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Learning outside the classroom:
non-formal refugee education in Uganda

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Introduction

Refugees from the Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi have fled to Uganda for the last 15 years from some of the most severe and protracted conflicts in history. Many of these refugees have grown up without formal schooling because of the conditions in their home countries, or had their schooling interrupted by their displacement.

When they arrive in Uganda, they may suffer from trauma induced by their displacement, their presence in a foreign and sometimes xenophobic environment, and their lack of financial resources. Compounding matters, they are likely to migrate with little education or professional skills, leaving them in weak position to cope with their displacement and survive in Uganda.

The formal educational opportunities that refugees have in Uganda are little or no better than in their countries of origin. Refugees suffer frequently from inadequate access to formal schooling, despite the country having one of the more successful universal primary and secondary education systems (MoES 2001; World Bank 2002). According to Bethke and Braunschweig (2004), less than 10 per cent of refugee students in Uganda are enrolled in secondary school.

In her approach to international human development, Nussbaum (2000: 70) explains that education is fundamental to what she terms "central human capabilities". Central human capabilities describe conditions that enable a person to function in a "truly human" way (Nussbaum 2000: 78).

These capabilities indicate not what a person does, but what a person is in a position "to do and to be" (ibid. 5). Specifically, education is integral to cultivate the human capabilities of "senses, imagination, and thought", which allow a person to reason and make choices, express one's self, and seek positive experiences and avoid non-necessary negative ones (ibid. 78).

In this way, education can assist refugees to overcome both the physical and psychological obstacles that displacement presents. It promotes psychosocial wellbeing and cognitive development; helps refugees to regain a sense of security, independence, dignity, and self-worth; decreases the risk of recruitment into conflict; and provides refugees with skills and knowledge to become employed or enroll in formal schooling (Sommers 2003; UNHCR 2009).

It is within this framework of human development that this study examines non-formal education (NFE) among refugee populations in Uganda. Refugees often turn to non-formal education programmes, whose curricula and structure are varied and flexible, to fill the education gap left by formal schooling.

Sommers (2003) explains that as soon as a conflict or emergency begins to subside and they secure their basic needs, refugees will initiate NFE activities for their children and youth. This is because refugees recognise the importance of education to improve their livelihoods, particularly in the context of forced displacement.

While there is considerable information on NFE in developing contexts, there exists no consensus among scholars and practitioners as to what defines or constitutes an

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NFE programme, beyond its dialectic relationship with formal education. Moreover, there is a dearth of research, particularly analytical and case-based research, on NFE within refugee populations and no synthesis of the secondary literature that does exist on NFE (Preston 1991).

Thus, this paper asks: What is NFE in the refugee context? Why is NFE important to refugees as a marginalised population? How do NFE programmes take shape and operate in practice for refugees in different hosting contexts? How can NFE develop further to meet the needs of refugees? What principles might govern NFE to reinforce its impact on refugee development?

The first part of the paper defines NFE in the refugee context by synthesising the scholarly literature on non-formal education and the reports and practitioner manuals of organizations working within the field of emergency education.

The second part seeks to gain an understanding of how NFE works in practice in the two primary forms of refugee hosting: settlements sponsored by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and self-settlement.

The final part of the paper assesses how the conditions of each refugee-hosting environment might shape NFE in different contexts[1] and discusses what principles might govern the planning, delivery, and application of NFE to advance refugee development.

This paper is set in Uganda because it is one of the only countries with both a legalised UNHCR-sponsored refugee settlement policy and a self-settlement policy. The cases of NFE examined in Uganda come from 98 semi-structured interviews and ten focus group discussions with refugees and 11 semi-structured interviews with refugee-assisting organizations and government personnel in the Oruchinga and Kyangwali refugee settlements and Kampala.

The data collection took place between March and August of 2008 during a study conducted on the self-reliance of refugee populations living in both environments.

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[1] It is important to note that this study does not suppose that environmental factors are the only factors shaping refugee NFE. The refugees living in UNHCR-sponsored settlements and self-settled in Kampala may have distinct educational needs because the characteristics of these populations, though they come from the same home countries and represent roughly equal proportions of age and gender, may vary. Thus, this study does not seek to compare the NFE activities of the two populations and maintains the differences that might exist between them.

What is non-formal education?

Traditionally, education scholars and organizations have defined NFE by its position outside the spheres of informal and formal education. Informal education is learning that takes place "continuously and incidentally for each individual" (Axinn 1976: 22) It stands opposed to formal and non-formal learning because both are organised and intentional processes (ibid.).

Formal education distinguishes itself from NFE because of its highly standardised, hierarchical, and often state-sponsored and mandatory curriculum, which culminates in nationally and internationally recognised qualifications (UNESCO 2006). This leaves NFE to cover all forms of organised and intentional learning outside formal primary, secondary, tertiary, and sometimes vocational schooling.

NFE activities cater to persons of all ages and may function as a precursor, substitute, complement, or supplement to formal education (Indonesia 2003). They have no set periods of duration, curricula, means of evaluation, means of delivery, or objectives (Graham-Brown 1991; UNESCO 1997; UNESCO 2006). Structurally, NFE has been described as an educational "movement, a setting, a process and a system" (Robinson 1999: 1; see also Fordham 1980; Khawaja and Brennan 1990; Reed 1987). It is no wonder why defining NFE has been challenging (Carron and Carr-Hill 1991; Coombs 1985; Coombs and Ahmed 1974; Dodds and Inquai 1983; Rogers 1992; Robinson 1999).

Coombs (1985) refers to NFE as "a handy generic label" to include all types of intentional education outside of the sphere of formal education (Coombs and Ahmed 1974: 8). Hoppers (2006) explains that the diversity of NFE activities have led some to question its meaning and relevance altogether. While the variance within NFE makes it difficult to define by its activities, in no way does this indicate conceptual weakness or educational superficiality. Rather, the flexibility that stands at the core of NFE is a strength to this form of education.

Thus, NFE may be identified more appropriately by its ability to create a space for learning in which the content and structure are appropriate and pertinent in addressing the needs of learners, be they men, women, children, adults, refugees, or any other sub-group of the population that has been unable or unwilling to access formal education (Coombs and Ahmed 1974; Robinson 1999; UNESCO 2006).

The tailored nature of NFE is a unique and central quality that grants educational access to those who require specific skills, knowledge, and/or learning environments to overcome particular obstacles (UNESCO 2006). In this regard, learners tend to be different from those within the formal system and the specific activities and format of NFE programmes reflect this difference (UNESCO 2006).

In addition to NFE programmes being "characterised by their variety, flexibility, and relevance to specific groups of learners", they can "respond quickly to new educational needs" (INEE, cited in Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education 2010). NFE is not bound by state procedures for education, so programmeming commences in less time, principally requiring the willingness of teachers and students. Consequently, NFE programmes are particularly useful for refugees who are excluded from or are unwilling to enroll in formal schooling and require immediate access to

alternative forms of knowledge and skills attainment. The following section will discuss the specific forms that NFE may take in the context of forced displacement.

Literacy and numeracy programmes are one of the more frequently cited forms of NFE within refugee populations (Hoppers 2006; IIEP 2006; Preston 1991; Retamal 1988; UNESCO 2006; Williams 2001). Refugees, NGOs, and host governments are the primary actors that establish literacy courses.

Refugee-led literacy activities that have no organizational involvement typically provide basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. Learning may take place through self-help groups, involving refugees working together to gain literacy skills, or classrooms, involving a more traditional teacher-student form of instruction.

Often, activities do not enjoy adequate educational materials and refugee teachers may or may not have completed teacher training (Dodds and Inquai 1983). Sommers (1999) adds that refugee teachers may not know how best to integrate psychosocial considerations into their curricula to help students manage trauma resulting from displacement.

Refugee-led literacy activities may run in private homes and communal spaces like churches or outdoors, and take place at times of the day that do not interfere with the work schedules of participants. They are directed at children, youth, and adults who cannot or will not attend formal schools and therefore act as substitutes for formal schooling (IIEP 2006).

NGO and, less commonly, host government-led literacy programmes also act as substitutes for formal education because they are aimed at "large numbers of young people with insufficient or no schooling who are too old to be accepted into the formal system" (Aguilar and Retamal 1998: 23).

Often, these refugees are resigned to engage in agricultural income-generating activities, temporary labour, or unemployment because of their educational disadvantages, making them especially vulnerable in host countries. NGOs and governments also direct literacy activities at refugee children of schooling age to engage them in learning until formal schooling becomes available (ibid.). In this way, such courses serve as a bridge to formal schooling.

Rather than provide basic literacy courses, organizations and governments will run functional literacy and numeracy programmes (Graham-Brown 1991; Hoppers 2006). Functional literacy integrates reading, writing, and numeracy with socioeconomic, civic, technical, occupational, scientific, and/or life skills (Bonanni 1977). Such programmes aim to improve employment productivity or prospects for employment and teach refugees how to manage their lives in situations of displacement (Callaway 1971).[2]

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[2] In a refugee camp in Somalia, volunteer workers offered a functional literacy course that taught refugees to read and write using materials and activities that informed students about nutrition, hygiene, health, crafts, and tailoring. The volunteers also trained students how to teach functional literacy courses to create further employment opportunities for refugees in the camp (Dodds and Inquai 1983; UN 1982).

