Winter 12-15-2017

Higher Education as a Development Tool: An Impact Assessment in Dzaleka Malawi

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**Higher Education as a Development Tool:
An Impact Assessment in Dzaleka Malawi**

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
International and Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in International and Multicultural Education

by
Emily A. Golike
December 2017

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MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

Approved:

Instructor/Chairperson   Date 12·6·17.
DR. MELISSA ANN CAMLAS

ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine the efficacy of accredited online diploma programs within refugee camps. When individuals are confined to camps and unable to work and travel in search of economic opportunity, does completing an accredited diploma program improve their quality of life and contribute to their human capital? Can higher education in refugee camps produce sustainable social service projects that benefit residents? There is a demonstrated value in a liberal arts education, but which aspects of this learning schema are most beneficial in the refugee camp context have yet to be explored.

The study conducted in Dzaleka Refugee Camp, Malawi, found that an accredited liberal arts course of study has had a significant impact on both alumni and the greater camp community. Alumni have experienced a significant transformation related to their personal empowerment and human capital. Program graduates demonstrated hard skills related to business development, teaching practice and conflict resolution/negotiation. Interviews with alumni and community members confirmed that the diploma program produced valuable projects, community-based organizations, and offered social services that are vital to improving the well being of the Dzaleka community.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The world is facing a global migration crisis that has never been seen in modern history. Not since World War II have so many people been displaced. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2017) estimates there are 23.3 million refugees and over half of them are under the age of 18, 16.1 million of these are under UNHCR mandate and 5.2 million are Palestinians registered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. The UNHCR identifies three broad categories for displaced people: internally displaced persons (IDPs), stateless, and refugees (UNHCR, 2016c).

The United Nations (UN) (2017) defines refugees as "people fleeing conflict or persecution. They are defined and protected in international law, and must not be expelled or returned to situations where their life and freedom are at risk." Almost 34,000 people are forcibly displaced every day because of conflict or persecution (UNHCR, 2017). Over half of refugees (53%) come from three countries: Somalia (1.1 million), Afghanistan (2.7 million), and Syria (4.9 million) (UNHCR, 2016c). Turkey (2.5 million), Pakistan (1.6 million), and Lebanon (1.1 million), Islamic Republic of Iran (979,400), and Jordan (664,000) are the top hosting countries (UNHCR, 2017). As the refugee population continues to increase, young people confined to refugee camps for an undefined amount of time have limited opportunities to pursue any further education or vocational training. UN supported education efforts are concentrated at the primary level

(Zeus, 2011). New generations of youth are unable to access higher education or contribute to the global economy.

Within refugee camps, residents live in makeshift structures that are intended for temporary use, but refugees in protracted refugee situations can end up living in them for over 10 years. The United Nations and humanitarian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Red Cross and Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) provide a variety of necessities such as food, water, shelter, health services, and education. Nevertheless, scarcity of resources can often mean that aid organizations are forced to prioritize food, water, and health services over providing educational opportunities for refugees (Crea, 2016). Despite the broad perception that refugees are flooding into North America and Europe, the fact remains that the Middle East and North Africa host the largest number of refugees. They cannot be resettled quickly enough and camps become large makeshift cities without formal infrastructure, education, and employment opportunities. There is an increasing number of youth who are raised in these camps having never known any other way to live. The UN estimates that 31,000 people are forced to flee their homes each day and the average refugee spends 17 years in a camp (UNHCR, 2017). This is a rate that should not be sustained in the current camp model.

The need for the local government, as well as the UNHCR, to control the situation gives way to a camp model that is centered on basic relief and leaves no room for development or integration (Zeus, 2011). Tertiary education is often viewed a luxury in what humanitarian aid workers consider a temporary crisis. However, 17 years awaiting resettlement or repatriation does not feel temporary to those in the camps. In Barbara Zeus' (2011) exploration of higher education in Protracted Refugee Situations, she argues

that there will need to be a shift in the narrative around refugee aid from a strict relief effort to a more developmental centered effort. The unstable and transient nature of refugees creates various barriers to this approach and is often rejected by the host government out of fear the camps may be viewed as a haven for those who are not refugees to reinvent themselves and gain access to these valuable services (Zeus, 2011). This research focuses specifically on the Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Malawi and its Diploma in Liberal Arts program. The following sections provide background on refugees in Malawi and the services provided by JWL and JRS.

The largest refugee camps are on the African continent. Some these camps are Breidjing (Chad), Nakivale (Uganda), Yusuf Batil (South Sudan), Dadaab (Kenya), Sahrawi (Algeria), and Dzaleka (Malawi). Most of these large camps are protracted refugee situations, which are classified as circumstances where people are displaced for five or more years and unlikely to be repatriated or resettled (Crisp, 2003; Meyer, 2006). As more and more people are displaced globally, exploring ways to build community leadership and improve quality of life in the face of persistent uncertainty is fundamental to pushing the concept of humanitarian relief beyond physical needs.

Malawi and Refugees

Malawi is a signatory of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRST), although it recorded reservations on Article 17 (the right to wage-earning employment) and Article 26 (freedom of movement) (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010). In the early 2000s, a pattern of movement from the Horn of Africa to the Great Lakes region of Malawi began to form increasing the number of people seeking refugee status in Malawi (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010). Falling in line with their reservations relating to the CRST,

Malawian law restricts employment and movement among refugees. This approach is referred to as the "Dzaleka Solution" which sentences residents to a meager existence with no livelihood, and no prospect for integration (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010, p. 11).

Dzaleka

Dzaleka Refugee Camp is home to approximately 31,000 people and was established in 1994 in response to an influx of refugees fleeing conflict in Mozambique (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010; JWL, 2017a). Presently, refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, and Somalia reside in the camp (JWL, 2017a). Once refugees arrive in Dzaleka, it takes approximately 8-10 years for the government of Malawi to process their paperwork and recognize their refugee status (N. Asmal, personal communication, March 29, 2017). This is in an effort to discourage refugees from settling in Malawi. Once their paperwork has been processed, they may apply to be resettled, but this process can take years and often ends in a rejection. Due to this slow arduous procedure, for many asylum seekers, Dzaleka becomes a home for the foreseeable future. With only a few hundred families leaving the camp and roughly one thousand taking up residence in Dzaleka each year, the camp is increasing in size and humanitarian needs are exceeding traditional food, water, and shelter (N. Asmal, personal communication, March 29, 2017).

Jesuit Worldwide Learning

The Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) plays a significant role in providing Dzaleka with sanitation services, psychosocial assistance, and primary and secondary education. Jesuit Worldwide Learning (JWL) works in collaboration with JRS to administer a higher education program called Jesuit Commons: Higher Education at the Margins (JC:HEM).

JWL is a non-profit organization that endeavors to bring quality Jesuit higher education to communities on the margins of society. JWL provides tertiary learning to people in marginalized communities so that they can contribute their knowledge and skills to the global community. JWL started in 2010 as a pilot project in three locations: Amman (Jordan), Kakuma (Kenya), and Dzaleka (Malawi). JWL has continued to expand its educational programming and offers both a three-year diploma in Liberal Studies (often referred to as the HEM program) and Community Service Learning Tracks (CSLTs). CSLTs are often eight months in length and focus on building skills that can directly benefit the camp such as English language training, counseling, and community health (JWL, 2017c). In addition to the pilot sites, JWL has educated over 2,000 people from the Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Burundi, Iraq, Syria, and Ethiopia (JWL, 2017b).

Through a diploma accredited by Regis University in Colorado, the HEM program provides a liberal arts foundation, which can be built upon with other accredited programs. Students are given access to a stable Internet connection and computers in a central learning center in the camp. While the opportunity and infrastructure for learning is an important improvement, many students still face overwhelming obstacles to pursuing their education. Hunger, family responsibilities, and lack of transportation are among the most cited barriers to participation in the online diploma program (Crea, 2016). JWL addresses many of the physical hurdles that make education difficult in a refugee camp, but there are also significant challenges after the course of study is completed.

Purpose of the Study

The research will provide JWL with data to conclude whether diploma programs have a significant influence on the individual as well as the larger camp community. The research will result in a comprehensive set of recommendations that will aid both JRS and JWL in assessing the value and success of this program.

The research was conducted in Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Malawi, which is one of three original JWL learning centers established in 2010 (JWL, 2017a). There are approximately 400 students participating in JWL programming at any given time in Dzaleka (N. Asmal, personal communication, March 29, 2017). Diploma programs are conducted in cohorts of 30 students, with roughly 100 graduates from the program each year. Due to the restrictions on employment in Malawi, alumni are expected to create a community project after graduation to give back to the community and share the skills they have acquired (N. Asmal, personal communication, March 29, 2017).

Research Question and Hypothesis

This research will determine the efficacy of accredited online diploma programs within refugee camps. When individuals are confined to camps and unable to work and travel in search of economic opportunity, does completing an accredited diploma program improve their quality of life and contribute to their human capital? Can higher education in refugee camps produce sustainable social service projects that benefit residents? There is a demonstrated value in a liberal arts education, but which aspects of this learning schema are most beneficial in the refugee camp context have yet to be explored (Wintrol, 2014; Zeus, 2011).

