

HIDDEN CURRICULA REVEALED:
A CASE STUDY OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP SCHOOLS

by

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Abstract

Within the field of Curriculum studies, a large part of the research literature portrays schools as places where formal curriculum translates into learning experiences. However, some literature acknowledge the existence of ‘other’ curricula—unintended, hidden or inexplicit—which also influence teaching and learning activities within school contexts. While such research recognizes informal, hidden curricula at work, most findings reference Western contexts. Limited literature and understanding exist on the nature of hidden curricula across non-Western contexts.

This research inquires into the existence of hidden curricula and influences within a refugee camp context, the case of Dadaab refugee camp in Northeastern Kenya. Dadaab refugee camp is the largest encampment in the world. Its formal curriculum is adopted from the host country, Kenya. I framed this case study within a social constructivist framework to investigate the question: What are hidden (unwritten) curricula revealed in how the teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools interpret and implement the formal (written) curriculum?

Framed as a case study, I collected data from interviews with teachers and students in schools within Dadaab refugee camp. I visited the schools and conducted semi-structured, individual face-to-face interviews with the participants. My limited observations of both classroom environments and school routines complemented the interviews. These observations became critical to framing the interview questions and particularly follow-up questions seeking clarification during interviews. Analysis of the data corpus revealed six key broad themes that describe hidden curricula within the schools’ learning contexts: 1) curriculum of trust and alliance; 2) curriculum of what is at stake; 3) curriculum of communal benefit; 4) curriculum and pedagogy of oppression; 5) curriculum of silence and conspiracy; and 6) curriculum of culture

and religion. The findings offer significant insight into how hidden curricula operates, as unnamed, obscured and even invisible to teachers in their practice.

Lay Summary

There is a scarcity of studies on hidden curricula in refugee camp contexts. This case study investigated the nature and influence of hidden curricula on the formal (official) curriculum implementation in Dadaab refugee camp schools, which they have adopted from Kenya (host country). Through interviews with teachers, school heads and students in Dadaab refugee camp schools complemented by classroom and school routine observations, I was able to discern six key broad themes that describe hidden curricula experienced by the students and teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools. These include curriculum/pedagogy of 1) trust and alliance; 2) what is at stake; 3) communal benefit; 4) oppression; 5) silence and conspiracy; and 6) culture and religion. The findings offer significant insight into how hidden curricula operate, as unwritten, obscure and even invisible yet they have profound implications on how teaching and learning experiences are framed in the refugee camp schools.

Preface

This study was completed with the approval of the University of British Columbia (UBC) Behavioural Research Ethics Board, certificate number H13-02217. The study was completed as part of the “Living Learning and Teaching in a Refugee Camp,” research project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, under its UBC ethical approval received on August 22, 2013 with Dr. Cynthia Nicol as the Principal Investigator. I collected data for the Living, Learning and Teaching in a Refugee Camp project that also served as data for my study under the supervision of Dr. Cynthia Nicol and Dr. Samson Nashon, while data analysis and writing for this thesis are entirely my own.

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Dedication

To my late Dad Daniel Karangu Kimotho

Chapter 1: Introduction To The Hidden Curriculum

In schools worldwide a mandated curriculum usually sets the content and type of courses for schooling. This mandated curriculum, also called the formal curriculum differs from place to place. In Canada, for example, each province determines its own formal curriculum—what is intended to be taught in schools in the province of British Columbia is different from that in Alberta, Canada. Formal education in Kenya, on the other hand, is guided by a national mandated curriculum; every school within Kenya's 47 counties uses the same formal curriculum for specific grade levels and content areas. Furthermore, Kenyan teachers are expected to develop schemes of work for the entire school term and in some cases. Head Teachers, overseers of their school's formal curriculum implementation, often ask teachers to prepare schemes of work for the entire academic year.