Ideally, NGOs and governments plan literacy and numeracy courses to accommodate the employment schedules of refugees by holding classes at convenient times and in centrally located community centers (IIEP 2006; Williams 2001). NGOs and governments may also grant adult refugees access to distance learning literacy and functional literacy courses, which enable refugees to teach themselves through printed correspondence texts and audiocassettes (StateUniversity.com n.d.).

Personal and community development programmes are important for refugee communities, which are marked by unfamiliar social structures and new organizational demands. They can assist in establishing societal bonds, cooperation and interaction procedures, leadership, as well as religious and political organization (Williams 2001). Personal and community development programmes include cultural institutions, music and dance programmes, and drama activities; sports, recreation clubs, and fitness centers; self-help therapy groups and youth service projects; as well as study visits and community education (Hoppers 2006; IIEP 2006; Retamal 1988).[3]

The breadth of personal and community development programmes and their focus on community socialisation creates learning activities that are participatory and encourages both men and women, youth and adults, to take part. The recreational nature of these programmes means that they supplement and complement rather than substitute formal schooling (Smith 2007).

The format of personal and community development programmes ranges from self-help groups, clubs, classes, centers of learning, and projects, making it the most flexible and accessible of the types of NFE. Activities may be refugee or organization-led, but are less likely to be led by host governments, as they tend to involve themselves in NFE activities more closely associated with formal education.

Professional and vocational training is the most frequently cited form of NFE within refugee populations aside from literacy programmes (Hoppers 2006; IIEP 2006; Preston 1991; Retamal 1988; UNESCO 2006; Williams 2001). Its aim is to assist refugees with direct or future employment and includes on-the-job learning, artisanal and informal sector apprenticeships, agricultural and industrial extension services, entrepreneurship programmes, as well as upgrading or re-skilling training (Hoppers 2006; IIEP 2006; Williams 2001). Some specific examples of professional and vocational training include road building, construction, clothes making and tailoring, forestry and agriculture maintenance, mechanics, trade, and craftwork (Williams 2001).

NGOs and private businesses are the primary providers of professional and vocational training because these activities require supplies, a workspace, and specialised knowledge (Preston 1991).[4] NGO programmes frequently take the form of short-term courses, but can also use extension worker systems. Extension work requires an organization to train refugees in a skill set and the ability to teach that skill set, so that they can travel throughout a settlement and train other refugees.

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[3] In Malawi, NGOs and social workers run sports and cultural activities to help youth and adults adjust to their new environments and become self-supporting. The activities draw not only from the cultural backgrounds or refugees, but also from that of host countries as a way of orienting participants to their new societies (UNHCR 1998).
[4] In a Rwandese refugee camp in Tanzania, the Jesuit Refugee Service ran classes for vulnerable women on librarianship and had the resources to construct a camp library (UNESCO 2000).

Most often, extension work aims to inform refugees living in rural settlements of best practices for cultivating in their new environments. Less often, host governments may grant adult refugees access to distance learning courses for professional training. However, this does not alleviate the challenges refugees face to obtain the necessary materials for the training (StateUniversity.com n.d.).

Sommers (1999) raises concerns over organization-led educational activities. He explains that organizations risk creating programmes that are too top-down and irrelevant to refugees who face restrictions on their movement and employment. The advantage of refugees directing or taking part in the planning of NFE lies in their knowledge of community needs and employment opportunities as well as their personal stake in the success of NFE programmeming.

Refugee-led professional and vocational training offers skills like jewellery making and similar types of craftwork that require considerably less capital to teach and employ. With the support of NGOs to obtain the necessary materials, few create more intensive skills training programmes, like construction work and tailoring. Refugee-led training may take the form of classes or cooperative working groups.

Classes are designed to be flexible to meet the scheduling constraints of refugees. Cooperative working groups allow refugees to train as they work and provide employment experience and opportunities (Dodds and Inquai 1983). Dodds *et al.* (1986: 34) explain that it is vital to "ensure that job opportunities exist for skills acquired during vocational training" (see also Buckley 2001; Rosati and Lyon 2006).

Professional and vocational training demands no previous formal education, but usually requires basic literacy and numeracy skills for tasks like bookkeeping (Hoppers 2006). Additionally, such programmes are aimed at adults and youth who are beyond the age of (re)entering the formal school system (Rosati and Lyon 2006).

Accelerated, bridging, substitute, and remedial learning programmes, or what Hoppers (2006: 23) refers to as "para-formal" education programmes, are activities that are most closely linked to formal education because they take the form of classes and seek to prepare refugee youth to (re)enter the formal school system or support youth as they attend formal schools.

Accelerated programmes provide educational opportunities to refugee youth who have not completed or started primary school. They facilitate (re)entry into the formal education system by offering a condensed curriculum of literacy and numeracy education alongside other components of basic education (IIEP 2006). Bridging programmes help students who have missed multiple years of schooling to re-enter formal schools.

These programmes direct their attention to older students as they have had previous schooling (ibid.; Rosati and Lyon 2006). Substitute programmes parallel formal education curricula and, as the name suggests, aim to substitute formal learning with no eventual aim to transfer students into the formal system.

Both accelerated and bridging programmes act as temporary substitutes for formal education because they strive to replace missed schooling. Hoppers (2006) explains that they differ from formal schooling only in their methods of delivery, which are

tailored to refugee learners through condensed curricula and displacement-relevant lessons. The educational authorities of host countries often sponsor para-formal activities because they are best equipped to manage transfers into their educational systems and to certify the attainment of qualifications.

Presently, there is disagreement among and between practitioners, governments, and academics over whether para-formal programmes should work towards refugee entry into formal schools in their host countries, countries of origin, or countries of resettlement (Buckley 2002; Graham-Brown 1991; Hoppers 2006).

Much of the cause for disagreement is that education is inextricably linked to the likely durable solution for a refugee. UNHCR appears to favour home country curricula because repatriation stands as the most favoured durable solution. However, with refugee populations becoming increasingly protracted, this decision has been difficult to maintain.

Lastly, NGOs are the main providers of remedial programmes, which are programmes afforded to refugees enrolled in schools that supplement and/or compliment formal curricula with academic tutoring or "instructions relating to topical conflict- or displacement-sensitive issues" (IIEP 2006: 3; Rosati and Lyon 2006). Remedial classes may also include support services like personal counseling, food and nutrition support, and childcare; as well as out-of-school skills development in health and life skills (Hoppers 2006).

Foreign language classes teach refugees how to communicate with nationals in their host environments, if the language of the host country differs from their country of origin (Preston 1991). The International Institute for Education Planning (2006: 12-13) explains, "learning or improving competency in an international language increases self-esteem and employability, and may be helpful if formal education is returned".

Refugees, NGOs, and host governments all offer language classes. While government and NGO courses employ trained teachers equipped with learning materials and a space for instruction, refugee led-classes generally do not benefit from such resources and may or may not benefit from teachers with prior training in language instruction.[5]

Preschool and parent education is a vital yet lesser-known type of NFE directed at refugee mothers. Displacement and the circumstances that prompt it tear apart social networks. Social networks act as important support mechanisms for women who find it difficult to generate income while looking after children and maintaining a household. This is especially true in rural refugee settlements where women outnumber men and mothers are often single mothers or are separated from their husbands.

Additionally, Graham-Brown (1991) explains that the tasks of women increase during times of crisis, as they must assume a greater burden of household responsibilities and income generating activities. Community networks of women can assist each other in

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[5] In Tanzania, the Jesuit Refugee Service established a camp resource centre wherein classes ran for Rwandese refugees in spoken and written English (UNESCO 2000).

caring for children to increase opportunities for employment as well as the quality of employment.

Refugee-led preschool education is "home-based care" offered by a parent or community group providing a "structured environment for young children…in line with their traditions or insights into…the best way of supporting early development" (UNHCR 1990: 5-6; see also Hoppers 2006). NGOs and governments may provide preschool playgroups as well as courses for mothers on childcare, traditional birth attendance, and prenatal and postnatal care (Hoppers 2006).

Subject and theme-specific learning involves activities that foster civic and peace education, psychological healing, human rights education, environmental awareness, poverty reduction, HIV/AIDS prevention, health and hygiene, nutrition, landmine safety, and social empowerment (Hoppers 2006; INEE 2006; Aguilar and Retamal 1998). This may or may not stand as a distinct type of NFE because NGOs often integrate it into the six types of NFE mentioned previously.[6]

Subject and theme-specific learning takes place through courses, community centers, clubs and peer groups, and extension workers. An organization may start a drama club that transmits social or health messages, thereby integrating subject-specific learning with personal and community development activities. Alternatively, organizations may offer courses on best health practices or may train refugees as health extension workers (Preston 1991; UN 1982). As with agricultural extension workers, health extension workers travel throughout a settlement, teaching refugees about best health practices.