Theoretical Frameworks

Capability Approach

Using the capability approach to examine the diploma program will serve to identify the extent to which the program has played a role in creating agency among graduates (Robeyns, 2005; Zeus, 2011). A normative framework often employed in the realm of development studies, Amartya Sen's capability approach is a tool for looking at the realistic capabilities of individuals and evaluating what is their best possible quality of life based on the skills and resources they have available (Comiling & Sanchez, 2014; Robeyns, 2005). Sen's theory is employed most often in development studies, welfare economics and the evaluation of social policy (Robeyns, 2005). While capability theory cannot explain poverty or attempt to solve it, it is an important foundational concept in human development theory, and therefore central to the appraisal of social programs (Robeyns, 2005).

Through this examination of capability, Sen (1999) argues that researchers and policymakers can use these findings to implement policy that remove barriers to achieving "the kind of life that, upon reflection, they have reason to value" (Robeyns, 2005, p. 94). Fundamentally, the capability approach establishes that poverty limits an individual's capacity for achievement (Comiling & Sanchez, 2014). While this statement is true in essence, the capability approach as Sen first crafted it is limited by the fact that it does not account for globalization or colonization, which add another layer of complexity to the endurance of poverty (Comiling & Sanchez, 2014).

Despite its shortcomings, I have chosen to ground this research in capability theory because it does not attribute poverty to lack of physical resources, but fully considers how the absence of social services gives way to the lack of political agency and ultimately results in inaccessibility of freedom. Sen's theory promotes a participatory

approach and encourages "public participation in these valuational debates" and moves away from the understanding that the poor are simply lacking basic necessities due to lack of money (as cited in Comiling & Sanchez, 2014, p. 5). Through this frame, poverty can be defined as the absence of capability. Sen believed that in order to build capability, the impoverished must be allowed to decide what they value above state and international social agents (Comiling & Sanchez, 2014).

The Relief Aid Development (RAD) Approach

To fully understand how higher education in Dzaleka might serve as a model to move from relief to development focused aid, the program must be observed through current tactics employed by aid organizations such as the Relief Aid and Development (RAD) Gap. The RAD approach recognizes the shortcomings of basic humanitarian relief in protracted refugee situations and suggests that the solution can be found in shifting the focus from "maintenance care" to self-sufficiency (Meyer, 2006). The three fundamental underpinnings of this approach are: shifting the perception of refugees from burden to benefit, shifting humanitarian aid from relief to development, and self-reliance (Meyer, 2006).

The RAD approach has been critiqued for its well-meaning, yet simplistic implementation by the UNHCR (Meyer, 2006). In seeking to build agency in refugee communities, its top-down approach has ignored many of the obstacles to refugee self-reliance (Meyer, 2006). Self-sufficiency is discussed in RAD literature as a way to moderate dependency syndrome, but as Meyers (2006) points out, this overly simplistic view is perpetuated because agencies have not called upon refugees to identify what resources are important to them. In the case of Imvepi refugee camp in Uganda, refugees

are extremely dependent on the food ration they receive because selling a portion of the ration allows them to buy other essential items (such as soap and medicine) that are not included in the material aid offered by UNHCR (Meyer, 2006).

In light of its recognized deficiencies, the RAD approach is still an effective tool for connecting the relief and development paradigms that is central to the purpose of this project. Through further critique and refinement, I do believe the RAD approach can provide a successful framework for self-reliance. While most refugee camps have a great deal of similarities, this framework can only be successful when governing bodies such as the UNHCR, acknowledge the unique conflicts in each camp and the local barriers to agency. Using the RAD framework to assess the diploma program will serve to identify ways in which higher education in refugee camps can address barriers to agency and connect relief and development objectives.

Methodology

The research began with a one-day workshop and then a survey of 24 individuals who have completed the diploma in Liberal Studies, are current diploma program students, and community members who have not been admitted to the program. Surveys consisted of open-ended questions allowing the participant to provide an inclusive picture of their education experience and resulted in a qualitative assessment. The survey questions were crafted to reveal how the interviewee's life has been impacted by this course of study. A one-day workshop developed for this study included a variety of activities such as ice-breakers and small group discussion to create space for those who may not wish to be interviewed, but would like to participate in an indirect capacity. During the workshop participants were asked to identify Dzaleka's "hierarchy of needs"

by identifying what resources are necessary for Dzlaeka residents to live respectable humane lives (Maslow, 1943). This served as a baseline survey of the participant's access to resources in the camp. The interviews were transcribed and then analyzed for common themes using qualitative data analysis software.

Participants were asked to sign a consent form in accordance with the University of San Francisco's Internal Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS). All participants were given the option to remain anonymous, but all participants have elected to grant the researcher permission to disclose their full names.

Limitations of the Study

Restrictive employment laws prevent researchers from using employment data to measure the economic impact of an education program in Dzaleka. While Malawi boasts one of the more rigid and conservative employment policies for refugees, many host countries implement similar guidelines in an effort to safeguard jobs for their citizens (Crisp, 2003). The research will not be able to determine the economic impact on the Dzaleka community because formal employment does not exist in Dzaleka. Refugees who possess skills as teachers, nurses, and translators are able to work alongside Malawians in schools and hospitals as well as with NGOs serving the camp, but they are not permitted a salary. Alternatively, they are granted a monthly stipend, which is a small fraction of what a Malawian in the same position would make. There are small shops and businesses throughout the camp, but they operate largely outside of Malawian law and therefore individuals could be compromised if they were to reveal their sources of income.

Another limitation of this research is my role as an outsider with no previous ties to the Dzaleka community. The research objectives were clearly outlined to the interviewees; however, it is difficult to ascertain the degree to which participants felt comfortable revealing personal information. While all the participants possessed a fluent command of English, it should be noted that for every participant, English was their third or fourth language.

Additionally, the small sample size of 24 participants provides a narrow view into the lives of diploma students and alumni. While women only comprise 30% of diploma students in Dzaleka, only three women were interviewed during this study. Women face additional obstacles in refugee camps and this must be taken into consideration when constructing education programming as well as research. The same research should also be conducted at JWL's two other pilot sights (Kakuma, Kenya and Amman, Jordan) in order to contextualize the research and provide a larger sample that cuts across a broad cross section of cultures and experiences.

Significance of the Study

Refugees are restricted from legal employment opportunities both within and outside of refugee camps, which makes measuring the program's economic impact on quality of life nearly impossible (Crea, 2016; Werker, 2007; Zeus, 2011). Donors of humanitarian aid often look for measurable quantitative results to determine where their money will be of greatest use. This research will provide JRS and JWL with data to validate the programs past successes and strengths while also looking for areas of growth. The result will also provide donors with a more holistic and complete picture of the outcomes of liberal arts education in a refugee camp context.

Evaluating the impact of the curriculum on past cohorts will allow alumni to help shape and steer the program for current students. The one on one survey created opportunities for alumni to share their personal stories and reflect on how the diploma program affected them personally and how it has influenced the way they participate in the large camp community. Amplifying the voices of refugees is critical in ensuring valuable programming continues to be funded and prioritized.

Definition of Terms

Diploma Program: A three-year post-secondary program of study administered by Jesuit Refugee Services and Jesuit Worldwide Learning.

Hierarchy of Needs: Refers to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, a psychological theory developed by Abraham Maslow in 1943. A pyramid is used to visually illustrate the concept with physiological needs at the base and self-actualization at the top.

Human Rights: A right that is believed to belong intrinsically to every human being.

Jesuit Commons: Higher Education at the Margins (JC:HEM): The organization name of Jesuit Worldwide Learning (JWL). The JWL diploma program is often referred to as the HEM program by the research participants and throughout this paper.

Liberal Arts Education: A course of study that encompasses the arts, humanities social sciences, mathematics and natural sciences.

Protracted Refugee Situation: Refugees who are displaced upwards of five years with no prospect of repatriation or resettlement, often due to prolonged conflict.

Quality of Life: A standard of health, comfort, and happiness experienced by an individual or group.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of literature will focus on current development strategies in protracted refugee situations, examples of higher education in refugee camps, refugee identity and personal agency, as well as Malawi's historical relationship to refugee populations. To understand how to effectively work and collaborate with refugees in these environments, scholars must first understand how these situations developed and why they persist. When discussing humanitarian relief, the conversation is often devoid of the political and historical realities that forcibly displace people (Rajaram, 2002). Conflict is a significant aspect refugee identity and to gloss over it because it becomes too problematic is a disservice to those who have lived through it and are attempting to find a new way of life (Rajaram, 2002).