Although mandated, some Kenyan teachers may not implement the formal curriculum in their classrooms as educational policy intends. From my own experience as Head Teacher of a Kenyan primary school (Grades K-8) I have witnessed many teachers not necessarily follow what is stipulated in the formal curriculum. In these cases teachers implement their 'own mandated' curriculum. For example, I have observed some teachers using specific textbooks as their formal curriculum—textbooks which contain questions similar to what teachers expect will be included on the national examinations. This practice is understandable. There is huge currency placed on the Kenyan national examination at both primary and secondary levels of education. Although Head Teachers are aware of this practice of substituting the mandated formal curriculum for a version of curriculum that more closely matches the national exam, the practice continues as long as students perform well on their national examinations. The grade that students score on this examination is the only one that postsecondary institutions and

employers recognize in Kenya and apparently the base on which educational systems elsewhere, including Canada, make decisions about post secondary institution selection for applicants from Kenya. Such practices can become the norm (belief) of a school despite the fact that there are no written documents to validate such practices (teachers using a particular text book as the formal curriculum).

In other cases, teachers and learners in primary school and during transition (at Grade 8) to secondary school can pay more attention to some subjects at the expense of others. For example, as a teacher in Kenya I noted that educators give science-based subjects, considered to be 'difficult', more emphasis than art-based subjects, assumed to be 'simple' (Boit, Njoki, & Chelang'a, 2012). However, in my view, all subjects are equally important.

Moreover, as a teacher in Kenya I have observed that when another teacher or a visitor enters the classroom, all learners stand up, and all attention is given to the teacher/visitor, irrespective of what the students were doing. I would expect to see this form of behavior in a military training camp; or rather, I might expect students to stand after my teaching if they felt they needed to applaud my efforts. However, students standing when a visitor enters the classroom is an unwritten rule followed by students and expected by teachers. I wonder what this conduct of dutifully standing up communicates to students about the relationship between teacher and student. While young learners in lower and middle grades (Grades 1- 6) may stand to show genuine respect toward adults, I wonder if the same happens for the learners in the upper grades (Grades 7-12). Is standing a signal of respect, or is it an act of compliance?

From my cultural background it is required that young ones show respect to their Elders irrespective of their relationship otherwise the consequences to the young one are painful. From my experience as student, most secondary school students comply to such practices simply

because they do not want to be reprimanded—standing avoids the consequences which is mostly corporal punishment. While students comply with such practices and the intentions well known to teachers, they remain unwritten and go a long way toward guiding students in their school and societal life.

Also from my experience, while English is a subject in lower grades (Grades 1-3) with less emphasis on its use during instruction, I have witnessed teachers using English as the medium of both learning and teaching in lower primary grades. This happens despite the Kenyan education policy stipulating that the language of primary instruction should be the language of the catchment area, or Kiswahili if in a metropolitan Kenyan area (Nabea 2009). Thus, I wonder why and how this practice has been initiated and continued. What is the unintended message being communicated to students, parents and community members through such a practice? In other words, might there be an invisible driving motive or force behind this practice?

Research shows that early primary students learn best through their first language (Mbaabu, 1996). Marivate (1993) argues that the mother (first) language principle continuously faces strong opposition from among African countries or communities. For many years before and after Kenya's independence from colonial rule, English has been the language of the privileged in Kenya (Nabea, 2009). Nabea (2009) further cites, Whiteley (1974) in arguing that during the colonial time, English language was an unquestionable permit to “white collar employment and wealth”... Therefore, refusing students an opportunity to learn English may be considered equivalent to, “condemning them to perpetual menial jobs” (p. 124). Anyone with English language ‘know-how’ (spoken and written) stands a better chance to prosper in the job market. As a Head Teacher I often interacted with parents on various issues that affected students' education including the English language issue. From these interactions I found that

many parents hold the belief that proficiency in English is a gateway to better job opportunities. On other occasions I have found that teachers and parents praise young children (two years old or less) who attempt to speak in English, no matter its level. This belief in the power of English language and the practice of using English in the early grades as the language of instruction are not mandated but are, instead, unwritten or (invisible) hidden beliefs and practices.