Below is a table that provides an overview of the information presented in this section regarding NFE's content, relationships with formal schooling, methods of delivery, promoters and teachers, as well as learners. The following section builds off of this discussion by illustrating why NFE is pertinent to refugees.

Non-Formal Education within Refugee Populations				
Content	Relations to Formal Schooling	Learners	Promoters/ Teachers	Methods of Delivery
• Personal & Community Development (Sports & Recreation, Culture, Self-Therapy) • Literacy & Numeracy • Language • Professional & Vocational • Accel., Bridg., Subst. & Rem. (Para-Formal) • Preschool & Parenting • Subject & Theme-Specific	• Supplement • Substitute • Complement • Represents initial stages of emergency education that lead to formalization	• Children, Youth, & Adults • Men & Women • Refugees • Those with/ without prior schooling	• NGOs • Refugees • NGO trained Refugees • Host Governments	• Extension Work • Self-Help Groups • Clubs • Classes/ Courses • Projects

[6] In Cambodia, UNESCO led a literacy course for female internally displaced people that employed texts on health, hygiene, childcare, agriculture, human rights, and environmental protection. The course's goal was to teach women how to read and write as well as inform them of their rights and optimal livelihood strategies in displacement (UNESCO 2000).

The importance of non-formal education for refugees

NFE is important to any population without the ability or willingness to enroll in formal schooling, for at its most basic level, education affords students hope, promotes psychosocial wellbeing and cognitive development, improves self-reliance, and reduces the risk of recruitment into dangerous activities (Sommers 2003; UNHCR 2009).

Access

Discussions at the Education For All conference in Dakar present "the primary problem of education in emergencies as one of educational access" (Eschenbacher 2009: 2). Access includes the scheduling of an educational programme, location, tuition and maintenance fees, and classroom space, to name a few. The flexibility and adaptability of NFE enables it to overcome the issues of access that refugees face with formal schooling enrollment.

NFE can operate around the daily and yearly work schedules of participants, create additional classes during off-work hours, and include independent study modules to compensate for missed classes (Rosati and Lyon 2006; Smith 2007). In refugee contexts, participants include adults, youth, and children alike, as children and youth often forfeit their formal schooling to supplement or generate their families' income (IIEP 2006).

In rural settlements where mothers are often single or have been separated from their husbands, women do not have a second income to support their families, other than that provided by their children. Moreover, many children have lost their parents because of the circumstances surrounding their displacement and are responsible for their own livelihoods and those of younger family members.

Consequently, many NFE programmes target working children and youth, particularly in rural settings "where the sheer numbers of children at work make its elimination an unrealistic initial policy objective, and where there is thus a need for strategies to accommodate work and school" (Rosati and Lyon 2006: 6).

Scheduling flexibility is particularly important for refugee women, as they must look after their children and household in addition to generating an income (Retamal 1988). Dodds *et al.* (1986) explain that Hmong refugee women did not have the time for formal schooling and were even difficult to reach for NFE programmes because they had to raise their families, look after their gardens or sell embroidery, and carry out a number of other tasks.

Another reason why NFE activities are important to refugee populations is that they are quick to establish and mainly require the willingness of participants (Foster 1995). Sommers (2003) points out that after basic needs have been secured, one of the first tasks that refugee communities undertake is to provide education for their children. Refugees use the limited resources they have to establish their own non-formal schools and literacy courses (Dodds *et al.* 1986). This is because they view "education for children and adults [as] an important priority, from the time exile begins" (ibid. 34).

The governmental processes required to establish formal schooling do not delay NFE. NFE programmes may begin before NGOs and governments introduce formal educational programmes in settlements. Dodds *et al.* (1986) held that there were no instances in which NGOs made education available to refugees alongside emergency relief in the initial stages of displacement. NFE can provide refugees with the skills training, productive activities, and learning content they require during their first months in a host country when psychologically, refugees are most vulnerable (ibid.).

Refugees also face the challenge of not accessing formal education because they may not have the necessary qualifications. The circumstances of a refugee's displacement may have caused him/her to miss years of schooling and be unable to catch up without outside help or too old to enroll in the appropriate level (IIEP 2006).

NFE may address these qualification issues by offering accelerated and bridging courses that substitute formal education and facilitate refugee (re)entry into the formal school system. Additionally, NFE provides older refugee youth, who would otherwise go without education, with vocational and professional skills training to help them support themselves.

For refugees that meet the age and educational standards of formal schools, tuition and maintenance fees may bar their entry to formal schooling (UNHCR 1985; Smith 2007). Similarly, refugee parents who manage to afford school fees may not send their children to school, because they cannot provide them with appropriate clothing and supplies (Sommers 1999). NFE might fill the educational gap for these learners because it can be free, initially free, or charge students on a pay-what-you-can basis (Smith 2007).

UNHCR (1985) explains that places available for refugees in formal schools are often limited, making NFE the only form of education accessible to refugees. This is especially true in towns and cities where schools are filled to capacity and suffer from overcrowding (Dodds *et al.* 1986). Moreover, "there is a natural inclination of host societies to provide primary-school places first to their own nationals and only when there are places to spare to refugees" (ibid. 15).

In rural areas, overcrowding may not be as much of a challenge in accessing education as the remote location of settlements and the legal restrictions against movement outside of them. NFE programmes can run within settlements because of their flexible and adaptable structures, so if a refugee's location makes it difficult to attend formal schools, students can attempt distance learning courses and participate in or prompt the creation of para-formal education programmes (Smith 2007).

For refugees living in settlements near the conflicts from which they fled, NFE's proximity to, or location within, the home can make education available to children whose parents would otherwise be unwilling to send them to the local primary or secondary school out of fears for security.

Lastly, NFE is pertinent to refugees because of the dangerous situations refugees face should they find themselves unable to access education. The International Institute for Education Planning (2006: 2) holds that "where no [NFE] exists as a substitute, such refugees may be prone to militia recruitment, engaging in illegal activities, or employing themselves in unsafe income-generating activities". NFE is a "positive

alternative, and can often be a vital protection strategy" (ibid.). Sommers (2003) adds that education reduces the risk that refugees will turn to alcohol and drug abuse as a result of trauma they experienced linked to their reason for flight.

Special needs

Aside from reasons of access, NFE is important for refugees because its curricula are tailored to the special needs of refugees (Coombs and Ahmed 1974; Robinson 1999; Rosati and Lyon 2006; UNESCO 2006). NFE curricula engage with subjects crucial to survival in situations of forced displacement like environmental education, landmine awareness, peace education and conflict resolution, reproductive health, hygiene, disease prevention, HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, psychological awareness, and human rights (IIEP 2006; Foster 1995).

Educational activities on disease and malnutrition are particularly vital to refugees, as they are the two leading causes of death within refugee populations (Foster 1995). Moreover, NFE designed to promote conflict resolution and peacebuilding is pertinent to refugees because settlements and cities may offer asylum to refugees of different nationalities, political views, and other factors that have the potential to create tensions (ibid.).

Non-formal programmes that alleviate the negative psychosocial impacts of conflict "[enhance] children's understanding of events they have experienced or are living through" and "[provide] avenues to express feelings and opportunities for more personal support" (Sommers 2003: 16). For instance, organized cultural activities employing music, art, and drama can transmit messages related to peace and conflict resolution and assist in refugees' healing process by offering an outlet for expression.

Lastly, the promoters of NFE can craft activities according to the needs of specific groups within a refugee population. Dodds *et al.* (1986: 5) explain that NFE can assist women "to meet their increased responsibilities for maintaining their families' health and welfare". This is important because the number of female-headed households "usually increases in refugee settings as families become separated during flight and because men are frequently away fighting wars or seeking employment".

Additionally, refugee women tend to have higher fertility rates and are at risk for catching water-borne diseases and coming into contact with landmines because of their traditional domestic roles of obtaining water and firewood. Thus, many NFE programmes targeting refugee women teach them how to protect themselves to the specific risks they face in their new environments.

Language

Foreign language classes teach refugees how to communicate with nationals in their host environments. The International Institute for Education Planning (2006: 12-13) explains, "learning or improving competency in an international language increases self-esteem and employability, and may be helpful if formal education is returned".

Similarly, UNHCR (2009) explains that learning the language of a host state is a basic requirement "for achieving independence and self sufficiency as well as becoming part of the local community" (ibid. 10). Non-formal language programmes can alleviate problems of identity by helping refugees that do not have access to formal, national schooling to make friends and relieve feelings of isolation from their new societies. In this way, NFE acts as a bridge between a refugee's home and host country (UNHCR 1985).