Approaches to Development in Protracted Refugee Situations

In a 2006 report, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees acknowledged that the gap between humanitarian relief and development aid is a significant hurdle "in the way of both sustainable repatriation in countries of origin and the promotion of self-reliance and local integration in countries of asylum" (UNHCR, 2007, p. 1). It has been ten years since this report was published, and there has been relatively little advancement in this arena. It has emerged at the forefront of conversations around international development, but it is difficult to identify the progress that has been made when one visits camps in eastern Africa such as Dadaab, Dzaleka, or Kakuma. The UNHCR's (2007) Framework for Durable Solutions are Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) emphasizes that its primary purpose is to empower refugees toward self-

reliance in an effort to make integration into the host country more appealing for impoverished host nations with understandable concerns regarding resources, politics, and security. In countries such as Malawi, the government is still staunchly opposed to any level of refugee integration, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The UNHCR (UNHCR, 2007) has included repatriation and integration as a part of the DAR durable solution, but in 2017 neither appears to be any more attainable.

Refugee-led community based organizations are a significant development tool that is often under utilized when considering durable solutions (Easton-Calabria, 2016). These types of grassroots, refugee led organizations are born out of a desire to assist other refugees, but they also emerge as a way to fill gaps in assistance. When cut off from economic opportunity, with limited food sources and little to no mobility, refugees with advanced skills set to work to innovate ways to deliver social services. These organizations can offer everything from public health and nursing certificates, to arts and crafts, to micro-financing assistance programs (Easton-Calabria, 2016).

These types of refugee-run services can be huge assets to integration by supporting local economies and fostering collaboration with the local host community. NGOs and the UNHCR can be doing more to bring refugee-led programs into their development plans and provide modest resources to facilitate these projects. Supporting service organizations led by refugees for refugees advances agency and self-reliance and further dismantles the image of refugees purely as beneficiaries (Easton-Calabria, 2016).

Higher Education and Refugees

Examining the work that has come before this research is fundamental to advancing higher education efforts in refugee camps. Thomas Crea's (2016) study of

JWL's pilot programs will serve as an important reference point through the life of this project. Crea's (2016) findings support further research and development of JWL's program model. The report substantiates the hypothesis that accredited online liberal arts programs can positively impact quality of life and refugee camp communities (Crea, 2016).

In Crea's (2016) study of JWL programs at the three original pilot sites: Kakuma, Kenya; Dzaleka, Malawi; and Amman, Jordan; the researcher employs a standardized quality of life measure to assess the program's impact on students. The study included students from both types of programming Jesuit Worldwide Learning (JWL) offered during the pilot period: certificate programs called Community Service Learning Tracks (CSLTs) and the three year accredited online diploma program (HEM program). The research found that higher education had significant positive psychosocial impacts and resulted in the individual empowerment of graduates. Participants in the study commented on how the program has inspired them to hope for change in the future. In Dzaleka the participants cited "empowerment" as the greatest benefit they have received from the program (Crea, 2016, p. 16). Throughout the study a common theme emerges equating education with empowerment. It becomes clear that as students strengthened their interpersonal and psychosocial skills their perspective of their self-worth shifted (Crea, 2016).

Crea (2016) also notes that as students began to feel empowered they also felt compelled to share their new outlook and serve as role models in the community. Such behavior passes the benefits of this mode of learning onto the broader camp community. Students who already play a visible role in the community as teachers or mentors are then

able to deepen their sphere of influence and affect change at a greater scale than before they participated in the program (Crea, 2016).

Participants also reported their increased willingness to take on new community leadership roles on account of the education they have received. Many students described playing the role of mediator in neighborhood and family disputes. After completion of the program many alumni felt they needed to use their knowledge to address social needs such as education for the disabled, challenges to widows and single mothers as well as orphaned children. While the program is not explicitly a human rights education program, it is important to note that the by-products of a Jesuit program focused on social justice have resulted in an increased willingness to speak out against what one perceives as morally unjust. Similarly, studies focused on human rights education (HRE) have shown that as students move through the HRE curriculum, they are more likely to call out behavior that is antithetical to human rights values (Bajaj, 2012).

Despite demonstrated benefits, it remains difficult to convince donors and host countries of the unique value higher education programs can afford refugees residing in encampments. Traditionally, higher education has been viewed as elitist and superfluous to the relief aid model (Crea, 2016; Zeus, 2011). Humanitarian aid focuses largely on quality primary education, which is still quite difficult to ensure. Lack of primary and secondary education also pose a barrier to future students of an accredited course of study (Crea, 2016). Children born in camps will need to be adequately supported at early ages to prepare them for this type of program.

Barriers to Implementation

Barbara Zeus' (2011) research on higher education in protracted refugee situations, which she refers to as HEPRS, examines the current status of and barriers to higher education in refugee camps in protracted situations by exploring the case of Burmese refugees in Thailand. It is estimated that 90% of the world's refugees are in prolonged refugee status with no prospect of resettlement or repatriation (Zeus, 2011). Zeus (2011) investigates the myriad of barriers to shifting the priority from temporary relief to a developmental approach to aid in refugee camps.

Protracted refugees situations are, by nature, in a constant state of flux, making it difficult to plan in a developmental capacity. However, the time the average refugee spends in encampment is rarely short-lived and when viewed as temporarily displaced their human rights are often denied (Zeus, 2011). Zeus (2011) believes that long-term refugee aid must break out of the "relief/development dichotomy" pursue a holistic development approach. This requires examining the immediate needs through a long-term lens. The nature of a refugee crisis is almost never short term and Wright and Plasterer (2012) argue that planning for the future of an refugee population should begin at day one.

Higher education is a critical development tool that faces many barriers to implementation. Refugees have the potential to be active participants in the humanitarian effort and provide valuable skills to benefit the host countries instead of merely consuming resources, if they are afforded the appropriate educational tools. Opportunities to build personal agency and self-reliance can benefit refugees suffering from psychosocial stress as well as provide employment opportunities within the camp (Zeus, 2011).

Education and higher education in particular has always been provided and contextualized within the framework of a nation state (Zeus, 2011). Seen as an critical asset in state-building, countries benefit from investing in their citizens through formal education to build economies, national identity, and self-reliance (Zeus, 2011). When viewed through the lens of state building, it becomes clear why host states might oppose the use of higher education as a development tool. In the case of Zeus' (2011) work with the Burmese refugees, the Thai government and donors were displeased with the concept of a university within a refugee camp. Creating an independent university structure within the camp was not seen as a positive development because it creates conflicts with host state interests. Culturally relevant curriculum to the Burmese people would build identity around their minority status creating another barrier to integration to the Thai educational system and economy (Zeus, 2011).

State actors and private donors have little incentive to support camp-centric higher education initiatives. States are uninterested in empowering a group they do not see as long-term contributors to greater society and often perceive higher education in a camp context as a means for this destabilizing population to fortify opposition to the nation-state (Zeus, 2011). Unless states amend their refuge policy to favor integration, it is unlikely that higher education in refugee camps will benefit the host state's economy or citizens (Wright & Plasterer, 2012).

Research has shown that higher education is critical to state-building efforts after repatriation (Wright & Plasterer, 2012). In protracted refugee situations repatriation or settlement may be a long way off, however, it is necessary to leverage development tools to plan for a better future. Providing refugees with higher education allows them to

leverage their valuable knowledge and skills to contribute to the fight for a durable

solution (Wright & Plasterer, 2012). In Wright and Plasterer's (2012) analysis of higher

education in Kenyan refugee camps, they state that "the development model is about

giving people choices rather than inducing passivity and a feeling of helplessness" (p.

44).

Previous research has shown that tertiary education empowers refugees in camp

settings and provides them an avenue for agency and self-empowerment (Crea, 2016;

Wright & Plasterer, 2012; Zeus, 2011). Self-reliance is not simply a mechanism to pass

responsibility from the humanitarian relief agency, but rather a tool of psychosocial

development and capacity building. Programs within encampments have demonstrated

social benefits such as professional development, mentorship, and increased collaboration

with humanitarian agencies (Wright & Plasterer, 2012). Opportunities to build personal

agency and self-reliance can benefit refugees suffering from psychological trauma as well

as provide employment opportunities within the camp (Zeus, 2011).

Stereotypes of Refugees and Barriers to Agency

The depiction of refugees as helpless victims waiting for handouts is formed by a

combination of factors, both external and internal. The restrictions host countries put on

camp residents contribute to the perceptions of refugees as burdens (Meyer, 2006; Zeus,

2011). Restricting movement, employment opportunities, and education prevent durable

development solutions from being discussed in the camp model. The majority of host

states supporting encampments strip refugees of their human rights, thus rendering them

both victims of conflict and victims of a broken system of international aid (Rajaram,

2002; Zeus, 2011). Contrastingly, in situations where host governments have provided

land for refugee settlements without restrictions on movement and employment, these communities have proven to be an economic benefit (Zeus, 2011). Without the ability to generate a modest income to provide for basic needs, refugees are frustrated and unfulfilled, left to rely solely on international food programs and other humanitarian relief.