A further example is the gendered expectations of students. This case is particularly apparent in the punishment given to students related to which languages students speak in school. While corporal punishment has been abolished in Kenyan schools, “punishment is still meted out to pupils who are caught speaking local languages’ in some schools” (Nabea, 2009, p. 126). For example, I recall my dad telling me how life was not as easy in his school days compared to my time. The message I received from his wise counsel was that I had no reason not to succeed in my studies. In many Kenyan households schooling was a way of ‘hardening’ students and especially boys who were looked upon to be ‘real men’ in the society—hardening in the sense of becoming mature and responsible as well as being prepared for a future role of family. Being real men implied the cultural investment in boys where they assume future roles of men in families, where the men are often perceived to be the “bread winners” and responsible for everyone’s safety—sort of family guardian. It has been a long held belief in my culture that, ‘boys should never complain over simple matters’ whether at school or in society. As a student I also observed that punishment for girls was more lenient compared to that of boys, which I could say, from experience, was severe. In this way the message to boys was that they need to endure the harsh classroom realities (silently) while learning. Therefore in this case, endurance is a good example of an unwritten guide for this gender group (boys) to practice or experience throughout their school life. Such a teaching from my father was aimed at benefiting the larger society in

terms of the greater good of endurance. Parents insist on such practices, which in a way are their beliefs derived from their lived experience. Such lived experiences, are conveyed by Nabea (2009) quoting Ngugi (1986) in the excerpt below:

Thus one of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment—three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks—or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money that they could hardly afford. Ngugi. (1986 p. 126)

From the excerpt above, it is clear that teachers' underlying intentions were 'good'—to make students practice the official language because it also happened to be the language used in the examinations. However, the manner in which this intention was implanted deserves critique—the practice of name-calling is humiliating and demeaning to students. Yet, this was a teacher's response to dealing with language issues at school since there were no written guidelines on how to enforce such rules in my days as a schoolboy. This practice was a colonialist ideology carried along for many years after Kenyan independence in 1963.

Personally, I fell victim to this corporal punishment several times when I was in Grade 3, which forced me to momentarily, and unceremoniously, drop out of school. Are teachers aware of Kenya's policy on language and formal teaching and the possible hidden or unwritten consequences of the policy?

My shared stories and experiences of learning, teaching and administrating within a Kenyan context lead me to conclude that the formal curriculum is not the only one that

influences educational decisions, school life, and teaching in a school. Nor is it the rule that teachers and Parents Teachers Associations (PTAs) enact to ensure orderly implementation of the formal curriculum. Rather, as my examples suggest, I have found that there exist unwritten rules, unspoken and unregulated, which have profound influences on life in a school or classroom. These unwritten rules govern how teachers teach, learn, manage, and even interact within the school. Many educators may follow these unwritten rules and comply with these demands and practices consistently, which then composes the life in a school or classroom. However, these governors remain unnamed and un-explicit until someone deliberately asks about them.

While the formal curriculum may be the same for particular grade levels within a particular jurisdiction, the unwritten governors may not be applied the same, as they might include particular cultural practices within a school's location. I consider the unwritten rules as curricula that shape a particular school's learning environment, as well as informing the beliefs that underlie the school's cultural norms. I have found these unwritten rules to be the knowledge everyone in a school appears to apply. Despite the fact that the unwritten rules exist as a body of knowledge that is not written anywhere within the school's formal routine, most who entre the education system soon conform to these unwritten practices without questioning.

For example, from my experience as a student I can attest to the fact that bullying is a very common practice among the students in both primary and secondary schools in Kenya, particularly in boarding schools. Teachers use corporal punishment on the bullies as a way of correcting/disciplining the bullies. I happen to be a victim of bullying at both primary and secondary school levels and at both public and private boarding schools.

When I was in Grade 6, I attended a boarding school about 70 kilometers away from

home. Although it was my wish to go to a boarding school at that young age, I later came to hate the life there. The “big boys” or larger boys in upper grades harassed and physically (beat) abused the smaller boys, especially if the small boys were new to the school, or if the older boys gave orders to the younger boys and they hesitated. One day an older boy sent me to fetch some water, and I made the ‘mistake’ of asking for clarification, “In a cup or in a basin?”

Consequently, I received a ‘thorough’ beating (kicks and slaps) from that grade 8 boy, while other boys watched (those memories are so fresh in my mind). Most of these inhuman acts took place in the dormitories since we shared the same facilities. After a while, I could not stand the abuse and ran away from school and went home. I did not report to my parents the actual reason why I had run away for fear of getting into more trouble with the older, larger boys. I knew my parents would return me to the school. That was my conspiracy and a painful survival tactic. In the boarding secondary school I was admitted to, the issues were more or less the same.