However, UNHCR encourages formal schools for refugees to teach in their native languages. It does so to promote and prepare refugees for voluntarily repatriation (Foster 1995). Refugees wanting to learn the language of the host country must enroll in a national school – a task many are not able to achieve for the reasons of access mentioned previously. Consequently, NFE programmes led by refugees and NGOs provide the only opportunities for refugees to receive language training and improve livelihood opportunities in host countries.[7]

Integration, repatriation and resettlement

In contrast to educational activities for internally displaced people and other marginalized national populations, the curricula, subjects, and/or skills designed for refugees can vary according to whether organizations or refugees intend them to be relevant to host or home countries. In this way, educational programmeming is linked to the predicted or desired durable solution for a population of refugees (Dodds *et al.* 1986).

As voluntary repatriation is often the most politically feasible and practiced of the durable solutions and because refugeehood is in theory a temporary status, UNHCR and UNESCO encourage formal education in settlements are designed to reflect the national curriculum of the country of origin (INEE 2004; UNHCR 2004). Similarly, NGOs design many of their NFE programmes in settlements to help refugees (re)enter the labour markets of their home countries (Foster 1995).[8]

Less often do assistance organizations tailor NFE programmes to assist refugees to integrate temporarily into host societies. Typically, refugees create NFE activities that teach them how to improve their livelihoods in displacement. Because they are a population in limbo between two countries, ideally NFE would prepare refugees for repatriation as well as "enable them to interact with the people of the host country and to make a living during there sojourn there" (Hannah 2008: 37; see also Dodds *et al.* 1986).

NFE is pertinent to refugees because it can adapt to incorporate the needs and desires of refugees in multiple settings, the expertise of assistance NGOs and UNHCR, and

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[7] In Tanzania's Ngara District in 1994, Sommers (1991) found that while the government and UNHCR were still in the process of planning an emergency education programme, Rwandese refugees had organised Swahili language classes. Refugees had determined it to be in their best interests to learn the language for survival, as the duration of their displacement was unknown.

[8] For example, in the case of Mozambican refugees in Malawi, UNHCR established skills training schools and apprenticeships in construction, carpentry, tin and blacksmithing, and business management, to name a few, based on skills and trades desirable in the Mozambican economy (UNHCR 1990).

the concerns of governments regarding security and cohesion with nationals. This flexibility is not possible with standardized, national curricula.

This section sought to establish a foundation for NFE within refugee populations first by broadly defining NFE in the refugee context and distinguishing it from formal and informal education. Second, this section outlined seven forms that NFE takes within refugee populations by examining their methods of delivery, promoters and teachers, learners, and relationships to formal schooling.

While these categories and characteristics of NFE are useful in describing the diversity and flexibility of NFE, one should note that NFE does not always fit neatly into this dichotomy. Often, an NFE programme may blend two or more types of non-formal learning, for example a literacy programme that integrates subject-specific learning and community development.

Settlement and self-settlement

This section outlines how NFE works in practice in the two primary types of refugee hosting environments using cases of NFE found within Uganda's settlement and self-settled refugee populations. In the process of examining these cases, this section draws out features of NFE that may be linked to the hosting environment to better understand how NFE activities take shape in different contexts.

Uganda provides an appropriate setting for this paper, for it is one of the only countries with both a legalized UNHCR-sponsored refugee settlement policy and a self-settlement policy. Consequently, the country provides a single venue to examine NFE within the two forms of refugee hosting, reducing the likelihood of intervening factors when analysing NFE activities in both environments.

Kampala

Refugee populations are becoming increasingly urban (Bernstein and Okello 2007; Kibreab 1996). However, urban refugees are a hidden population, so it is not known exactly how many refugees live in a given urban centre. Human Rights Watch (2002) and the former Head of Research at the Refugee Law Project estimate that Kampala is home to 50,000 refugees, while the Office of the Prime Minister of Uganda estimates 10,000 refugees (Okello, interview, 16th July 2008).

There are five groups of refugees in Kampala: those on UNHCR's urban caseload, those with status and permission to live in Kampala, those with status and unlawfully living in Kampala, asylum seekers, and unregistered refugees. Refugees on UNHCR's caseload reside in Kampala to receive medical treatment, are security risks and cannot live in settlements, or are preparing for resettlement.

There are approximately 200 refugees on the caseload at any given time (Nasinyama, interview, 24th July 2008). InterAid, UNHCR's implementing partner in Kampala, funds the children of caseload families to attend primary school and on occasion, secondary school (Kaiser *et al.* 2005). At the beginning of the academic year in 2003, InterAid facilitated the enrollment of 19 children.

All other categories of refugees in Kampala must provide for their own education. Although Uganda has had universal primary education (UPE) since 1997, making the seven years of primary education free for four children in every family, government schools may charge fees in Kampala. The fees stem the costs of water, electricity, and teacher salaries, which are expenses that run higher in the capital city (Dryden-Peterson 2003). In addition to tuition, students must pay for uniforms, school supplies, and meals (ibid). This makes the cost of primary school attendance prohibitively high for refugees.

Secondary schooling is not universal and has greater fees than primary school, making it more difficult for refugees to attend. Refugees in Kampala are not eligible for educational scholarships, despite the large demand for them. Windle Trust, UNHCR's implementing partner for education in Uganda, receives weekly requests from self-settled refugees in need of financial assistance. This unsatisfied demand persists despite Windle Trust's recognition of the existence of qualified applicants in Kampala and unmet quotas for scholarships in settlements because of unqualified applicants (Bernstein and Okello 2007).

A lack of space for refugee students in schools also presents a barrier to formal education. Since the introduction of UPE, classrooms have been severely overcrowded, the average permanent classroom size totalling 228 students (UN 2000). In describing the situation in schools, a teacher at Katwe Primary School, located in an area with a large Congolese refugee population, says:

> The classes are crowded. We have so many [pupils] and the rooms are not big enough for it. So the government should look into it, at least to expand and build new buildings and recruit new teachers. We are overloaded… I was alone manning P.4 with one hundred children [until last week when a second teacher was added, paid for by school fees collected from parents] (Dryden-Peterson 2003: 18).

Moreover, Bernstein and Okello (2007) explain that refugees experience discrimination from the Ugandan national population, which can prevent them from accessing formal schools. Thus, the limited places available for new students to enroll in Kampala schools are likely to be given to members of the national population rather than refugees.

For all of these reasons, most self-settled refugees of schooling age cannot access formal primary and secondary schooling (ibid.). The records of ASSOREF, a francophone refugee self-help organization in Kampala, reveal that 42% of its members' children of schooling age were not enrolled in school (Dryden-Peterson 2006). Consequently, refugee-led NFE programmes are often the only education activities refugees in the city can access (Dryden-Peterson 2003).

In Kampala, cases of NFE include personal and community development, language, vocational and professional skills training, subject-specific learning, literacy and numeracy, and para-formal education programmes. Jesuit Refugee Service and Refugee Law Project, two of the primary NGOs operating in Kampala for self-settled refugees, ran three of the 31 distinct NFE programmes.

Churches provided three programmes and a private business led one programme in the form of an apprenticeship. NFE activities were largely refugee-led, totalling 24 cases. The table below illustrates the various types of NFE programmes for refugees and NFE promoters identified in Kampala.

The principal method of delivery of NFE activities was education through self-help group (SHG). SHGs appeared in 13 cases, all of which were refugee-led. Self-help groups are:

> Voluntary, small group structures for mutual aid and the accomplishment of a special purpose. They are usually formed by peers who have come together for mutual assistance in satisfying a common need, overcoming a common handicap or life-disrupting problem and bringing about desired social and/or personal change (Katz and Bender 1976: 1).

NFE Activities among Urban Refugees in Kampala								
	Personal & Community Development	Language	Vocational & Professional Skills Training	Subject-Specific Learning	Literacy & Numeracy	Para-Formal Education	Preschool & Parent Education	Total
NGO-led	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
Refugee-led	11 (17)[9]	4	6	1(2)[10]	1	1	0	24
Church-led	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Business-led	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	11 (17)	8	8	1	2	1	0	31 (17)

Non-formal education via SHG involves the exchange of knowledge between members or members and an invited instructor. Refugees may structure such groups in a variety of ways. First, they can resemble a 'refugee organization', which is a formal group established by and for refugees with a leadership structure, group constitution, and clear mission statement.

Second, SHGs can be 'working groups', groups in which members learn skills and work together to carry out their income generating activities. Lastly, a 'support group' is a group of refugees who agree that if a member needs help, whether it be financial, social, or spiritual, the group will work together and, if necessary, pool their resources to address the issue. Many of these groups use private homes and churches to conduct their meetings.

Other methods of delivery for NFE activities in Kampala include education through classrooms, clubs, apprenticeships, and peer-to-peer learning. Jesuit Refugee Service

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[9] This study observed 17 cases of church groups among self-settled refugees. Church groups are a form of NFE delivered via self-help group. They fall under the category of personal and community development programmes because they offer religious instruction and social skills as well as help refugees cope with challenges they face as a result of their displacement. This study does not include church groups in the totals of NFE because it did not have data on whether the 17 cases were unique or if some interviewees were a part of the same group.