Prem Kumar Rajaram (2002) analyzes the ways in which humanitarian organizations often represent refugees as helpless victims with nothing left. The marketing of woman and children as the face of a silent group of people strips them of their agency and their voices. Rajaram (2002) critiques Oxfam Great Britain's project "Listening to the Displaced" and argues that the project does not allow refugees to speak for themselves, but filters their voices to such an extent that it benefits their organizations pre-determined notions of what it means to be a refugee.

Rajaram (2002) states that the refugee cannot be understood outside of a Western "state-centric" hegemony that is contingent on the existence of cultural, historical, and political frames that are used to understand people. When you remove the refugee from the nation-state, it becomes more difficult to make sense of "identity, heritage, and kinship" (Rajaram, 2002, p. 251). It renders those that are without citizenship speechless and requires the international aid community to speak for them (Rajaram, 2002).

The international community has approached speaking for the refugee community in one very singular way in the past 30 years. Advertisements can be seen time and time again in Western media asking for donations to fight hunger in a far away land with women and child usually depicted malnourished, scared, dirty, and alone (Rajaram, 2002). Rajaram (2002) does not argue that there are not women and children alone and

hungry—there certainly are many in this situation. Women and children are used as the faces of strife because they are perceived as the archetypal example of powerlessness (Rajaram, 2002). It is noteworthy that at the time of Rajaram's (2002) writing, all the items for sale on the United States Committee for Refugees (USCR) website depicted women and children. It is this singular two-dimensional narrative that limits the public's understanding of who these people are and why they are there.

Separating refugees from their stories of conflict results in the erasure of individual voices. Humanitarian agencies leverage photojournalism to introduce images of silent, worn down people, hungry, wounded, and diseased in an effort to connect with the viewers primitive humanity (Rajaram, 2002). This is in the hope that seeing such striking images will cause them to donate and support the efforts of that agency to alleviate suffering. When this occurs, the refugee is stripped of their personal story and seen only with in a wide picture of "refugees" regardless of the political, personal, and historical realities that have driven them to that place. By obscuring this singularity the refugee becomes a member of a "physical mass within individuality is subsumed" (Rajaram, 2002, p. 251).

Malawi and Refugees

Malawi signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, with two key reservations: Article 17 (the right to wage-earning employment) and Article 26 (freedom of movement). These particular articles protect arguably the two most critical rights to self-sufficiency (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010). Article 17 (2) encourages states to exempt refugees from employment restrictions they might apply to other aliens living within its borders, and Malawi has refused to offer more favorable treatment to refugees over other types of aliens within its

borders (Nhkoma, 2012). Malawian law does not extend any rights to refugees or asylum seekers. There is no opportunity for permanent resettlement within Malawi or permits to work or study (Nhkoma, 2012). Further obstructing refugees from pursuing a livelihood in the country, are the accusations by the Malawian government and local press that refugees have engaged in "illicit business deals, taking over national markets, and illicit business deals" (Nhkoma, 2012, p. 48).

Moreover, Malawi has also filed a reservation to Article 34 of the 1951 Refugee Convention pertaining to the duty of a host state to facilitate the naturalization of refugees who have no other recourse (Nhkoma, 2012). Malawi's Citizenship Act of 1966 makes it quite difficult for a refugee to obtain citizenship via naturalization. If born in Malawi, children can only obtain citizenship when one of their parents is a Malawian, thus exempting children born in exile who remain stateless (Nhkoma, 2012). Stateless people can only pursue naturalization over the age of 21 and must demonstrate financial solvency, thus making the path to citizenship and integration nearly impossible for most.

Malawi's Refugee Act provides a definition of a refugee and lays out the administration structure for addressing refugee issues (Nhkoma, 2012). It touches on almost nothing laid out in the 1951 Refugee Convention and affords little protection. One thing it achieves quite well, is defining who is a refugee in the eyes of the Malawian government and providing a path to claiming asylum (Nhkoma, 2012). There is an acknowledgement of the need to flee conflict for fear of persecution and a group designation is permitted to people who are all fleeing the same conflict: *prima facie* (Nhkoma, 2012). Despite this reasonable legal framework, *prima facie* is not currently

being extended to asylum seekers from the Congo who are substantial numbers (Nhkoma, 2012) .

The concept of *non-refoulement* is incorporated into the Refugee Act as is the standard in international law. The principle directs any officer of the state who detains someone claiming to be a refugee to forward that person to the Office of the Commissioner for Refugees to hear their case and determine their status in accordance with the law (Nhkoma, 2012). There have been cases of police officers arresting and unlawfully detaining people for failure to produce identity cards. Identity cards are printed by the UNHCR in South Africa and distributed sporadically—it can take up to 7 years to receive a card (Nhkoma, 2012). In the mean time, refugees have no way to demonstrate that they have been granted legal stay in Malawi.

In a 2012 working paper, Tapiwa Shana Nhkoma states that most research on Malawi's relationship to refugees has been focused on the 1970s-1990s period. Malawi's receipt of sizeable numbers of displaced people began during the Mozambican struggle against colonial rule and rose again during the Mozambican civil war (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010). While many Mozambican's have been repatriated post-conflict, Malawi currently sees an influx in refugees from the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region who pass through en route to South Africa (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010). Numbers are steadily climbing upward in Malawi's largest refugee camp, Dzaleka, which has tripled is population in just ten years (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010).

Nhkoma (2012) points to the problem of refugee protection and provision through the services of foreign NGOs as a major obstacle to long-term solutions. The concentration of foreign aid does not incentivize local relief and development efforts.

The UNHCR provides most of the funding to Malawi's Office of the Commissioner for Refugees and when these funds run dry the office does not make it a priority to reallocate resources (Nhkoma, 2012). Malawi can continue on this circuitous path without any attempt at prioritizing this growing population, or they can amend national law to allow for the realization and support of refugee human rights (Nhkoma, 2012).

Summary

In summary, the relationship between refugee education, development, and host nations is incredibly complex with a myriad of competing agendas. Prior research on higher education in refugee camps has provided significant evidence to indicate that it is a development tool worth pursuing. Additionally, the body of research on Malawi's refugee policy was largely written in the early 2000s when the country was still receiving many Mozambiacans and Rwandans. Eastern Africa is home to some of the world's largest camps and protracted refugee situations, making places like Dzaleka a logical starting point for development programming.

CHAPTER III
RESULTS

Chapter III will review the methodology, data collection, analysis, and results of the study. The purpose of this study was to determine how an accredited diploma program could contribute individual development as well how a program of this nature can positively impact the camp community on a larger scale. The interviews were structured to draw out the accomplishments the participants have achieved due to their participation in the program as well as identify potential barriers to further positive influence on both the individual and the camp community.

Setting of Study

The study was conducted in July 2017 inside Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Malawi. In 2016, Dzaleka hosted 27,126 refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, and Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2016a). Dzaleka is the largest refugee camp in Malawi (UNHCR, 2016b). The workshop and one on one interviews were conducted in the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) compound over a twelve-day period.

Participants

Participants were current HEM diploma students, alumni, and community members who had knowledge of the HEM program, but had never enrolled as students. Prior to my arrival in Dzaleka, a sign-up sheet was posted in the main room of the Arrupe Learning Center in the JRS compound where the target populations were asked to provide their contact information if they wished to participate in the study. With limited time in camp, I decided to cap the participants at 30 to allow adequate interview time with each student.

A total of 24 individuals participated in the study: 14 current students, six alumni, and four community members. Of the total participants 75% were refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), which is in alignment with the demographics of Dzaleka and the HEM program. The remainder of the participants identified their nationalities as Rwandan, Burundian, Kenyan, and Malawian. Only 3 women were interviewed in this study, which is a reflection of gender roles in this area of the world as well as unique challenges for women in refugee encampments (N. Asmal, personal communication, March 27, 2017). It is also important to note that the two Malawians in this study are not refugees, but come to Dzaleka to access the HEM program. Allowing Malawians to access this program was intentional on the part of JRS to build trust and cooperation between Dzaleka and its surrounding community.

Data Collection

Data was collected of the course of 12 days in July 2017 through two primary methods: a two-hour workshop and individual interviews. Additionally, I engaged in observation by visiting several capstone project sites and speaking informally with other diploma and Community Service Learning Track (CSLT) students and program staff.

Workshop

The data collection began with a two-hour workshop in a JRS classroom with all 24 participants including a co-researcher from the University of San Francisco. The workshop's objectives were to:

1. Introduce the research team and explain the purpose of the research
2. Determine what types of resources Dzaleka residents have access to at present
3. Determine what resources they feel are most critical to achieve and maintain an "adequate" quality of life.
4. Establish the active role of the study participants

My co-researcher and I began by explaining the purpose of the research and informed the participants that the outcomes would likely not benefit them directly but, will help JRS and JWL better understand how the JWL Diploma Program impacts their community and its members so that JWL can continue to make improvements and have data available to continue accessing support of donors. I then reviewed the content of the consent forms with the group in compliance with the University of San Francisco's Internal Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) and collected the completed forms.

