*, 17(4-5), 471–484.

Corrigan, S. (2005). *Beyond provision: A comparative analysis of two long-term refugee education systems* (Master's Thesis). University of Toronto, Canada. Retrieved January 10, 2014, from http://search.proquest.com/docview/305362027/abstract/E5E20BF994CE4684PQ/17?accountid=15182

Cossette, L., & Donald, H. (2013). *Gender, Enrolment and Completion at Dzaleka Secondary School: Situational Overview and Recommendations*. Malawi: Jesuit Refugee Services.

Courtney, L. J. (2007). *Voices on Education in Protracted Refugee Situations: Reflections and Recommendations of Sudanese Refugees*. (Master's Thesis). Stanford University, Boston.

Creekmore, C. (1986). Misunderstanding Africa; the agencies working there have a hard time thinking small enough or African enough to reach people on a personal level. *Psychology Today*, 20, 38-45.

Daly, P. (2013). Refugees, IDPs and Citizenship Rights: the perils of humanitarianism in the African Great Lakes region. *Third World Quarterly*, 34(5), 893–912.

De Waal, A. (2002). Realising Child Rights in Africa: Children, Young People and Leadership. In A. de Waal & N. Argenti (Eds.), *Young Africa: Realising the Rights of Children and Youth*. Trenton, NJ and Asmara: World Press.

Deardorff, S. (2009). *How long is too long? Questioning the legality of long-term encampment through a human rights lens* (Working Papers Series No. 54). Oxford: University of Oxford.

Dei, G. J. S. (1993). Sustainable development in the African context: Revisiting some theoretical and methodological issues. *African Development*, 18(2), 97–110.

Desai, V., & Potter, R. B. (2006). *Doing Development Research*. London: SAGE.

der Haar, G., Heijmans, A., & Hilhorst, D. (2013). Interactive research and the construction of knowledge in conflict-affected settings. *Disasters, 37*, S20-S35

Dippo, D., Orgocka, A., & Giles, W. (2012). *Feasibility study report: Reaching Higher: The Provision of Higher Education for Long-Term Refugees in the Dadaab Camps, Kenya*. Toronto: The Borderless Higher Education for Refugees Partnership/York University.

Dolan, C. (2009). *Social torture: the case of northern Uganda, 1986-2006*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2004). Educating Refugees in Countries of First Asylum: The Case of Uganda. *Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved March 4, 2014, from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/educating-refugees-countries-first-asylum-case-uganda

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2010). The Politics of Higher Education for Refugees in a Global Movement for Primary Education. *Refuge*, 27(2), 10–18.

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2011). Refugee Children Aspiring Toward the Future: Linking Education and Livelihoods. In K. Mundy & S. Dryden-Peterson (Eds.), *Educating Children in Conflict Zones: Research, Policy and Practice for Systemic Change - A Tribute to Jackie Kirk* (pp. 85–99). New York: Teachers College Press.

Dryden-Peterson, S., & Giles, W. (2010). Introduction: Higher Education for Refugees. *Refuge*, 27(2), 3–9.

Durieux, J-F., & McAdam, J. (2004). Non-Refoulement through Time: The Case for a Derogation Clause to the Refugee Convention in Mass Influx Emergencies. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 16(1), 4–24.

Education Policy and Data Center. (2013). *Out of School Children: Data Challenges in Measuring Access to Education*. FHI 360.

El Jack, A. (2010). “Education Is My Mother and Father”: The “Invisible” Women of Sudan. *Refuge*, *27*(2), 19–29.

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Esri. (2013). 50 most populous refugee camps. Esri. Retrieved April 13, 2014, from http://storymaps.esri.com/stories/2013/refugee-camps.

Fanon, F. (1961). *Wretched of the Earth*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. (2011). Paradoxes of Sahrawi refugees’ educational migration: promoting self-sufficiency or renewing dependency? *Comparative Education*, 47(4), 433–447.

Fonlon, B. N. (1978). *The Genuine Intellectual*. Yaounde, Cameroon: Buma Kor.

Fraser, N. (2005). Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World. *New Left Review*, 36, 69–88.

Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Gateley, D. E. (2013). A policy of vulnerability or agency? Refugee young people's opportunities in accessing further and higher education in the UK. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1–21.