[10] There was one unique instance of subject-specific learning and two instances where a vocational and professional skills training programme and a personal and community development programme integrated subject-specific learning.

and Refugee Law Project provided three of the 11 instances of classroom-formatted learning, while churches offered three of the 11, making the observed NGO and church programmes exclusively class-based.

Refugees conducted peer-to-peer learning in each of the four instances it appeared and learning through a sports club in its single case. The table below provides a complete breakdown of the promoters and methods of delivery of NFE programmes for the self-settled refugees in this paper.

Methods of Delivery for NFE Activities among Urban Refugees in Kampala						
	Club	SHG	Class/Course	Peer-to-Peer	Apprenticeship	Total
NGO-led	0	0	3	0	0	3
Refugee-led	1	13 (17)[11]	5	4	1	24
Church-led	0	0	3	0	0	3
Business-led	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	1	13 (17)	11	4	2	31 (17)

Lastly, NFE activities also varied according to the targeted group of learners. This study observed youth-focused, female-focused, and francophone-focused learning programmes in addition to programmes that had no criteria for exclusion or inclusion. Below I examine three cases that highlight characteristics of refugee NFE prominent in self-settled hosting.

Sports team

Youth African Refugee for Integral Development (YARID) is a refugee organization that organizes a football and life skills academy for refugee youth from Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Sudan, and Somalia. A Congolese refugee founded this organization soon after his arrival to Uganda in 2006. At the time of his flight, he had finished a university degree in Rural Development. He explains that he created YARID to keep himself busy and to keep his mind working (Anon. 1, interview, 2nd August 2008).

YARID uses the academy as a tool to help children and youth manage stress and trauma from the circumstances surrounding their displacement, to resolve conflict between youth from different backgrounds, and to promote community cooperation and development. It achieves this by bringing together male and female refugees of different nationalities and ethnicities, as well as Ugandan nationals, through organized football matches. Refugee children and youth would otherwise remain idle because of a lack of access to formal schooling and employment (ibid.).

YARID has five football teams in which more than 150 refugee children and youth participate. They include a team for female youth, children, and male youth. The academy integrates learning football skills with subject-specific learning that varies according to the team.

The female youth team helps young women address issues that are prevalent in their daily lives as refugee women in Kampala. It holds discussions on "violence against

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[11] See note 11

women, prostitution, HIV/AIDS, female genital mutilation, poverty, sexual abuse, and unequal access to education [because of a] lack of information" (YARID 2008: 3,5).

YARID holds that because young women have fewer opportunities than young men to socialise outside of their homes, participating in the football team acts as a source of empowerment and self-esteem, teaches them leadership and teamwork skills, provides them with a sense of belonging, and helps them cope with depression from past violence they have experienced (ibid.).

YARID's football programme for children recognizes that providing refugee children, many of whom are orphans, with a structured setting is crucial to their physical, emotional, and social development. Participants are not enrolled in formal schooling and many have never attended school because of the circumstances surrounding their displacement, many have never attended a formal school.

Sports activities improve the ability of refugees to take direction, focus, and learn. The team integrates football skills with life skills to improve the children's chances of survival in Kampala. Additionally, the coaches provide counseling to participants and advice about their future (YARID 2008).

The male youth team productively employs boys that do not have the money to attend formal schools and find employment extremely difficult because of a lack of skills and capital. A number of the team's players were forced to join rebel movements in their home countries.

Consequently, the male youth team seeks to reduce the vulnerability of participants to crime and drug use (ibid.). YARID helps players to think about and prepare for their futures through informal counseling services. YARID also conducts a public health learning module for ten boys from this team and ten girls from the female team to receive a free course on HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. The selected students must agree to share what they learn with their team-mates and community members (Anon. 1, interview, 2nd August 2008).

Jewellery making group

The second case of NFE is a women's jewellery making cooperative called the Hopeful Women group. In 2008, the group had 36 members. All of the members were Congolese, though from different parts of the DRC, and all, save for one, were women. Despite having entirely Congolese membership, the group was vocal in its wanting members of other nationalities and wanting to expand the numbers of the group in general (Hopeful Women group, focus group, 18th July 2008).

The group was formed out of the necessity for its founding members to feed their families, pay rent, and increase their social networks. Some of the women lost their husbands as a result of the circumstances surrounding their migration to Uganda and are the sole providers for their families. Without knowledge of the English language or Luganda and without transferable skills from their home countries, as many had not been employed in the DRC, a craftwork cooperative was their only conceivable option.

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The group members with husbands explained that because their husbands could speak neither English nor Luganda, they could not find employment. Thus, the jewellery-making group was an opportunity for married women to support their families, meet other women, and accommodate the constraints posed by managing a household.

In addition to the employment obstacles that language barriers and household constraints present, refugees must also contend with policies surrounding their legal eligibility to work. Unregistered refugees and asylum seekers are officially excluded from participating in Uganda's formal economy. Moreover, some Ugandans believe that they are not supposed to employ refugees, not realizing that with the proper status and documentation, it is legal to hire them (Machiavello 2003).

Additionally, the unemployment rate in Kampala is high and discrimination is a significant problem that refugees face in Kampala; thus, a Ugandan national would be more likely to receive an available job (Bailey 2004; Jacobsen 2004). For all of these reasons, the members of the Hopeful Women group determined that to earn a living, they had to train and employ themselves to work in the informal economy.

Despite having skills in tailoring, the members of the group decided that because jewellery making required the least amount of start-up and maintenance costs, their cooperative would specialize in this trade. Each member of the group must buy her own materials and contribute an agreed upon number of pieces. When they sell their goods, the women split the collective profits. If a member does not contribute a sufficient number of pieces of sufficient quality, she receives less of the profits (Hopeful Women group, focus group, 18th July 2008).

To operate efficiently, the group established the following hierarchy: president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and two advisers. Annual elections determine who is to fill leadership positions. The group promotes itself and looks for new markets by word of mouth through the various churches to which members belong. Members meet once each week at a church to show the pieces they have made and correct each other's work. Meetings are also a place where new members receive training on jewellery making and current members learn more advanced jewellery making skills and styles (ibid.).

Primary school

Kampala Urban Refugee Children's Education Centre (KURCEC) is one of the few self-help schools offering quasi-formal primary education to refugees and as of 2005 was the only one offered to Congolese refugees. Two men who trained as primary school teachers in the DRC started KURCEC because they noticed the obstacles Congolese children faced in gaining access to Ugandan schools.

Refugee parents and children could not afford the school fees of Kampala primary schools, children neither spoke English nor Luganda, Ugandan schools did not have a special mechanism to help refugees adjust to the curriculum and enroll at the appropriate education level, and Ugandan schools did not have programmes that were sensitive to the unique issues that refugee children face as a result of their displacement. With their children out of school, refugee parents found it difficult to

find employment, making it difficult for them to earn an income to send their children to Ugandan schools (Dryden-Peterson 2006).

Because of KURCEC's non-formal nature, the founders structured the curriculum to meet the needs of its learners. Based on discussions with the parents of potential students, they decided to offer instruction in French and mirror the primary curriculum of the DRC. They did so to allow refugee youth to transition with greater ease into learning at school. No time would be lost with teaching children English before engaging in their para-formal studies.

Moreover, the parents believed that learning in French would help their children reintegrate into Congolese society. Finally, French instruction assisted the teaching roles of the founders, themselves, who lacked learning materials, had no knowledge of Uganda's formal curriculum, and had to construct KURCEC's curriculum from memory (Dryden-Peterson 2006; Harvard Educational Review 2009).

Aside from curriculum content, KURCEC was accessible to refugees because it charged no mandatory fees. One of the founders of KURCEC explains that "access [to this school] is free….[A] child is accepted without having to pay anything and without condition. Pupils must only have a notebook and a pencil or pen. That's it. They may come to school" (Dryden Peterson 2006: 19).

As a result, the school relied on volunteer teachers. As the number of enrolled students increased and the disparities in age and former schooling among the students became difficult to manage, the school reached out to parents with former teaching experience to volunteer (Harvard Educational Review 2009).

In 2000, the school operated in a private home with 20-30 students between the ages of four and 14 (Harvard Educational Review 2009). By 2003, its numbers increased to 55 refugees and seven Ugandans and classes took place inside a church on the outskirts of the city (ibid.). At this point, KURCEC admitted Ugandan students facing similar financial obstacles in accessing government schools.

The integration of refugee and national communities served to enhance the school's curriculum. Every Friday for two hours the school held a debate on topics relating to the coexistence of these communities, so students would learn to talk about their differences in a progressive manner.

Topics ranged from "issues relating to self-esteem, how to overcome barriers, what to do if you come to school hungry or if there is no food at home, or how to react if you are living with someone who does not speak the same language" (Harvard Educational Review 2009: 143) One of the founders of the school explained that these debates serve not only to educate and improve the lives of students in Kampala, but also to educate their parents, as they are often the perpetuators of prejudice (ibid.).