In the workshop, the group was asked to write or illustrate on paper the three most important roles they play in their community in order to help us identity how they see themselves situated in the camp community. Next, participants were asked to identity the sub-communities that exist within Dzaleka and which sub-communities they belong to.

Next, participants were asked to develop a "hierarchy of needs" based on Abraham Maslow's (1943) psychological theory. Three diagrams of needs where created: individual, small group, and a community level. At the community level participants had to negotiate and reach a consensus on what needs should be listed at various strata in the pyramid. This not only fostered collaboration among the group, but also allowed the participants understand the various challenges and lack of resources their classmates and neighbors face.

Lastly, participants were given an opportunity to reflect on what they learned in the workshop and to provide feedback on the workshop. The full workshop outline can be viewed in Appendix A.

Interviews

Interviews were completed in private rooms at the JRS facilities in Dzaleka Refugee Camp. Each interview was allotted 90 minutes, though the average interview spanned 50 minutes. Interviews were recorded on both an iPhone application and on my laptop. Three sets of questions were tailored to the role of the participant: alumni, current student, or community member. All interview questions are detailed in Appendix B. At the conclusion of the interview, participants were shown the "Dzaleka pyramid of needs" that was established in the workshop and asked to discuss their personal opinions regarding quality of life in Dzaleka. Interviewees were asked how higher education in the camp has affected their access to the resources in the pyramid and their perception of an adequate quality of life.

Data Analysis

Interviews were transcribed by a third party professional transcription service upon my return to the United States. Interviews were then coded for common themes using the qualitative data analysis software program Dedoose. I developed codes based on notes I took during interviews, as well as notes from my observations from my visits to alumni projects around the camp. The four major themes to emerge were: access to opportunities, self-empowerment, leadership, and Jesuit values.

Results

This section will detail the results of the workshop and the interviews. This project aims to assess the value of accredited online diploma programs within refugee protracted refugee situations. The results were compiled to answer my research question: how does completing an accredited diploma program improve quality of life and contribute to community development in a camp context?

Education Equals Opportunity

The dominant theme throughout my analysis has been the idea that education is a gateway to opportunity. Opportunity in this context can be quite broad and refers to economic opportunity, economic independence, and additional avenues to continue a course of study. Every person interviewed made reference, to education as a necessity for accessing new opportunities. As one participant stated:

> There is education, which is only education, the way which we live. It's only education as a way...which we can help us to change the world, to do everything better. Yeah. Our future, the future of our children, the future of our countries, depend on it (Desire, current student)

Another participant echoed this sentiment, stating "Education is very important for me. I thought, with this level I have ... I can do anything in this world." (Keros, alumni).

The importance of education on the whole seems to be deeply ingrained in each of the participant's stories. No matter the circumstances that brought them to Dzaleka, each person felt that education was not only fundamental to improving ones position in life, whether they will remain in Dzaleka, be repatriated, resettled, or integration into Malawian life.

> You miss something that's going to motivate you to pursuit of education but because we go to the heart and the desire, especially myself, I wanted to proceed in my education after, after everything that I want in my home country. So I didn't, I didn't give up. I didn't surrender before the circumstance and difficulties. I proceed, and you know if it's cold there almost not occupied like you see. Sometimes we can solve it but it won't last long. You have to return home because we are working inside, we are rearranging things. (Gaston, alumni)

Some participants spoke of access and education with a strong emphasis toward the future more so than others, particularly single males. The interviews showed that men who did not have their own families and who arrived to the camp alone, viewed education as advantageous to resettlement or studying abroad. Several men who felt this

way also revealed that they had aspirations of being selected for resettlement to Canada through the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) program. They viewed the HEM program to be very worthwhile, however, there was no direct opportunity for resettlement this program. An alumni participant noted, "You know, the camp is not a better place to live. The life here is really difficult here. And I would like to continue my study outside. That is my goal. I would like to proceed my education outside and to do my rest of the life outside" (Gaston). Another participant emphasized his desire to continue his education beyond the HEM program:

> I see that the first project that I have is first to keep on learning. I see that the problem is still the low level. Maybe if I can get to bachelor degree, I can plan some other things. (Anicet, current student)

Several participants expressed concern that their educational journey would end with the HEM program. They believed that not being able to continue their education would have a negative affect on their lives in the camp. I observed that participation in the HEM program afforded the students a greater sense of stability than participation in CSLT courses. Diploma students who had also enrolled in CSLT courses only had positive things to say about the program, but felt that because each course was only eight months in length it was difficult to build toward a goal. In contrast, the Diploma in Liberal Studies provided not only a goal, but a wide breathe of subjects to choose from and the chance to collaborate with faculty outside of Dzaleka and Malawi.

Personal Empowerment

Another well-developed theme was higher education as a tool for personal empowerment. References to self-esteem and individual empowerment occurred more frequently than all other themes. Current students, alumni, and community members

spoke of the transformative effect the program had on the individual. Community

members referenced the positive change in their friends who entered the diploma

program and confirmed that the programs reputation for empowering people in Dzaleka

was well known.

> Also, many people for example, let me tell you […] for two three and four, we were together. I can see his life, he's trying to improve. Yes, according to this, to this program or diploma. We see this program is very, very important, very, very important. (Yohana, community member)

> From with this diploma program I'm developing, it is developing my capacities, it is empowering me. I can learn from what other said, and then give my best opinion. Consider it other's opinion. It is somehow different to what I had in DRC. (Jacques, current student).

References were also made to the passive nature of being a refugee. Upon arriving in the

camp so much time is spent waiting for food, jobs, resettlement, and the like. Participants

spoke of the agency they found through studying and challenging themselves. For many,

having a purpose each day provided a level of stability that had not been felt since they

had left their homes.

> Difference was before starting the program, I was acting somewhat lost. Just when I would go at work myself, I was caught in 1994. And since that day I was separated from my mom and rest of the family. So I was like someone who live with confusion. A lot of unanswered questions […] All through childhood, someone who could care for me. Someone who could understand what I'm looking for. Someone who'd help me. I need this, I need this. So I was depressed. And then when in Malawi City, I can't keep complaining for the past. Crying for the past. I need now to change. I need to feel, to see the future. To start planning for the future. (Melissa, current student)

When asked to contrast their sense of "self" before and after entering the HEM

program, every single participant said they cited a positive change in their outlook on life

and their circumstances. This does not diminish the difficult nature of camp life, but

demonstrates that the diploma program serves as a powerful psychological tool for developing identities outside of "refugee".

Leadership

Personal empowerment and growth also gave way to higher education as a tool for building community leaders. I saw this trend emerge from my first interaction with the participants at the workshop. When asked to write down the roles they play in the community, the overwhelming majority identified themselves as leaders in relation to their sub-communities in Dzaleka. Church elder, human rights activist, class representative, community mediator were just a few leadership roles mentioned in this exercise. Religion played a strong part in each of the participant's lives and many used the leadership tools learned in the Diploma program to assert themselves as role models in their religious communities.

> I'm sure that this course they can help me to become a good leader. And they lead us they taught us that leadership is a fear of the heart. Leadership is to be on the service of others. Leadership is to respect your people. Leadership is to bring change and positive change in the community. Leadership is to empower those who are weak […] and I believe that can happen only through education as Mandela quoted he was saying that education is the most powerful weapon that can be used to transform the world. (Gaston, alumni)

This quote demonstrates the linking of social justice with leadership that so many of the participants referenced. References to leadership are closely tied to social responsibility, community service, and empowerment.

Current students and alumni also spoke of their role as community mediators. Given the stressful nature of camp life, lack of resources, and ethnic divides among camp residents, conflict is common and Diploma students felt that the community viewed them as a well equipped to resolve disputes. Dzaleka is divided into zones or districts and

several diploma students and alumni reported that they were elected as the official

conflict mediators in their zones. HEM students were also called upon to intercede

informally among familial disputes and business owners.

Peace building was revealed as an emergent theme under leadership as the

participants reveal how he HEM program is perceived throughout the camp. Sub-

communities often turned to HEM graduates for guidance, in hopes that their new found

knowledge will be able to contribute to reconciliation and understanding.

> When there is a problem, something related to reconciliation, maybe there is a
> broken relationship between husband and wife, between neighbors. There is a
> small committee in my area once they try at least to reconcile people. They do
> say, "Can we ask again that graduate? That guy is wise. There are really good
> things there, he should come." (David, alumni).

Another current student noted:

> There are a lot of houses, a lot of families, so when I am at home, I can see this
> women is not treating this person in the correct way. I can go there and counsel
> her. Like, "Maybe you can talk to this person like this" …sometimes it helps.
> (Shumeya, current student).