Later, as Head of a charity-run boarding primary school, I was keen to make sure there were clear separations between the big and the small students in the dormitories. As a young boy I had concluded that life in a boarding school was miserable and not worth living.

However, unlike my days in primary school, it is interesting to note how students in the boarding school I headed coexisted well—the big ones took care of the small ones, feeding and cleaning them. I attribute these humane gestures by the students partly to the fact that our school mandate was to help students from poverty-stricken homes access quality education free of charge. Teachers and other non-teaching staff understood this mandate and practiced it fairly to all students.

In contrast, when I was a primary school boy I recall a distinct gap between the teacher, students and the subordinate staff. Teachers commanded much respect, and students feared their

own teachers, particularly mathematics teachers (my mathematics teacher would severely punish a student who failed to properly solve a mathematics question). While the formal or the mandated curriculum expects learners to be well taught, some underlying (invisible) forces drive some teachers and make them become harsh on students. These invisible forces guide teachers on steps to take while implementing the formal curriculum.

As Head Teacher, I distributed responsibilities to teachers and students depending on their ability to perform the tasks, ensuring there were no overlaps or gaps. I found this act to have profound consequences on the life of a schooling environment. In my view and from the personal experiences, I have shared above on language, punishments and bullying, there contain hidden/unwritten meanings and practices that can have unintended consequences.

Tobia and Raphale (1997) refer to such unwritten rules as constituting a hidden curriculum. According to Crossman (2013), a hidden curriculum is a term that describes the often unarticulated and unacknowledged practices that students abide by in school (p. 1). In my experience as a teacher, hidden curricula make an individual student or teacher believe and behave in a certain way, which is deemed acceptable in that school and the wider society. Thus, a hidden curriculum can become a way of promoting human values, such as respect and freedoms, but can also, as Crossman (2013) argues, promote social or gender inequality.

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 discusses the concept of hidden curriculum at length; however, I would like to point out some of the key definitions of the hidden curriculum from a Western context. According to various Western scholars, the hidden curriculum is defined as that which is not explicitly taught in a classroom setting (Eisner 2002; Jerald 2006; Myles 2011; Myles, Trautman, and Shelvan (2004). For instance, social norms and behaviors are taught to students through the experiences and interactions of school and classroom organization

(arrangement).

Moreover, the components of the hidden curriculum (discussed in the earlier examples) operate to train students for the impediments that they will face in life as a whole, and in their work lives (future). For example, Brodie (2013) claims that, “Testing and other assessments are necessary because they paint a picture of what a student knows and understands” (p. 2). It is worthwhile to note that evaluations are not limited to the school experience, as poised assessments should be expected in the course of a student's career. For these reasons, students must learn how to deal with tests and other forms of assessments. These test-taking and other social skills exist as crucial portion of the hidden curriculum, and their benefits stay even beyond the completion of schooling. Massialas (1997) posted a similar argument adding that the hidden curriculum has a longer lasting effect on students than the formal curriculum. While confirming these definitions, Vallance (1983) argues that hidden curriculum stands apart from the formal or mandated curriculum; it refers to “those nonacademic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education” (p. 11).

1.1 Problem Statement

In Kenya, the majority of teachers and parents believe that for students to perform well in their examinations, they must spend most of their time in classes learning from their teachers’ teaching. I do not want to dismiss this point because I once lived by it until I realized a different approach. As a primary school teacher, I did not realize or question some of my students’ behavior, until I became the Head Teacher of a school with administrative and teaching roles. My teaching time was limited but “balanced” (I only had one lesson per day to teach). I taught class 8, which is the final grade in primary school and where a major national exam, the Kenya

Certificate of Primary Education, (KCPE), is taken. Class 8 is considered to be a preparation class, therefore, demanding a lot of teacher-student commitment.