Oruchinga and Kyangwali settlements

According to the 2008 census taken by the Office of the Prime Minister, the population of Oruchinga totals 2,170. All of the residents are Rwandese Hutus and most have been in the country since the 1990s. When UNHCR visited the settlement,

they found that 32% of the youth they spoke with were orphans and living alone, the majority having lost their parents in Rwanda. 44% of the women they spoke with were living alone and were the heads of their households (UNHCR 2002).

Oruchinga mirrors the political organization of a sub-county in Uganda. It is represented by one Refugee Welfare Council (RCW) III and is divided into three zones, each represented by an RCW II, and further divided into a total of seven villages, each represented by an RCW I. The government and UNHCR created these decentralized political structures under the 1998 Self Reliance Strategy to integrate refugee assistance and national development objectives. Consequently, refugees and nationals share the same schools, infrastructural issues, and access to medical facilities, to name a few (Armitage, interview, 31st March 2008).

The settlement has two free primary schools, Kajaho and Rwamurunga, and one secondary school that requires students to pay tuition fees. The student body of each school includes refugees from each of the three zones of Oruchinga as well as Ugandan nationals from the neighbouring communities (Bolt 2002; Dryden-Peterson 2003). The professed goals of the schools are "to develop literacy, numeracy, communication and life skills, promote civil behaviour, and to progressively improve access, quality and gender equity" (Bolt 2002: 5-6).

Ugandan nationals and refugees comprise the teaching staff at the schools, and refugee teachers earn less than their national counterparts. To become a teacher, refugees must have completed O-Levels as well as two years of full-time or three years of part-time training at a teaching college.

Refugees that were teachers in their countries of origin must provide UNHCR with documents proving their qualifications to be permitted to teach in the settlement – something few fled with to Uganda. Otherwise, refugees must go through the same training as those without prior experience. All teachers at the settlement schools must take one-day courses each term to improve their teaching methods (Bolt 2002).

The primary schools have a total of 2,391 students, 1,111 of whom are refugees, while the secondary school has approximately 170 students, 64 of whom are refugees (Bolt 2002; George, interview, 1st April 2008). Bolt (2002: 4) explains, "enrollment [in Oruchinga] is high, but attendance is erratic", largely because of the inflexibility of the academic term's scheduling to meet the time constraints of students.

Students may miss school for several days at a time and absences increase during the three planting and harvest seasons, on days each month when the World Food Programme distributes food rations, and on weekly market days. Thus, dropout rates are high and refugee students must often repeat an academic year.[12] Girls are least likely to complete primary education because of the greater number of responsibilities they face at home than refugee boys (ibid.).

The facilities at both primary schools are overburdened and community participation in the management of schools is limited. The buildings are substandard, classes are

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[12] In 2002, 221 students were repeating a year of primary school at Rwamurunga, 128 of who were repeating the very first level (P1). 120 pupils had dropped-out, largely from the P2-P5 grades (Bolt 2002).

overcrowded, chairs and desks are insufficient in number, and safe drinking water is not available during the dry seasons (Bolt 2002). Furthermore, Bolt (2002) describes the content of learning in the schools as inflexible because they follow the national curriculum and do not promote student participation.

The majority of children do not progress to secondary school because of a lack of funds and UNHCR only sponsors a few children to enroll each year. Refugees expressed "major" concern to UNHCR about lack of secondary educational opportunities (UNHCR 2002: 31). One female youth describing the settlement's schools said:

> The education here is bad, we only get primary education and that is with many people in the class. We do not have the money to pay for secondary school, UNHCR only sponsors the very clever people who have done very well at primary school, most people cannot do very well because they are living in this place! - living in poverty, hardship and distress (ibid.).

The Ugandan Red Cross Society (URCS) was the implementing partner of UNHCR when Rwandese Hutus first fled to Oruchinga and when the camp was still active in providing development assistance. Its responsibilities included the provision of education through formal and non-formal vocational training, functional adult literacy classes, as well as payment of formal school fees and on occasion, school supplies (Buckley 2002; Bolt 2002).

Kyangwali Refugee Settlement is a multinational refugee settlement. The last influx of refugees occurred in 2002 with 8,000 Sudanese. The settlement staff began facilitating Sudanese repatriation five years later and in its wake, local businesses and a secondary school closed (Buchholz and Volk 2007; OPM 2008).

The local political organization of Kyangwali, as with Oruchinga, parallels that of the local Ugandan government to facilitate the development of their communities. Thus, nationals and refugees share the same schools, infrastructural issues, markets, and access to medical facilities, among other things.

Kyangwali has five primary schools and two secondary schools. Initially, AAH opened each of them as non-formal schools, but the Ugandan government has since adopted them, save for one secondary school, into the formal school system (Mugaya 2008). In 2007, Samwiri Mugaya, Team Leader of AAH, explained that 93% of children of schooling age in the settlement were enrolled in primary school and 87% of those enrolled in P7 graduated (interview, 21st April 2008).

The self-help secondary school, founded in 1998, offers grades S1-S4[13] and has 240 students enrolled (Respect International n.d.). Kyangwali's formal secondary school provides universal secondary education (USE) and is a National Examination Board centre for students to take qualifying exams for higher education (Mugaya 2008).

Despite having USE, many are unable to continue schooling after completing P7 because they cannot pay for the required uniforms and books (Human Rights Watch 2002). Still, enrollment levels in secondary education appear higher than in

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[13] There are six years of secondary school, S1-S6.

Oruchinga, most likely owing to the higher levels of self-reliance of refugees in Kyangwali.

Refugees in Kyangwali are among the most self-reliant living in Ugandan settlements because of their successful agricultural production (Werker 2002). Mugaya (2008: 1) explains that:

> [It] is known as food basket for Hoima District and regarded as a model settlement of Self Reliance Strategy…by Office of the Prime Minister….All the refugees except the new arrivals attained food self-sufficiency and were phased off food. The refugees are able to meet basic needs in life including paying for school fees for their children.

> The organizations currently operating in Kyangwali are the Finnish Refugee Council (FRC), Aktion Afrika Hilfe, International Medical Corps, Uganda Red Cross Society, and St. Patrick's Centre for Integral Development (SPACID). These organizations play an active role in development and relief assistance because of the ongoing conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Sudan. FRC, AAH, and SPACID each offer refugees NFE programmes.

In Oruchinga and Kyangwali, cases of NFE include personal and community development, language, vocational and professional skills training, literacy and numeracy, and para-formal education programmes. Refugees led nine of the 38 distinct NFE activities in the settlements, churches ran two programmes, and NGOs managed 27. The table below illustrates the type and promoters of the observed NFE programmes within the two settlement populations.

NFE Activities among Settlement Refugees in Oruchinga & Kyangwali								
	Personal & Community Development	Language	Vocational & Professional Skills Training	Subject-Specific Learning	Literacy & Numeracy	Para-Formal Education	Preschool & Parent Education	Total
NGO-led	3	1	19	2	1	1	0	27
Refugee-led	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	9
Church-led	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Total	4	1	29	2	1	1	0	38

The principal method of delivery of the identified non-formal activities was course-based learning. A likely reason for this is that NGOs, who lead the majority of course-run programmes, employ more formal learning pedagogies and have the capacity to accommodate classes. The nine refugee-led activities took the form of SHGs and apprenticeships. The table below provides a breakdown of the promoters and methods of delivery of the identified NFE programmes in the settlements.

Methods of Delivery for NFE Activities among Settlement Refugees in Oruchinga & Kyangwali						
	Extension Worker	SHG	Class/Course	Workshop	Apprenticeship	Total
NGO-led	2	2	20	3	0	27
Refugee-led	0	7	0	0	2	9
Church-led	0	1	1	0	0	2
Total	2	10	21	3	2	38

Lastly, NFE activities varied according to the targeted group of learners. This study observed programmes focused on helping youth, school dropouts, vulnerable individuals and women, refugees enrolled in primary schools, as well as skilled and non-skilled refugees. Below I examine three cases that highlight characteristics of refugee NFE prominent in the UNHCR-sponsored settlement environment.

Agricultural extension training

In Kyangwali, AAH provided refugees with agricultural training. AAH's team leader, Samwiri Mugaya, explained that when Sudanese refugees came to the settlement, though many came from rural backgrounds, they did not know how to cultivate in Uganda because of the different number of growing seasons, climate, crops, and soil (interview, 21st April 2008).

Mugaya applied to UNHCR for funding to create a programme that trained refugees how to cultivate. Then he conducted surveys to see what refugees were interested in growing and married these results with what crops were optimal for the climate and similar to crops in the surrounding national communities.

The agricultural training and crops given to refugees could not be too different from neighbouring host communities to prevent refugees from hurting local host economies and to avoid bad relations between the populations. AAH training included skills on line planting and how to prevent and fight soil exhaustion. Later on, AAH offered more advanced skills, including hybrid fruit grafting and livestock husbandry (ibid.).

To run the agricultural programme, first AAH selected a group of skilled refugees to become agricultural extension workers. Mugaya explained that the individuals "had to be exemplary – what they teach…must be practices that they themselves employ, to impact the community" (ibid.).