The two Malawian female participants spoke of using their positionality as a HEM

student to serve as role models in their families and communities outside of Dzaleka. I

found this to be particularly notable given that their Malawian communities are not likely

to be aware of the anticipated leadership roles HEM students will play. This indicates that

the hard leadership skills gained through the course work produce strong leaders even

outside the context of the refugee camp and the presence of other HEM students and

graduates. Alice, a current student stated, "…everyone is a leader. It doesn't have to mean

that you have been chosen and selected by people. Even in your own family, you are a

leader." Another female student who comes from a nearby village confirmed:

Interviewer:	How do you think the other women in your community will view you?
Triphonia:	They will get inspired because of me.
Interviewer:	They will be inspired.
Triphonia:	I will be their model.

The inclusion of Malawian students has been intentional on the part of the JRS to foster cooperation and mutual benefit with its larger geographic area, but here I can see the considerable impact on Malawian towns and villages. Malawian students studying in Dzaleka are able to offer their leadership skills as well was as the diverse perspectives they have found among their classmates and professors.

Men and Women for Others

Diploma students and alumni linked their passion for ethical leadership and community service to the teachings and mission of the Jesuits. They were asked what they knew about the Jesuits and Jesuit values and many went on to explain how the concept of being "men and women for others" was fundamental to their approach to community engagement and leadership.

> That is why when we're [inaudible 00:14:34], we called ourselves to be men and women for others. It means to be a light for the community. (Dikonzo, alumni)

This excerpt acknowledges that camp residents are looking for hope and guidance. He felt that Ignatian values provide the "light" that many refugees are looking for. A current student, Rashid, elaborated:

> I had already developed that idea of critical thinking, but the Jesuit system has come to reinforce it, to give it more power. I can see that my capacity, or the way I fight challenges around me are really different from the way I could face challenges before. Because this system we are studying, spiritualism is also there. Yeah, they are really part of religion, and the consideration of others, so those things, they really ... The way I could consider human beings before and the way I consider human beings now, I thought before there was a very large separation of human beings in terms of capacity, of doing A, B, C, D. Now, I see people are not so much different.

Rashid's statement exemplifies the transformational change many students undergo through the program. The curriculum's focus on social justice and community engagement inspires students to turn their focus outward and reexamine how they perceive their community and the world around them.

Summary

In summary, the four themes presented in this chapter represent the dominant codes in my analysis. Education as the gateway to opportunity, personal empowerment, and leadership were themes I had hoped to find. The student commitment to incorporate Jesuit values into their personal lives and communities was more surprising. Peace building revealed itself as an emergent theme and more research can be done to explore higher education as a tool of peace.

CHAPTER IV:
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Discussion

This study examined the impact of an accredited higher education program in a protracted refugee situation. Despite restrictions on employment and mobility, the research demonstrated that an accredited liberal arts course of study has had a significant impact on both alumni and the greater camp community. Alumni have experienced a significant transformation related to their personal empowerment and human capital. Program graduates demonstrated hard skills related to business development, teaching practice and conflict resolution/negotiation as well as a deeper understanding of their diverse community. Interviews with alumni and community members confirmed that the diploma program produced valuable projects, community-based organizations, and offered social services that are vital to improving the well being of the Dzaleka community.

The interviews illustrated the connection between education and opportunity, and I believe that notion of opportunity can also be identified as hope. While many are anticipating resettlement, in reality few will have the opportunity to be resettled or possibly repatriated. In a protracted camp context, higher education serves as a motivator to serve the community. This finding is in alignment with Crea's (2016) 2013 study where he found that students of the HEM program began to share their hope for the future by increasing their visibility in the community as teachers and mentors.

Self-empowerment and hope do not simply give way to contented happy refugees. Barbara Zeus (2011) notes that self-reliance does not simply a means to shift more

responsibility onto refugees; it is most importantly a means for psychosocial and capability development. This study reinforces this concept as it found that as the participant's sense of self was transformed and their confidence grew, their belief in their own capability also increased. They no longer viewed themselves with a singular identity, as a person dependent on aid. Participants were able to identify problems in the camp, and actively engage in finding solutions. Through personal empowerment, the participants also gained the ability to break out of the singular identity of "refugee" they had before they started the program. During the workshop, nearly every participant identified himself or herself as a leader.

The HEM program is rooted in the Jesuit approach to education and the idea that education is a positive force for change. I expected Jesuit values to be incorporated into the curriculum, but I was truly astonished at how the students internalized these messages of social justice and aligned every area of their lives with this concept of "men and women for others." It should be noted that the majority of participants did identify themselves as religious; however, they did not necessarily associate justice and social good with Catholicism. While it appears that morality in this context is rooted in religion, the curriculum does not frame social justice in relation to Catholic theology, making it all that more accessible for use across many religions and cultures.

Beyond the benefits to Dzaleka itself, we have also seen how the inclusion of Malawians in the HEM program can influence host country families and communities. Though the Malawian participants do not struggle with the same issues of aid restrictions of employment, this program is still building community leaders and empowering women. The JWL's mission is to provide high quality education to people on the margins

of society and this includes the vulnerable population of one of the poorest countries in the world.

The HEM program is creating strong leaders rooted in social justice, but the Malawian government is still not convinced of the benefit. As discussed in chapter two, the government of Malawi is among the top barriers to achieving an adequate quality of life as a refugee in Malawi. The desire to protect employment for Malawian citizens, who already struggle a great deal to achieve basic comforts, is a logical motive. However, it is my hope that continued research and evaluation of these types of programs will demonstrate that supporting refugees is advantageous to building a stronger economy. Not allowing highly skilled workers and those with advanced degrees to contribute to society does not benefit Malawi. Hopefully, over time the UNHCR will be able to work more closely with host countries to build integrated programing that benefits both refugees and Malawians. As we have seen through the review of literature, this is a slow arduous progression.

Conclusions

This thesis seeks to identify higher education as a powerful tool for development in protracted refugee situations. As more and more people are displaced around the globe, we must look for durable solutions that afford refugees human rights protections and offer purposeful lives. Refugee policy is a complex issue fraught with so many competing agendas that the human rights of refugees often get dismissed. Through development tools such as quality education, refugees are given space to increase their capabilities and become self-reliant, innovative actors in this crisis.

Despite the positive effects this research substantiates on individuals and the refugee camp community, there are still many barriers preventing the spread of this type of programming. Host countries do not see integration of refugee communities as a net positive for their citizens. Drawing on the advanced skills of a highly educated group of people will ultimately give way to better education, healthcare, and a multitude of other critically needed services.

Ultimately I hope that this research will demonstrate that higher education is tremendously impactful to protracted refugee communities and can be an effective development tool. Refugees are not passive bystanders in an out of control crisis. As seen in Dzaleka, they are leaders, teachers, mediators, nurses, and entrepreneurs. No human has a singular identity. This research has shown that when a person's many identities are empowered and developed through social justice centered education; they can positively impact whole communities.

Recommendations

Partnering with Organizations

During my time in Dzaleka, I was able to visit several successful alumni projects and learn about the barriers to acquiring enough resources to offer consistent services to the community. Some of the projects include: a school for children with disabilities, a program that provides single mothers and widows chickens and rabbits to generate income, and Salama Africa, an intercultural youth center that strives to empower youth through the arts. A current student also began a small business called Shamubia Company, which rents wheelbarrows for various construction projects, lends the wheelbarrows to vulnerable groups for free. Junior Shamubia uses the earnings to offer

micro-loans for business start ups, pay school fees for children, and provide basic goods to those in need.

Many of these worthwhile businesses fail after several months due to lack of support. I propose that JWL should seek partnerships with NGOs that would like to deliver these types of services. By connecting alumni with organizations that are able to fundraise, send necessary supplies, and offer business advice, the HEM program can offer a greater sense of support for their alumni network. Many refugees find churches or religious organizations to partner with on their own, but not all have access to this kind of assistance. This individualized support can create a sense of mentorship, while still allowing the business or project owner to have full autonomy over their project/organization.

Faculty Engagement

Several research participants expressed discontent with the realities of online learning. Having no prior exposure to online education, or technology in general, they found it very unsettling that they were not able to physically see the professor. The program administrators on-site have created successful orientation courses for familiarizing new students with the technology, but it can still be a very difficult transition from the type of education they are accustom to. Diploma program faculty have made an effort to offer video chats or upload YouTube videos of recorded lectures to improve "face time" with students. However, due to the unstable internet connection in Dzaleka, these videos are frequently unable to be streamed.

In an effort to improve faculty understanding and meet the students desire foster a more personal relationship program leadership can consider sending several faculty

members to a camp where they have a significant number of students for several weeks each summer. I realize this presents a financial challenge, but it could also be another avenue for individual Jesuit universities to lend their support to the program through partial financing of this course. I believe this will serve the faculty in giving them a first-hand understanding the challenges their students face in a refugee camp. It will also allow the students to take a course with a professor who is physically present as they would be at any other university in the U.S. Online education is a wonderful tool for overcoming physical barriers, but it is important online programs remember the significance of personal connection by incorporating opportunities for classroom interaction.