Gatrell, P. (2013). *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ghorashi, H. (2007). Giving Silence a Chance: The Importance of Life Stories for Research on Refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(1), 117–132.

Giles, W. (2010). Livelihood and Afghan Refugee Workers in Iran. In W. Lem & P. Gardiner Barber (Eds.), *Class, Contention, and a World in Motion* (pp. 23–40). Oxford: Berghahn Press.

Giroux, H. (1993). Paulo Freire and the Politics of Postcolonialism. In P. McLaren & P. Leonard (Eds.), *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter* (pp. 177–187). London: Routledge.

Guyot, J. (2007). Child and Youth Participation in Protracted Refugee Situations. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 17(3), 159–178.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575–599.

Harrell-Bond, B. (1999). The experience of refugees as recipients of aid. In A. Agier (Ed.), *Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration* (pp. 136–168). New York, NY: Cassell.

Harrell-Bond, B. (2000). *Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?* (RSC Working Paper Series No. 29). Oxford: Oxford University.

Harrell-Bond, B. (2002). Can Humanitarian Work with Refugees be Humane? *Human Rights Quarterly*, 24(1), 51–85.

Hassanen, S. (2014). Solutions to the Refugee Problem: Repatriation Experience in Sweden. In S. Hassanen & C. Westin (Eds.), *People on the Move: experiences of forced migration* (pp. 175–190). Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press.

Heron, B. (2007). *Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender, and the Helping Imperative*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Hoodfar, H. (2010). Refusing the Margins: Afghan Refugee Youth in Iran. In D. Chatty (Ed.), *Deterritorialized Youth: Sahrawi and Afghan Refugees at the Margins of the Middle East* (pp. 145–182). New York: Berghahn Books.

Horst, C. (2006). Buufis amongst Somalis in Dadaab: the Transnational and Historical Logics behind Resettlement Dreams. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(2), 143–157.

Horvat, E. (2007). Understanding Equity and Access in Higher Education: The Potential Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu. In J. Smart (Ed.), *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* (Vol. XVI, pp. 194–228). New Jersey: Agathon Press.

Hovil, L., & Mbazumutima, T. (2012). Tanzania's Mtabila Camp finally closed. *Pambazuka News*, 610. Retrieved February 12, 2014, from http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/85766

Hugman, R., Bartolomei, L., & Pittaway, E. (2011). Human Agency and the Meaning of Informed Consent: Reflections on Research with Refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 24(4), 655–671.

Huiskamp, G. (2002). Negotiating Communities of Meaning in Theory and Practice: Rereading Pedagogy of the Oppressed as Direct Dialogic Encounter. In J. Slater, S. Fain, & C. Rossatto (Eds.), *The Freirean Legacy: Educating for Social Justice* (pp. 73–95). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Human Rights Watch. (2009). Tanzania/Uganda: Prevent Forced Return of Refugees. Retrieved February 28, 2014, from http://www.hrw.org/news/2009/06/19/tanzaniauganda-prevent-forced-return-refugees

Hwami, M. (2011). Understanding the Crisis in Higher Education in Zimbabwe: Critical Explorations. In D. Kapoor (Ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Neoliberal Globalization, Development and Education in Africa and Asia*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Hyndman, J. (2000). *Managing displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hyndman, J. (2011). *Dual Disasters: Humanitarian Aid after the 2004 Tsunami*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

Hyndman, J., & Giles, W. (2011). Waiting for what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 18(3), 361–379.

International Refugee Rights Initiative. (2013). *From refugee to returnee to asylum seeker: Burundian refugees struggle to find protection in the Great Lakes region* (Briefing Note). Retrieved February 18, 2014, from http://www.refugee-rights.org/Assets/PDFs/2013/From%20refugee%20to%20returnee%20FINAL.pdf

IRIN. (2013). No consensus on implementation of cessation clause for Rwandan refugees. *UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*. Retrieved January 19, 2014, from http://www.irinnews.org/report/98409

Jacobson, K. (2002). Can refugees benefit the state? Refugee resources and African statebuilding. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40(4), 577–596.

Jacobson, K., & Landau, L. (2003). The Dual Imperative in Refugee Research: Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science Research on Forced Migration. *Disasters*, 27(3), 185–206.