Second, AAH trained extension workers in the techniques mentioned above as well as how to teach these techniques and in turn train "contact farmers" throughout the settlement. Contact farmers are refugees who teach their neighbors AAH cultivation methods and their advantages by example (ibid.). The 'classroom' of a contact farmer is his/her own farm, unlike agricultural extension workers who move about the settlement.

After the extension programme got underway, AAH created an adjunct Production Environment Protection Committee to ensure the maintenance of the settlement lands in light of refugee hosting and considerable agricultural production. It operated hand-in-hand with extension workers, thereby serving the dual purpose of monitoring the extension work.

Mugaya believed the extension method of agricultural education to be successful because it operated at the community level and had refugees learning from their friends and neighbors. Moreover, it relied on refugees to identify those individuals who would work best as contact farmers. In 2008, AAH could boast that all refugees in the settlement had received some form of agricultural training. In 2007, 2,873 households, or 80%, engaged in agricultural production (though Mugaya believed this statistic to be higher) and in 2006 this figure was approximately 86% (ibid.).

Construction apprenticeship

The second case of NFE in a settlement environment is a construction apprenticeship in Oruchinga. A Rwandese refugee who arrived at the settlement in 1996 created the apprenticeship for young, unemployed men. In Rwanda he had learned bricklaying and construction and built houses to earn a living.

To generate income in Oruchinga, he gathered together a group of young men, trained them for a year using what little resources he had, and formed a construction team. In this way, he provided unskilled and unemployed refugees with apprenticeships and direct employment (Anon. 2, interview, 1st April 2008).

When the Ugandan Red Cross Society, UNHCR's implementing partner in Oruchinga at the time, became aware of his activities, they paid him to continue training young men. URCS provided him with the necessary materials (e.g. split levels and squares) and identified which refugees he should train. After a year of running his programme, he explained that people in and around the settlement became aware of his team and the course.

Not only did his students promote the course in their respective villages within the settlement, but also he and his construction team built many of the official buildings and homes in and around the settlement, which stood as clear signs of his trade. This exposure was important for the team because it allowed them to continue running the course and buying the necessary construction materials after URCS withdrew operations in the settlement (ibid.).

Buckley (2002: 46) explains that interest in the construction programme was "sporadic in both enrollment and attendance". This is most likely because of the constraints placed upon refugees that prevent them from using their skills to their full potential. Refugees cannot enter into a building contract that is more than ten million Ugandan shillings, or 4683.89 USD.

The creator of the construction apprenticeship explained that because he is a refugee, he has no permanent assets in Uganda to support his side of a contract and is therefore not trusted to engage in projects of higher cost (Anon. 2, interview, 1st April 2008). Additionally, refugees must obtain a permit from the Commandant to travel outside the settlement, which only grants them two days of leave before they must renew it at the Office of the Prime Minister in Kampala or obtain another permit in the settlement (Armitage, interview, 31st March 2008).

These constraints greatly reduce the number and size of construction jobs available to them. A student that received construction training between January and December 2001 explains that from the time he completed the programme until July 2002, he worked for approximately six weeks. Thus, training had little affect in improving his livelihood. "The difference would be bigger", he said, "if I had enough tools and could go outside the camp [to work]" (Buckley 2002: 60).

Functional adult literacy

The Finnish Refugee Council has been providing refugees in Kyangwali with a functional adult literacy (FAL) course since 2004. Upon its arrival to the settlement in 2003, FRC conducted a needs assessment survey to learn what topics of literacy instruction refugees deemed important. The results of the survey included business, visiting a medical clinic or office, and taking care of one's family, all of which the current FAL curriculum covers.

The organization's aim was to offer literacy education that promoted self-reliance, self-esteem, addressed the daily needs of refugees, and promoted community involvement. Moreover, FRC uses the FAL curriculum to assist refugees to integrate into the environment in Uganda and to reintegrate into the societies of their home countries when they repatriate (FRC 2008).

FAL is free and FRC gives each student a start-up course pack that includes pens, a folder, chalk, books, pencils, and sharpeners. Classes take place in temporary structures within the settlement to make them easy for refugees to access. Students decide their own course schedule, so classes normally take place in the evenings, after refugees have finished work. FRC encourages them to have classes three days per week at two hours per class. Each course runs for nine months (Kobuyange, interview, 22nd April 2008).

FRC trains refugee women to teach FAL courses to provide them with employment opportunities. Rather than a formal salary, FRC compensates women for their work through monetary 'gifts of appreciation', which help to cover the costs of their basic needs. Employing refugee women as teachers also allows FRC to utilize their familiarity with the various communities in the settlement to identify women and the truly needy to register for FAL.

Teachers tell mothers to bring their children to class since parenting duties would otherwise prevent many women from enrolling. Additionally, FRC offers classes in Kiswahili, Luo, and regional languages spoken within the settlement to include as many refugees as possible.

The training that each FAL teacher receives lasts a minimum of nine months and is structured into two or three modules, depending on the level of certification a teacher obtains. The first module trains women to instruct a class, manage course objectives, assess student assignments, and determine initial levels of achievement.

The second module provides women with continued training on instruction and helps them to identify and address their teaching weak points. At the end of this module, women receive their teaching certificates. The third and optional module, teaches women how to determine each student's final assessment and to extend FAL to other educational programmes in the community. After this last module, women receive another certificate of achievement.

Need and capacity

In Kampala, NFE was a refugee initiative that largely took the form of self-help groups. This is significant because it indicates that in the face of being unable or unwilling to access to formal education, refugees created non-formal programmes for themselves and their children. This only reinforces what Sommers (2003) observed about emergency education in general: as soon as people have secured their safety and basic needs, they will immediately start making provisions to educate their children.

Two linked factors appear to shape the non-formal activities of self-settled refugees: need and capacity. Need asks what educational activity helps refugees to achieve a desired aim. For instance, the founders of KURCEC created a para-formal school because they noticed that many young refugees could not access formal Ugandan schools. The children were in need of primary education, so they created a programme that would provide it. Need can also be determined by the needs of the education promoters.

For example, the founder of YARID explained that he created the football academy not only to resolve conflict within a multinational urban refugee population and ease the stress and depression of refugee youth through sports activity, but also to act as a coping mechanism for himself, to keep his own mind active.

Capacity asks what learning activities do refugees have the ability to provide. Capacity can depend on the education level or skills of the programme promoter. This was part of the reason why the founders of KURCEC taught in French and not English. While the founders spoke English, they did not have access to the Ugandan primary curriculum. Thus, it was more feasible to run the school in French, as they knew the French curriculum from memory.

Alternatively, capacity can depend on physical constraints like money and location. An example of physical capacity lies in the Hopeful Women group's decision to teach itself to make jewellery, when all had previously known how to design and tailor clothing. The cost of buying materials each week to make jewellery was considerably less than that of making clothing.

Capacity may be one reason why this study observed SHGs to be the primary method of delivery of NFE in Kampala. SHGs are easier to establish that the other methods of delivery because of their flexibility. SHGs can be suitable for a range of different educational activities, they can take place anywhere, and they are fuelled by the collective knowledge, skills, and commitment of their members. The second reason is linked to need, for SHGs increase or solidify a refugee's social network in Kampala.

Members of the Hopeful Women group said that the association allowed them to "gain relationships" and seek support from members should they experience personal or financial problems (focus group, 18th July 2008). In examining research on NFE in Papua New Guinea and Honduras, Preston (1991) suggests that the primary objective of NFE was to extend the social and economic networks of participants.

Social networks are indispensable to self-settled refugees for several reasons. First, forced migration and the reasons that prompt it sever many families and social

networks. Thus, when refugees settle in Kampala, they do not enjoy the resources and connections they commanded in their home countries.

Second, the economy in Kampala, especially the informal one, is such that refugees are more likely to obtain a job through their social networks than from job seeking on their own. Thus, strong social connections are financially beneficial. Jacobsen (2004) explains that social networks find self-settled refugees housing, employment, credit, and cash. Third, strong social connections may resemble familial bonds. For instance, if an individual is struggling to care for a sick family member, he/she may receive help from those in his/her social circle who can lend support.

Additionally, the Ugandan cases indicate that in the settlements, NFE was an NGO initiative frequently taking the form of classes. NGOs have both the capital and the skills to create their own education programmes, as FRC did with its functional literacy course and AAH with its fruit-grafting course.

The presence of NGOs in settlements and their well-defined roles as providers of relief and development assistance may render refugee-led initiatives unnecessary or crowd out such activities. While it does not appear to be problematic if NGOs alleviate the need for refugees to create their own education programmes, organizations run the risk of creating programmes that do not meet the exact needs of refugees living in settlements.

Graham-Brown (1991: 76) explains, "Hard experience has shown that while people may be impressed with well-produced [learning] materials, the key question is whether those who are learners can relate to the contents – both written and visual".