I taught Kiswahili, a simple language to speak but hard for the majority to pass as an examination subject. I witnessed students' struggles to finish and complete assignments in Kiswahili; but somehow they managed. Being the Head Teacher, I would hear from other teachers that the same students working on different subjects, such as English, Mathematics, Social Studies, Religious Studies and Science, appeared to have little trouble in completing assignments to be formally evaluated at the class level. Interestingly, although students in my school tended to find Kiswahili difficult, those I taught ranked among the top at the school and district levels based on examination results, continuous assessment tests (CAT), random assessment tests (RAT) or end of term. Perhaps students worked extra hard in my subject to please me, but in my practice, I gave them chances to ask me questions at any time I was around the school. Moreover, allowing students to form their own study groups helped them to boost their self-esteem.

My principal-ship often required spending almost a whole week in Head Teachers' conferences, seminars and/workshops, as well as spending over eight hours per week addressing parents' issues. All this time was at the expense of my lessons with the students, which were compromised. I felt the pressure and invisible voices asking me to go to class and teach. Although not always possible, I made sure students had enough class assignments to work on under minimal supervision—my deputy took care my lessons, and if necessary the class teacher supervised students. I was not the only one who faced this 'time' challenge; other teachers faced similar issues, such as our mathematics teacher who was also our head sports coach.

In a charity-run school on a very fixed-budget, we had to do our best with our limited

staff. Also, the students in the upper grades were very active in sports and participated in several tournaments, emerging winners, but often at the expense of being in class learning with others. Students in sport events spent most of their time training during breaks and on weekends. This practice made some teachers in the school worried, since they feared sports students would obtain poor class performance results. On the contrary, the 2015 Kenya Certificate of Primary School (KCPE) examination results indicated the majority of students who were active in sports emerged among the top in their classes in terms of exam scores. The school director and I supported sports fully and encouraged other teachers to try and integrate their limited timetables to make the best out of the physical education (P.E.) lessons. Whenever possible, the director of the school and myself tried to pay staff members/teachers extra money for their time and efforts as a sign of our appreciation.

While not all teachers were convinced of having the students involved in extra-curricular activities, many became active in other co-curricular activities (e.g., music and drama). One major problem was deciding how to assign students to these various activities given many teachers preferred to work with upper-class (Grades 6-8) students who were already heavily involved in sports. Following our school's democracy rule, we allowed students to choose a maximum of two activities for a one-month trial period. Afterwards, students could choose one activity to pursue. These practices became the culture of the school, and students continued to enjoy their freedom. This practice did not go over well with some teachers since they did not believe the students should have such freedom of choice.

Many students from other schools applied for admission to our school. For example, during the August 2014 holiday, 107 students came for interviews with hopes of attending our school the following academic year. They believed it was the best in the district in both

academics and sports. Students already within the school believed that for them to perform better in class, they should engage in co-curricular activities. While the influence of co-curricular activities on academic success was apparently clear to teacher students and parents, to me as a school Head it was not as obvious.

Reflecting on and examining my administrative experiences have broadened my understanding of the curricula that students experience while in school. As a result I appreciate the power of the ‘hidden’ forces that affect how we understand and implement the formal curriculum. In this case what is hidden I now understand as the silent and invisible critical drivers in the implementation of the formal curriculum. Curious about the impact of the hidden curriculum I became interested in gaining a deeper understanding on the influence of the hidden curriculum and how it shapes educational decisions, organizational and contexts. Nonetheless, my experience as a student, teacher and Head teacher have given me a feel for hidden curricula and their influence on formal curriculum implementation in the Kenyan school system. But I had no understanding of the nature of hidden curricula and their manifestations in refugee camp contexts, hence my interest in investigating this phenomenon such a context.

Refugee camps are places that are often defined as temporary transit points for people who are escaping conflict or effects of natural disasters such as drought, floods etc. But over time places like Dadaab refugee camps can no longer be considered temporary or short-term transit places for people waiting to be returned home. In these camps life has taken a different turn. There are schools and other settlement areas life activities yet at the same time uncertain how the future will unfold. For Daadab, despite the uncertainty of the future, the refugee community has put up schools for their children and adapted the official Kenyan school curriculum. I wondered what kinds of hidden/unwritten drivers are imbedded in the

implementation of the formal or the official Kenya school curriculum. Based on the various example that I described and discussed in the preceding sections and given the different ways those hidden motives or guides that I described affect or influence the implementation of the official curriculum, in the proceeding sections and chapters I will refer to them as curricula. Hence, my desire to understand how and when the hidden curricula manifest in the process of implementing the official Kenyan curriculum in Dadaab refugee camp schools.