Jamal, A. (2003). Camps and freedoms: long-term refugee situations in Africa. *Forced Migration Review*, 16, 4–6.

Jesuit Refugee Services. (2011). Background on Dzaleka. Unpublished.

Jesuit Refugee Services. (2012). Dzaleka Community Day Secondary School - List of 2012 MSCE Grades and Awards for Candidates. Unpublished.

Jones, B. D. (2004). The changing role of UN political and development actors in situations of protracted crisis. In A. Harmer & J. Macrae (Eds.), *Beyond the Continuum: The changing role of aid policy in protracted crises* (pp. 14–27). London: Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute.

Kaplan, C. (1987). Deterritorializations: The Rewriting of Home and Exile in Western Feminist Discourse. *Cultural Critique*, 6, 187–98.

Kavuro, C. (2013). *Refugees and Tertiary Education in South Africa: The Challenges to Equal Access to Education and Living a Dignified Life*. (Master's Thesis). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

Kawasonga, M. (2005). Refugees and the Challenge of Providing Accessible, Relevant and Quality Education. In Sewe-K'Ahenda (Ed.), *A Theological Response to the Tragedy of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa* (pp. 148–169). Nairobi: Catholic University of East Africa Publications.

Kengkunchorn, A., & Hipsher, S. A. (2010). Higher Education for Displaced Persons on the Thai-Burmese Border Areas. *Canadian and International Education*, 39(1), 1-9.

Kumwenda, E. (n.d.). The Prevalence of PTSD Among Refugees in Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Dowa District. University of Malawi, College of Medicine. Retrieved April 2, 2014, from http://www.medcol.mw/mentalhealthmalawi/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/87.docx

Lanyasunya, A. R., & Lesolayia, M. S. (2001). *The El-barta Child and Family Project*. The Hague: Bernard van Leer Foundation.

Limbu, B. (2009). Illegible Humanity: The Refugee, Human Rights, and the Question of Representation. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22(3), 257–282.

Loescher, G., & Milner, J. (2005). The Long Road Home: Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa. *Survival*, 47(2), 153–174.

Makhema, M. (2009). *Social Protection for Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)* (Discussion Paper No. 0906). Botswana: World Bank.

Malkki, L. (1992). National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 24–44.

Malkki, L. (1995). Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 495–523.

Malkki, L. (1996). Speechless Emissaries: Refugee, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization. *Cultural Anthropology*, 11(3), 377–404.

Maluwa, T. (1991). The Domestic Implementation of International Refugee Law: A Brief Note on Malawi's Refugee Act of 1989. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 3(3), 503–509.

Mignolo, W. D. (2000). *Local histories/global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Milner, J. (2013). *Two steps forward, one step back: Understanding the shifting politics of refugee policy in Tanzania*. (Research Paper No. 255). Geneva: UNHCR.

Mkandawire, T. (2010). *Running While Others Walk: Knowledge and the Challenges of African Development*. The London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK. Retrieved March 21, 2014, from http://richmedia.lse.ac.uk/publicLecturesAndEvents/20100427_1830_runningWhileOthersWalkthechallengeofAfricandevelopment.mp3

Morlang, C., & Stolte, C. (2008). Tertiary refugee education in Afghanistan: vital for reconstruction. *Forced Migration Review*, 30, 62–63.

Morlang, C., & Watson, S. (2007). *Tertiary Refugee Education Impact and Achievements: 15 Years of DAFI*. Geneva: UNHCR: Division of Operation Services.

Mosha, H. J. (1986). The Role of African Universities in National Development: A Critical Analysis. *Comparative Education*, 22(2), 93–107.

Msiska, F. G. W. (2008). *The Brain Drain-Gain, Quality of Higher Education and Development in Malawi*. Report Prepared for the Development Education and Research Network (DERN), National University of Ireland. University of Mzuzu, Malawi. Retrieved February 2, 2014, from http://www.nuigalway.ie/dern/documents/65_fred_gennings_wanyavinkhumbo_msiska.pdf

Munene, I., & Otiendo, W. (2008). Changing the course: equity effects and institutional risk amid policy shift in higher education financing in Kenya. *Higher Education*, 55(4), 461–479.