Support for Women

I had hoped to interview more women affiliated with this program, but there are fewer female students and those that are current students and alumni have a great deal of other responsibilities. Although I did not specifically examine the barriers to women pursuing high education within the camp, from my observations and informal discussion I believe it is necessary to commit more resources to support female students. There are cultural and societal pressures on women that the diploma program will not be able to tackle directly, but I do see that there is a great deal of room to invest more strategically in female leaders in Dzaleka. There is a need for additional research on the challenges women face as students in refugee camps.

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APPENDIX A

Workshop Program Outline
Dzaleka Refugee Camp, Malawi
July 2017

1) **Welcome & Facilitator Introduction**
   a) Who we are. Where we come from and why we are here.
   b) Introduce JRS staff and ourselves.
   c) Introduce University of San Francisco
   d) Purpose of our research project and what we are trying to achieve
      a. Emphasize that this research will likely not benefit them directly but, will help us better understand how the JWL Diploma Program impacts their community and its members so that JWL can continue to make improvements and have evidence to continue donor support
   e) Purpose of today's workshop
      i) We have developed exercises and activities to help us get to know each other and learn more about each other and the communities you are part of
      ii) Help get you thinking about your experience as a student and now alumni of the Diploma Program so you will be in a mindset that will help you to answer questions when we interview you
      iii) Learn from you what is important to you and your current communities

2) **Participant Introductions: Write/draw three words that best describe a trait they have (not physical) or role they play.**
   a) This exercise is meant to get to know the participants in the room and better understand the ways that they identify or view themselves.

   MATERIALS NEEDED:
   • 3 post-its per participant
   • 1 marker per participant

   INSTRUCTIONS:

   1. Distribute three different colored post it notes and 1 marker to each participant
   2. Ask them to write a word or draw a picture on each post-it that best describes a trait they have (not physical) or role they play
   3. Give an example by doing your own
   4. Tell the participants they will have 3 minutes to think about it to themselves and then write or draw on the post-its.
   5. When everyone has finished, ask for a volunteer to share by saying their name and reading their post-it notes allowed
   6. Go around the room until everyone has introduced themselves and read their post-it notes aloud

3) Human Knot Exercise
  a) This exercise is meant to illustrate our approach to this workshop. We are not here to "direct" the participants on the right answer. We want to enter the group and work with them to learn how we can improve the Diploma Program.

  INSTRUCTIONS:
1. Ask for two volunteers to be the "directors"
2. Have the directors leave the room or shut their eyes (if it's inappropriate, not possible for them to leave the room
3. Get the remaining group to form a circle.
4. Ask them to put their right hand up in the air, and then grab the hand of someone across the circle from them.
5. Then repeat this with the left hand, ensuring they grab a different person's hand.
6. Check to make sure that everyone is holding the hands of two different people and they are not holding hands with someone either side of them.
7. Once the knot is correctly formed, the group calls for the Directors, who comes back into the room/uncover their eyes
8. Instruct the Directors that they have five minutes to try to untie the knot. The other's in the know are not to speak to the Director's or try to untangle themselves. They should only follow orders. tries to undo the knot.
9. Once time is up, ask the group to let go of hands and allow the Director's to join the knot. Repeating the steps to form the not again.
10. This time they must as a team try to untangle themselves to form a circle without breaking the chain of hands. Allocate a specific time to complete this challenge (generally ten to twenty minutes)
11. If the chain of hands is broken at any point, they must then start over again.
12. Debrief this activity.
      i.   Why was it easier to do it as a group?
      ii. After hearing from the participants, explain why you chose to have them participate in this activity.

13. **Segue** into next activity by saying:

    Now that we feel like we have built our own community here, we want to learn more about the communities that you operate in.

4) Consent Form
  a) Read out load the consent form and have participants sign the form

MATERIALS NEEDED:

- Consent Form

5) Identifying Sub-Communities in Dzaleka
   a) The goal of this exercise is to learn about the different sub-communities within Dzaleka and how the workshop participants identify themselves function within them.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

- Paper on walls or a chalkboard
- Writing utensil for facilitator

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Set-up this exercise by saying: *We understand that Dzaleka in some ways is one large community, but we also understand that there must be smaller communities, or sub-communities that exist within it.*

   For instance, I belong to the community of San Francisco residents, but I am also part of the community of USF staff, I am member of my neighborhood community in San Francisco and I am a part of a community of people studying Arabic.

2. Ask the participants to describe what smaller or sub-communities exist within Dzaleka.
3. As they call out communities right them on the top of paper taped on the wall or on a chalkboard.
   1. Make sure you have written all the responses and have asked the group if this is all the communities they can think of.
4. Ask the participants to get up and place the post-its with their descriptions underneath the community that they feel they use this role or trait the most.
5. Make sure to take a picture or record the findings.

6) Designing a Pyramid of Needs: This stage is where we will develop three diagrams of a hierarchy of needs: individual level, small group level and community level.

   INSTRUCTIONS

1. As group fill out top and bottom levels of pyramid. By asking the group:
2. What are the basic things you need to survive?
3. In your perfect world what would you want to have achieved?
4. Pass out individual papers with triangles divided by five levels.
   a. Ask individuals to now fill out their own. Explaining there are five levels and they should write or draw *only three* "needs" in each level.

      b. Give them five minutes to fill this out themselves.
5. Have small groups get together. Hand them all one new triangle with five levels.
      a. Ask group to identify a timekeeper, a scribe/note taker, and presenter.
      b. Tell them that as a small group they need to reach a consensus of no more 5 "needs" for each level.
      c. Give them 10 -15 minutes to discuss, debate and reach a consensus as a group.
      d. The end product should be a triangle filled out from each group.
      e. Ask each presenter from each group to report back to the larger group on their pyramid of needs.
6. Then tell the group we are going to now create a pyramid of needs for the entire group as a representation of the importance of needs for Dzaleka.
7. Ask for a volunteer to be the group scribe. Tell him/her to write and/or draw each need on the appropriate level as the group reaches consensus.
      a. If there is a need that is an outlier, ask entire group: "Does this really belong on the pyramid of needs for the community? If so, where does it go on the pyramid?
      b. Move through all of the post-its on each level of the triangle.
      c. When finished ask if anything is missing. Confirm that this is representative of Dzaleka community as much as possible.
      d. Ask the final question at what level is there "good quality life" and at what level is an "excellent quality of life"?

7) Reflection, Thank you, & Wrap-up
  a) This is the final stage. It is opportunity for the participants to reflect on what they learned in the workshop and to give facilitator's feedback on the process. The facilitator's should be sure to thank the participants for their time and give them follow-up information about their upcoming interviews.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

• No new materials needed

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Get the group to reflect on the pyramid of needs process that just took place. Ask them.
    • Did you enjoy today? Why or why not?
    • What did you learn?
    • How did the process make you feel? What did it make you think about?
    • Did you feel that your voice was heard today?
2. Ask the group: "Please raise your hand if you would be willing to attend another event similar to the one that took place today."
3. Count the hands raised and record this on the report sheet.
4. Pass out the t-shirts. Take group photo.

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

Questions for Community Members

Biographical
Tell us about yourself.
- What is your name? *(This will just be for our personal information but, your answers will be anonymous and your name won't be published)*
- What year were you born?
- What is your country of origin?
- When did you arrive in Dzaleka?
- What kinds of things did you do when you lived in your country?
Did you work? Did you study?
- What were your experiences with school in your country?
- Do you currently live with family? Who?

Tell me about your current community. What are its strengths? What are its weaknesses?

- Have you done anything or are you currently doing anything to overcome/tackle the challenges of Dzaleka? If so, what are you doing?

- Are you involved in any community projects in Dzaleka?
  - o Educational?
  - o Community?
  - o Work?
  - o Other types?
  - o IF YES: When did these projects begin? Who started the project?
    - ▪ What inspired you to begin this project?

- How many Malawian friends do you have, if any?

JWL Diploma Program
How did you hear about the Diploma Program offered by Jesuit Worldwide Learning?

In your opinion, what is the general community's view of the Diploma Program?

Do you know anyone who is currently a student or has graduated from this program? If so, who is it and how do you know them?
- How did the program affect them, in your opinion?/ What did you notice about them that changed, if anything?

- Do you think you have personally been impacted from a student or graduate of the Diploma Program? If so, how?

What type of values do you see the student(s) you know who are or have gone through the Diploma Program?

In your view, how have students in the program impacted your community?

What kind of impact, if any, do you think the Diploma Program has had on children and youth within the Dzaleka community?

Are you interested in being a student in the Diploma Program? Why or why not?

[Show Hierarchy of Needs Chart created by group.]

At what level on the pyramid do you think you have obtained a good quality of life?

At what level is an excellent quality of life?

Where did you start? Where are you now?