I wish to point out that my experience as school Head and teacher were in a charity run school for children who came from poor families (deserving help) while Dadaab refugee camp schools are run by agents on behalf of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The two contexts, though not congruent, share similarities in the way students carry on with their everyday school activities. Students in both contexts struggle to do their best since education appears to be the only way to solve their personal and family challenges. But, in Dadaab, education is not ranked as a high priority in the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) budget; security, food, health and shelter are the top priority education comes in fifth position of the priorities. For instance, the UNHCR allocated education a mere 2.4 percent of the total budget in 2013 (Save the Children and the Norwegian Refugee Council, 2014).

Similar to 'my' charity-run school, the budget becomes slim, and 'donors' (those individuals who send money to the school every month) expect 'good' results. I remember one day watching prime news from the Kenya National Television (NTV) while a reporter was commenting on the education situation on the ground in Dadaab refugee camps. Kenyan news stations carried Dadaab news headlines associated with unfortunate ordeals of terror and terrorism related cases. Violence within the Dadaab refugee camps has occasionally led the

Kenyan government to issue strong threats of closing down the world largest refugee camps.

From this report, I noted how overcrowded the classrooms were, and that there were few trained teachers. But what also struck me was the fact that some Kenyans (from the host community) also attended schools within the refugee camp. Why should a Kenyan parent prefer to take their children to schools meant for the refugees? Did the students have to compromise their citizenship? Many questions crowded my mind and special interest started to grow in me regarding general life within the Kenyan refugee camps.

I learned that schools in the Dadaab refugee camps, with students mainly from Somalia, had adopted a Kenyan curriculum. More curiosity grew in me when I joined the Living, Learning and Teaching in a Refugee Camp research group at the University of British Columbia (UBC)—funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. This research group comprises of professors (I work closely with 3 of them) from UBC and former students of Dadaab refugee camp schools. The fact that I was sharing experiences one-on-one with these former refugee students changed my thinking and understanding about Dadaab camps—there are good and real people living in Dadaab refugee camps which contrasted the media’s portrayal of Dadaab as a “home of terrorists.” After sharing life and work experiences with these students (whom I now consider as family) I also learned these former Dadaab students were also at one time teachers in the camp schools though with no formal teacher training. As a trained teacher, I encountered several challenges with students and as Head of School witnessed multiple situations of hidden curricula. But I wondered how this might be different within a refugee camp. How do teachers encounter Kenyan curriculum in this refugee camp with little to no professional education or development? What kinds of hidden curricula might be living in educational contexts of a refugee camp?

Despite the immense influence of hidden curricula on implementation of the formal curriculum there is a scarcity of empirical study that has focused on Kenya and refugee camps for that matter. Hence there was the need for a study that aimed to investigate the research question below:

What are the hidden (unwritten) curricula revealed in how the teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools interpret and implement formal (written) curriculum?

1.2 Significance Of The Study

I address the gap in the literature surrounding ‘hidden curriculum’ in refugee schools as well as classrooms in non-Western contexts. Revealing aspects of the hidden curriculum in a refugee camp (through teachers’ narratives and experiences) can inform teachers in East Africa (Kenya) about the possible existence of the hidden curricula and how it manifests in their schools. Similarly, I hope curriculum designers give attention to the results of this study and address them in their design of the formal curriculum. As such, the purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of hidden curricula that manifest within Dadaab refugee camp schools, which implement a formal Kenyan curriculum. Being the first study of its kind, it may act as a guiding plan to help students, teachers and administrators identify and understand the implication of hidden curricula. In addition, understandings may be gained related to implications on education within refugee camps, including Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) across the globe.

1.3 Thesis Overview

This thesis is organized in five chapters. The current Chapter 1, I presented the introduction to the research study, problem statement and the significance of this study. In Chapter 2, I review related literature on hidden curriculum to provide a sense of how it manifest

in schools and been researched across various contexts. I also discuss social constructivist theory, which I used to frame the study. In Chapter 3, I describe the research context, case study approach and methods, including selection of, participants and data collection and analysis methods and procedures. In Chapter 4, I present the data analysis and results along with interpretation and discussion of the study's findings in terms of study's theoretical framework and literature reviewed In Chapter 5, I present the study's conclusions and implications for theory, as well as practice/curriculum. I also include ideas for future research and a closing thought.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter I review literature on: the written (formal/official) school curriculum; the hidden (unwritten) curricula; the influence of the hidden curriculum on teachers, students, and classrooms; the history of tests and the hidden curriculum; a brief description of the education system in Kenya as well as in the Dadaab refugee camp; and finally, the theoretical perspective of this study.