Because NGOs offer programmes with higher quality learning materials and instructors than refugee residents and some provide non-formal certificates of programme completion, it is not likely that refugees would create substitute NFE programmes to better suit their needs. More than one refugee expressed their dissatisfaction over the utility of the content of the courses in Oruchinga and Kyangwali and yet, refugees led just nine of the 38 identified NFE activities (Anon. 3, interview, 2nd April 2008; Anon. 4, interview, 23rd April 2008).

Moreover, Black (1998), Kibreab (1989) and Smith (2004) believe that settlements create a disempowering environment for refugees or one that promotes feelings of dependency. Refugees rely on periodic assistance from NGOs, making it difficult for them to believe that they can survive without such aid. Smith (2004: 42) explains that "warehousing" refugees in settlements can cause "fatalistic paralysis".

Statements from settlement refugees that she interviewed in Uganda lend evidence to this state of paralysis: "I am just like a child now" and "As I am under the umbrella of UNHCR it is impossible for me to move of my own accord….They choose our life" (ibid.). Thus, it is possible that refugees with the skills and capacity to create an NFE programme believe they are unable to do so in a settlement environment.

While the construction apprenticeship in Oruchinga was refugee-led and operated when NGOs were still active in the settlement, it is reasonable to assume that it was able to do so because URCS was providing it with funding and resources. The other

refugee-led apprenticeship in Oruchinga, a tailoring apprenticeship programme, did not begin until after the NGOs reduced their roles in the settlement.

As mentioned previously, because NFE in the settlements is an NGO initiative, the method of delivery appears more classroom-based. It is possible that western pedagogies of education are responsible for this teaching format, or that classroom learning is a function of increased resources.

Courses are more likely to accommodate a greater number of students and require a space in which to operate. This may explain why most refugee-led initiatives in the settlements took the form of SHGs. SHGs require fewer resources to run, create important relationships between refugees, and are less likely to be crowded out by NGOs providing classroom learning.

Need and Capacity appear to shape NFE programmeming in Oruchinga and Kyangwali just as they did in Kampala. However, the more active roles of NGOs and the greater restrictions placed upon refugee movement and employment in the settlements result in different NFE promoters and methods of delivery. In the settlements, it is up to NGOs to learn what refugees perceive they require. NGOs can offer sufficiently resourced NFE programmes that fall short of meeting the needs of refugees, as capacity is less of a challenge for NGOs and the creation of NFE programmes is dependent more on capacity than need.

Developing NFE

Recognizing how issues of need and capacity among refugees and NGOs shape NFE programmes in the two refugee hosting environments and affect the capabilities of refugees in improving their livelihoods, the following principles might further develop NFE and reinforce its impact on refugee development: democratic programmeming, participatory methods of delivery, and direct employability. This section discusses each of these principles in turn.

Democratic programmeming refers to equally engaging potential recipients and promoters of an NFE activity in the planning of its content. This ensures that an NFE programme reflects the needs and capacities of each of the stakeholders so that its content both bolsters the human capabilities of refugees and optimizes the resources available to it. The case of agricultural training in Kyangwali best illustrates the ability of an NFE programme to integrate the resources, skills, and expertise of AAH with the needs, desires, and capacities of refugees in the settlement.

Burkey (1992: 205) explains that such collaboration "is the true form of democracy and the only way in which the individual can become truly integrated with the collective fellowship". Similarly, Bensalah (2002) adds that communication and cooperation between the recipient community and education providers create more effective learning activities. More specifically, "education providers should consult with children, youth, parents and community groups" when creating educational programmes (IIEP 2006: 4).

Not only is democratic programmeming important in producing learning content relevant to refugees, but also the process of integrating refugees into the creation of an

NFE programme can positively impact their individual development. Burkey (1992) says that engaging the recipients of education cultivates their self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, and cooperation. Without the personal development of refugees that results from democratic programmeming, "all efforts to alleviate their poverty will be immensely more difficult, if not impossible" (ibid. 56).

While these democratic principles of programme development appear widely recognized and repeated in human development circles, they have yet to become standards of practice. Graham-Brown (1991: 73) holds that "fatigue and irrelevant learning materials…explain why women who say they are eager to learn appear to be quickly discouraged and drop out".

In Tanzania, women keen to enroll in a national literacy programme lost interest once the programme had begun because the learning materials and curriculum content were of no interest or relevance to their lives (ibid.). In the context of forced displacement, Bolt (2002) says that there is limited coordination between NGOs and refugees about the content of education programmes and a lack of recognizing that refugees may perceive the goals, processes, and values of education differently than assistance organizations.

Thus, whether it be through participatory resource mapping exercises with refugee teachers and students in self-settled environments or focus groups among refugees and NGOs in settlements, the democratic engagement of students with promoters in the creation of an NFE programme, ensures that a programme is relevant to develop the capabilities of students, is realistic to the capacities of all stakeholders, and is a product of an investment made by both parties.

Moreover, democratic programmeming acknowledges that there is no single correct type of NFE and appreciates the flexibility of NFE as an educational strategy having the ability to impact refugee livelihoods positively in different hosting environments.

Participatory methods of delivery refer to participants of an NFE programme shaping its learning format to maximize how they engage with one another and the programme content. For the same reasons of relevance and personal development that make democratic programmeming important for NFE in both hosting contexts, participatory methods of delivery are important for further developing NFE. Participatory methods of delivery also engage the recipients with the promoters of education to determine how to structure NFE programmes to maximize their accessibility to refugees (Sinclair 2002).

Accessibility stands as one of the primary obstacles preventing refugees from gaining education. For example, Graham-Brown (1991: 65) explains, "the absence of [daycare centres] and pre-school facilities can have a knock-on effect on access to education for older children, as school-age daughters are withdrawn from school to care for the younger children".

Given the flexibility of NFE in its ability to provide learning activities via classroom, extension worker, club, workshop, self-help group, and apprenticeship; and to tailor its format to accommodate particular groups like parents or persons with disabilities, the delivery of NFE in a structure appropriate for refugees might include previously excluded individuals from education.

In addition to determining a format of NFE that best impacts refugee capabilities in different hosting contexts, participatory methods of delivery also refer to creating a format of education that facilitates refugees engaging with one another. The creation and strengthening of social networks is important to the personal development of refugees because social networks act as channels through which they may receive financial assistance, income generating opportunities, housing assistance, and emotional support, to name a few (Jacobsen 2004).

Social networks are particularly important for refugees because forced displacement and the reasons that prompt it sever many families and social networks. When refugees arrive in host countries, they do not enjoy the same resources and connections they commanded in their home countries; thus, they seek to rebuild such connections by forming new networks in displacement.

The final principle that might advance NFE and reinforce its impact on the capabilities of refugees is direct employability. Direct employability refers to the relevance of an NFE activity to the hosting environment in which it operates. If the programme is a vocational and professional skills training programme, direct employability can mean links between the host country's job market and the skills learned from the NFE activity (Sinclair 2002).

Alternatively, if the NFE programme is a personal and community development activity, direct employability can refer to education that teaches refugees how to live in their host environments and cope with issues involving their displacement to meet their short-term psychosocial needs and improve their capabilities (Sinclair 2002).

According to Sheffield and Diejomaoh (1972: xii) a "successful" NFE programme "should have a record of placing its trainees in some form of remunerative employment, or of effecting increased productivity among workers whose skills had been upgraded". Similarly, Grierson (2000) explains that vocational and professional skills training programmes should have three stages. The first stage determines who participates in a course. The second stage involves the actual training, which education promoters tailor to the backgrounds and needs of participants. The third stage connects graduates with opportunities to use their newly acquired skills.

The idea that vocational programmeming includes a final stage that facilitates refugees to implement their skills can more broadly apply to any NFE programme. Education promoters might always consider how recipients can immediately and consistently use the education provided. This ensures that the knowledge refugees attain does not get lost or dulled from a lack of use.

Graham-Brown (1991: 76) holds that "unless literacy can be used, whether through provision of an environment in which reading and writing are a part of everyday experience, or through further education, those made literate will soon lapse into functional illiteracy". Thus, to further develop NFE in different hosting contexts and advance refugee self-reliance, education promoters might plan for the immediate and regular employment of the content of NFE activities.

Conclusion

At present, there exist no substantive standard operating procedures or widely recognized set of best practices across NGOs when funding or creating NFE programmes. Scholars and practitioners in the field of refugee assistance have done little to examine the extent of the educational possibilities for refugees afforded by NFE, the factors that determine the creation of NFE programmes, and the methods by which we may improve NFE for refugees (Preston 1991). Nevertheless, non-formal education is often the only type of education that refugee populations have access to because of the circumstances surrounding their forced displacement.

The flexibility and variety of NFE enables it to be a form of education that not only is more accessible to refugees, but also responds to and craft itself according to the needs and capacities specific to refugees in different hosting contexts. This paper suggests that more democratic programme development, participatory methods of delivery, and direct employability are principles that might govern NFE to increase its impact on refugee capabilities.

By creating and broadening the opportunities for learning, NFE bolsters the central human capabilities of refugees and increases both what refugees are in a position to do and to be – this is the very definition of living and functioning in a "truly human" way (Nussbaum 2000: 78).

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