Questions for Current Students

Biographical
Tell us about yourself.
- What is your name? *(This will just be for our personal information but, your answers will be anonymous and your name won't be published)*
- What cohort are you in?
- What year were you born?
- What is your country of origin?
- When did you arrive in Dzaleka?
- What kinds of things did you do when you lived in your country?
  Did you work? Did you study?
- What were your experiences with school in your country?
- Do you currently live with family? Who?
- Did you have any post-secondary education before starting the Diploma Program? If so, what subjects did you study?

Pre Program Enrollment
Tell us about a typical day in your life before you began the Diploma Program.
- What were you doing in the 1-2 years prior to beginning the Diploma program?
- What were your "hope and dreams" for the future at this time?
- Why did you want to enroll in the Diploma Program?
- At that time, what type of employment (if any) did you hope to obtain when you began the program?
- Have your expectations for the program changed over time? If so, how? Why?

During Program
Tell us about a typical day in your life during your studies in the Diploma Program.
- What have been the most positive aspects of the diploma program for you?
- What were the biggest challenges you have faced during the diploma program?
- Do you feel supported in your current studies?
- Do you feel supported in pursuing your dreams?
- Who or what supports you?
- Was there ever a time during the program that you did not feel that the program was worthwhile or beneficial? If so, why?
- Is there anything else you think we should know that would help improve access or the quality of online education of refugees?
- Have you learned about Jesuit values during your studies with HEM? If so, how has your Jesuit education had an impact on you?

Personal/Family
Please describe your sense of "self" before and after participating in the Diploma Program.
- How did you view yourself before beginning the Diploma Program?/ What were your feelings toward your "self" before beginning the Diploma Program?

- What is your opinion of yourself now? /Have any your feelings toward your "self" changed since beginning the diploma program?

How has your livelihood been affected by the Diploma Program?

[Ask only if participant lives with family] Has your family been affected from you participating in the Diploma Program? If so, how?

Did you feel that your courses and/or professors have prepared you for improving the quality of your life?

How have/will you incorporate what you have learned in the online courses to your daily life, if at all?

Community
Tell me about your current community. What are its strengths? What are its weaknesses?

- Have you done anything or are you currently doing anything to overcome/tackle the challenges of Dzaleka? If so, what are you doing?
- Do you find the online courses interesting and applicable to your life in Dzaleka?
  - *(possible follow-up question)* How could they be made more interesting to you?

- Were you involved in any community programs, work or other projects before the diploma program? If so, what projects?
    - o Educational?
    - o Community?
    - o Work?
    - o Other types?
- Are you involved in any community projects now? If so, what inspired this involvement?
- How many Malawian friends do you have, if any? *[Only ask if they are not Malawian.]*
- Do you consider yourself a leader in the community? Explain.
    - o *[If yes]* in your opinion what qualities comprise leadership?
    - o *[If no]* What qualities should a good leader have?
- How have your opinions of individuals in your community changed?
- How has your opinion of your community changed?

[Show Hierarchy of Needs Chart created by group.]

At what level on the pyramid do you think you have obtained a good quality of life?

At what level is an excellent quality of life?

Where did you start? Where are you now?

Questions for Alumni

Biographical
Tell us about yourself.
- What is your name? *(This will just be for our personal information but, your answers will be anonymous and your name won't be published)*
- What cohort were you in?
- What year were you born?
- What is your country of origin?
- When did you arrive in Dzaleka?
- What kinds of things did you do when you lived in your country?
  Did you work? Did you study?
- What were your experiences with school in your country?
- Did you have goals for what you wanted to do as an adult when you lived in your country?
- Do you currently live with family? Who?
- Did you have any post-secondary education before starting the Diploma Program? If so, what subjects did you study?

Pre Program Enrollment
Tell us about a typical day in your life before you began the Diploma Program.

- What were you doing in the 1-2 years prior to beginning the Diploma program?
- What were your "hope and dreams" for the future at this time?
- Why did you want to enroll in the Diploma Program?
- At that time, what type of employment (if any) did you hope to obtain when you began the program?

During Program

Tell us about a typical day in your life during your studies in the Diploma Program.

- What did you enjoy most about being a student in the diploma program ?
- What were the biggest challenges you have faced either during or after the diploma program?
- How do you think your experience in the diploma program differs from the experience of the students currently in the program?
- In your view, what are Jesuit values? How have Jesuit values had an impact on you and your life?
- What were the most valuable courses or assignments you participated in during your program? Why were they valuable?
  - *[Possible follow up]* How were they applicable to your life Dzeleka?
- What courses or assignments were not useful to you?

Post Program Completion

Tell us about a typical day in your life now that you have completed the Diploma Program.

- After completing the program, how have your hopes and dreams for the future changed?
- What courses have been most useful to you since graduation? Why?
- What skills have you gained through participating in this program? Which have been the most useful for you since graduation?
- Have your employment or goals for the future changed since you completed the diploma program?
- How have you applied your degree since graduating? Please be specific.
  - *[possible follow-up]*
  - Did you create lesson plans? Did you design an advocacy campaign?
  - Did you create business plans?
  - How did you use the math skills you learned?
  - How did you apply content from your foundation courses to your work/projects/businesses after graduation?
- What else do you wish you had studied? What topics would you have liked to learn more about?

Personal/Family

How did you view yourself before beginning the Diploma Program?/ What were your feelings toward your "self" before beginning the Diploma Program?

What is your opinion of yourself now? /How have the feelings toward your "self" changed since finishing the diploma program?

How has your livelihood been affected by the Diploma Program?

[Ask only if participant lives with family] Has your family been affected from you participating in the Diploma Program? If so, how?

Did you feel that your courses and/or professors prepared you for improving your quality life?

How do you use or apply what you have learned in the online courses to your personal life, if at all?

Community
Tell me about your current community. *[Leave open ended at first]*
- What are its strengths? What are its weaknesses?
- Have you done anything or are you currently doing anything to overcome/tackle the challenges of Dzaleka? If so, what are you doing?
- Do you still interact with classmates from the Diploma Program? If yes, how so?
- What activities have you been engaged in after completing the diploma program?
    - Educational?
    - Community?
    - Work?
    - Other types?
- Were you involved in any community programs or projects before the diploma program? During? After?
- How many Malawian friends do you have, if any? *[Only ask if they are not Malawian.]*
- How has your opinion of individuals in your community changed?
- How has your opinion of your community changed?
- Do you consider yourself a leader in the community?
    - *[If yes]* in your opinion what qualities comprise leadership?
    - *[If no]* What qualities should a good leader have?

[Show Hierarchy of Needs Chart created by group.]

At what level on the pyramid do you think you have obtained a good quality of life?

At what level is an excellent quality of life?

Where did you start? Where are you now?

APPENDIX C

Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Below is a description of the research procedures and an explanation of your rights as a research participant. You should read this information carefully. If you agree to participate, you will sign in the space provided to indicate that you have read and understand the information on this consent form. You are entitled to and will receive a copy of this form.

You have been asked to participate in a research study **entitled Diploma Impact Evaluation: Jesuit Higher Education in Dzaleka Malawi** conducted by Emily Golike, an Assistant Director in the Integrated Enrollment Management department at the University of San Francisco.

WHAT THE STUDY IS ABOUT:
The purpose of this research study is to determine the impact of online diploma programs offered by Jesuit Worldwide Learning (JWL) in Dzaleka Refugee Camp, Malawi. It is the researcher's goal to determine if diploma programs have a significant impact on people and life within the camp as a whole.

WHAT WE WILL ASK YOU TO DO:
During this study, the following will happen the researcher will ask you a series of questions- some "Yes or No" and some will be open ended. Your answer will be recorded on a voice recorder.

DURATION AND LOCATION OF THE STUDY:
Your participation in this study will involve a one-time interview, lasting approximately 30-45 minutes.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS:
We do not anticipate any risks or discomforts to you from participating in this research. If you wish, you may choose to withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any time during the study without penalty.

BENEFITS:
You will receive no direct benefit from your participation in this study; however, the possible benefits to others include improved curriculum and programming for future JWL students. We hope to learn more about what new skills you have gained in this program and how your diploma has helped you find purpose in your community.

PRIVACY/CONFIDENTIALITY:
Any data you provide in this study will be kept confidential unless disclosure is required by law. In any report we publish, we will not include information that will make it possible to identify you or any individual participant. Specifically, we will only use your first name in reports and will use an alias if you wish to not be named at all. The only people that will have access to your identity are the researcher and the research assistant. All identifying information related to the study will be destroyed after 3 years.

COMPENSATION/PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION:
There is no payment or other form of compensation for your participation in this study.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THE STUDY:
Your participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits. Furthermore, you may skip any questions or tasks that make you uncomfortable and may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty. In addition, the researcher has the right to withdraw you from participation in the study at any time.

OFFER TO ANSWER QUESTIONS:

Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you should contact the principal investigator: Emily Golike at eagolike@usfca.edu. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board at IRBPHS@usfca.edu.

I HAVE READ THE ABOVE INFORMATION. ANY QUESTIONS I HAVE ASKED HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT AND I WILL RECEIVE A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM.

_____

PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE   *DATE*