Muvandimwe, I. (2013). *Constraints in Accessing Education Among Refugee Children in Maheba Refugee Settlement in North Western Province of Zambia*. (Master's Thesis). University of Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia.

Mvula, L. D. (2009). Refugee Status Determination and Rights in Malawi. Presented at the Refugee Studies Centre Workshop Discussion on RSD and Rights in Southern and East Africa, Uganda.

Nakar, D. (2007). From Rhetoric to Practice: Bridging the Gap between What We Believe and What We Do. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 17(3), 146–158.

Nkhoma, B. (2012). Transnational Threats: The Problem of Illegal Immigration in Northern Malawi. *Southern African Peace and Security Studies*, 1(2), 29–56.

Nkhoma, T. (2010). The Institution of Asylum in Malawi and International Refugee Law: A Review of the 1989 Refugee Act. *Malawi Law Journal*, 4, 97–123.

Nkulu, K. L. (2005). *Serving the Common Good: A Postcolonial African Perspective on Higher Education*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Nobel, P. (1987). The Concept of "Peoples" in the African (Banjul) Charter in Human and People's Rights. In P. Nobel (Ed.), *Refugees and Development in Africa* (pp. 9–18). Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

Nsamenang, A. B. (2004). *Cultures of human development and education: Challenges to growing up African*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2011). Relevant Education for African Development: Some Epistemological Considerations. In L. Keita (Ed.), *Philosophy and African Development: Theory and Practice* (pp. 139–154). Dakar: CODESRIA.

Nyers, P. (2006). *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency*. New York: Routledge.

Nyers, P. (2008). Community without Status: Non-Status Migrants and Cities of Refuge. In D. Brydon & W. D. Coleman (Eds.), *Renegotiating Community: Interdisciplinary Perspective, Global Contexts* (pp. 123–138). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Oh, S-A. (2012). Identity and Inclusion: Identity and Inclusion: Education in Refugee Camps in Thailand. In F. E. McCarthy & M. H. Vickers (Eds.), *Refugee and Immigrant Students: Achieving Equity in Education*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Olopade, D. (2014). The Bright Continent: Breaking Rules and Making Change in Modern Africa. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Onoma, A. K. (2013). *Anti-Refugee Violence and African Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Organization of African Unity. (1969). OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Programs in Africa.

Organization of African Unity. (1981). African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul Charter).

Peterson, G. (2010). "Education Changes the World": The World University Service of Canada's Student Refugee Program. *Refuge*, 27(2), 111–122.

Poku, N. K., & Mdee, A. (2011). *Politics in Africa: A New Introduction*. London: Zed Books.

Powles, J. (2004). *Life history and personal narrative: theoretical and methodological issues relevant to research and evaluation in refugee contexts* (Working Paper No. 106). Geneva: UNHCR: Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.

Prokop, P. A. (2013). *Strategies Utilized by African Refugee and Immigrant Students In Order to Persist in Post-Secondary Career and Technical Education Programs* (Doctoral

Dissertation). University of Minnesota, United States. Retrieved February 21, 2014, from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1420350847/abstract/E5E20BF994CE4684PQ/12?accountid=15182

Rajaram, P. K. (2002). Humanitarianism and Representation of the Refugee. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 15(3), 247–264.

Refugee Support Network. (2012). *"I just want to study": Access to Higher Education for Young Refugees and Asylum Seekers*. London, UK: Refugee Support Network.

Republic of Malawi. Refugee Act (1989).

Republic of Malawi. Constitution of the Republic of Malawi (1994). Retrieved December 15, 2014, from http://www.sdnp.org.mw/constitut/dtlindx.html

Roos, V., Cook, J., Aouici, S., Gallou, R., & Aigner, P. (2012). Typical Migration Stories: Comparing Trajectories of African Migrants. In C. Attias-Donfut, J. Cook, J. Hoffman, & L. Waite (Eds.), *Citizenship, Belonging and Intergenerational Relations in African Migration* (pp. 65–84). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rosenfeld, M. (2004). *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rutter, J., & Jones, C. (1998). *Refugee Education: Mapping the Field*. Staffordshire: Trentham.

SADC. (1997). SADC Protocol on Education and Training. Retrieved April 10, 2014, from http://www.unisa.ac.za/contents/projects/docs/SADC%20PROTOCOL%20ON%20EDUCATION%20%20AND%20TRAINING.pdf

Sallu, A. (2012). *Schooling Experiences and Perceptions of Resettled Sub-Saharan African Refugee Middle School Students in a Southwest U.S. State* (Doctoral Dissertation). Arizona State University, Arizona. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1013442787/abstract/E5E20BF994CE4684PQ/84?accountid=15182

Sandvik, K. B. & Lemaitre, J. (2013). Internally displaced women as knowledge producers and users in humanitarian action: the view from Colombia. *Disasters*, 37: S36–S50.

Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research: Relating Ontology and Epistemology to the Methodology and Methods of the Scientific, Interpretive, and Critical Research Paradigms. *English Language Teaching*, 5(9), 9–16.

Sehool, C., & Knight, J. (Eds.). (2013). The Role Of Higher Education Internationalisation In Meeting MDGs. In *Internationalisation of African higher education: towards achieving the MDGs* (pp. 177–193). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Segalowitz, S. (2003). The Concept of Constructivism in Developmental Psychology and Neuroscience. *International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development Newsletter*, 1 (43), 2-4.

Seshadri, K. R. (2008). When Home Is a Camp: Global Sovereignty, Biopolitics, and Internally Displaced Persons. *Social Text*, 26(1), 29–58.

Shahid, Y., Saint, W., & Nabeshima, K. (2009). *Accelerating Catch-up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved March 10, from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRICA/Resources/e-book_ACU.pdf

Shawa, K. (2005). The Economic Impact of the Incidence of Refugees in Africa: The Case of Malawi. In K. Shawa (Ed.) *A Theological Response to the Tragedy of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa* (pp. 170–183). Nairobi: Catholic University of East Africa Publications.

Smith, S. K. (2013). *Education for repatriation: Refugee education policy-making globally and for Burundian refugees in Tanzania* (Doctoral Dissertation). Columbia University, New York. Retrieved February 10, 2014, from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1433826288/abstract/E5E20BF994CE4684PQ/11?accountid=15182

Solomon, H. (2001). Emigration Dynamics in Southern Africa: Forced Migrants and the African Renaissance. In Z. Majordina (Ed.), *The Challenge of Forced Migration in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.

Stevenson, J., & Willott, J. (2007). The aspiration and access to higher education of teenage refugees in the UK, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 37(5), 671–687.

The Refugee Education Trust. (2013). New Challenges Ahead – The Last Burundian Refugee Camp Closes in Tanzania. *RET - Protecting Through Education*. Retrieved January 2, 2014, from http://theret.org/en/news/2013/02

Thompson, P. (1978). *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI). (2009). *World Refugee Survey 2009*. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from http://www.refugees.org/resources/refugee-warehousing/archived-world-refugee-surveys/2009-wrs-country-updates/malawi.html

Umutesi, M. B. (2004). *Surviving the Slaughter: The Ordeal of a Rwandan Refugee in Zaire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

UNDP. (2013). *Human Development Report 2013 The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*. New York, NY: UNDP.

UNHCR. (2007). *Luwani Refugee Camp in Malawi closes as UNHCR moves last residents*. UNHCR. Retrieved April 15, 2014, from http://www.unhcr.org/4721eb834.html

UNHCR. (2008). *Protracted Refugee Situations: A discussion paper prepared for the High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges*. Geneva: UNHCR. Retrieved November 10, 2014, from http://www.unhcr.org/492ad3782.pdf

UNHCR. (2012a). *DAFI Annual Report 2012*. Geneva: UNHCR: Division of International Protection.

UNHCR. (2012b). *Education Strategy 2012-2016*. Geneva: UNHCR: Division of International Protection.

UNHCR. (2012c). *Seeds of Hope: 20 Years of DAFI*. Geneva: UNHCR: Policy and Evaluation Service.

UNHCR. (2013). UNHCR Operation in Malawi: Fact Sheet. UNHCR. Retrieved September 30, 2013, from http://www.unhcr.org/524d85139.pdf

UNHCR. (2014). *UNHCR Global Appeal 2014-2015*. Geneva: UNHCR. Retrieved February 12, 2014, from http://www.unhcr.org/528a0a180.html

UNICEF. (2005). *The State of the World's Children 2005: Children under Threat*. New York, NY: UNICEF.

United Nations. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, § 217 A (1948).

United Nations. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951).

United Nations. Malawi. (2014). UN in Malawi Agencies: UNHCR. Retrieved from http://www.unmalawi.org/agencies/unhcr.html

Velasquez, F. G. (2006). *Intercommunal Conflict in Dzaleka Refugee Camp: Analyzing Conflict & Evaluating Conflict Management Systems* (Master's Thesis). Royal Roads University, Victoria, Canada.

Verdirame, G., & Harrell-Bond, B. (2005). *Rights in Exile: Janus-Faced Humanitarianism* (Vol. 17). New York: Berghahn Books.

Wa Thiong'o, N. (1981). *Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature*. London, UK: Heinemann Educational Books.

Water, T., & Leblanc, K. (2005). Refugees and education: Mass public schooling without a nation-state. *Comparative Education*, 49(2), 129–147.

Williams, C. (2012). *Creating Leaders from Refugees: Progress and Problems with the Refugee Education Program on the Thai-Burma Border* (Master's Thesis). Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Canada. Retrieved March 15, 2014, from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1221019060/abstract/E5E20BF994CE4684PQ/5?accountid=15182

World Bank. (2000). *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. (2013, October 7). Africa Continues to Grow Strongly but Poverty and Inequality Remain Persistently High. Retrieved February 18, 2014, from

http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/10/07/africa-continues-grow-strongly-poverty-inequality-persistently-high

World Food Programme, UNHCR, & Government of Malawi. (2012). *Joint Assessment Mission Report: Dzaleka Refugee Camp, Malawi*. Lilongwe, Malawi.

Wright, L.-A., & Plasterer, R. (2010). Beyond Basic Education: Exploring Opportunities for Higher Learning in Kenyan Camps. *Refuge*, 27(2), 42–56.

Young, L., & Ansell, N. (2003). Fluid Households, Complex Families: The Impacts of Children's Migration as a Response to HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa. *The Professional Geographer*, 55(4), 464–476.

Zalanga, S. (2009). Reforming Higher Education in Africa: Access, Equity and Equal Opportunity. In I. Munene (Ed.), *Transforming the Academia: Exploring African Universities in a Comparative Context* (pp. 37–58). New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Zein-Elabdin, E. O. (2011). Postcoloniality and Development: Development as a Colonial Discourse. In L. Keita (Ed.), *Philosophy and African Development: Theory and Practice* (pp. 215–230). Dakar: CODESRIA.

Zetter, R. (2014). *Reframing Displacement Crises as Development Opportunities* (Policy Brief). Copenhagen Roundtable. Retrieved April 26, 2014, from http://www.endingdisplacement.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Main-conference-paper.pdf

Zeus, B. (2009). *Exploring paradoxes around higher education in protracted refugee situations: The case of Burmese refugees in Thailand*. (Master's Thesis). University of London, London.

APPENDIX A

Written Approval Letter from the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of Malawi to conduct this research in Dzaleka Refugee camp, Malawi

Telephone: (265) 01 789 177
Fax: (265) 01 788 104
(265) 01 789 509

Communication should be addressed to: The Secretary for Home Affairs

In reply please quote No.:........................

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
PRIVATE BAG 331
CAPITAL CITY
LILONGWE 3
MALAWI

Ref. No. C5/01/04/Vol.I/56

5th August, 2013.

The Country Director,
WUSC Malawi,
P.O. Box 30288,
LILONGWE 3.

Dear Sir,

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT MASTERS RESEARCH IN DZALEKA REFUGEE CAMP

I have the honour to refer to your letter on the above mentioned subject and I have the pleasure to inform you that permission has been granted for Ms. Heather Donald to conduct a research for Master's Programme, in Dzaleka Refugee Camp.

Authority has been granted on the understanding it is solely for academic purposes not otherwise. It will be appreciated if a copy is shared with us after the exercise.

Yours faithfully,

C.S. Mopiwa

for: **SECRETARY FOR HOME AFFAIRS AND COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES**

APPENDIX B
Map of Dzaleka Refugee camp, as conceptualized by Community Health students from JRS (JRS, 2013).