2.1 Types Of Curricula

Pinar, one of North America's well-known curriculum theorists, notes the range of conceptualizations of curriculum. Beginning with a dictionary definition of curriculum, Pinar and colleagues (1996) state curriculum is:

A course, especially, a specified fixed course of study, as in a school or college, as one leading to a degree. The whole body of courses offered in an educational institution, or by a department thereof (Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition) (p. 26).

Such a definition of curriculum is broad and grounded in conceptions of a "fixed course of study" also known as the "what" of teaching. However, others consider the term even more broadly to be "all the experiences planned and unplanned that occur under the umbrellas of an educational body" (Wear & Skillcorn, 2009, p. 2). Curriculum theorists such as Pinar (1996 et al.) and Jackson (1992) point to the complexity of the concept of curriculum, arguing that curriculum can be considered more pluralistic than a single all encompassing entity.

Certainly there are many conceptualizations of curriculum. Hargreaves (1982), for

example, wrote about the two curricula of schooling (the formal and hidden), while Elliot Eisner (2002) wrote about the three curricula, which he claimed all schools teach (explicit, implicit and null). There are, for example, multiple educational spaces where learning occurs both within and outside school settings, and both intentionally and unintentionally. In what follows I discuss the formal curriculum, informal curriculum, null curriculum and the hidden curriculum.

2.1.1 The Formal Curriculum

The formal (written) curriculum can be defined differently, depending on who is defining it. For the sake of this study, I refer to the formal curriculum as that which consists of the “subjects” teachers intentionally plan and teach in lessons with their familiar and distinctive subject labels (mathematics, English, science and others). However, some would want to call this definition the daily routine of what teachers do in classes. Eisner (2002) calls the formal curriculum the explicit or the public one, which is the curriculum that teaches children how to read and write. These practices takes place in schools where the teachers are seen as the go between the content to be read and written by the students, which eventually leads to examination or testing. This a common scenario in most Kenyan schools where teachers are treated as the messengers sent by the government to communicate what is important to the students and examinations.

The formal curriculum acts as the guide to the teachers as they plan how to teach what they teach on daily basis. As Head Teacher, I followed up on what the teachers were teaching in classes based on the guidelines from the ministry of education. I was charged with overseeing the proper implementation of the formal curriculum in my school. The only way the government could determine whether my school was complying was through the standardized tests. If students were able to pass the standardized exam in the district, then my teachers and I were

doing the ‘right things’ and no one would bother coming to check on what we were doing (unless someone needed to know how we were able to achieve such results). Normally there were ranking of schools’ results from all over the district, wherein the top performing schools and the bottom performing schools emerged. The bottom performing school Head Teachers saw themselves transferred from their work station if they continued without positive improvements. Or, they were summoned to the district education office if they could not defend themselves well as to why they had poor performance they risked demotion to becoming regular class teachers... unfortunately.

Although there are other activities carried out in the schools, the major activity is surrounded by questions of how to implementation of the formal curriculum. This is because all stakeholders can vividly see the results and quantify them through examinations. Both the students and teachers attend school in pursuit of fulfilling the demands of the formal curriculum. In Kenya, the examination factor cannot be detached from the definition of the formal curriculum. More interesting is the fact that the formal curriculum changes so as to compliment the examination among the stakeholders especially among the parents and students. In short the formal curriculum constitutes all of what we think about when talk of schools and the curricular reforms.

In my view, classroom teachers are the most integral players in the implementation of curriculum in schools. However, it appears that classroom teachers are not heavily involved in the curriculum-making process. For example, in Kenya the Ministry of Education is responsible for setting up the curriculum to be taught in the educational institutions through the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD). In such cases, teachers may see the (formal) curriculum as something that is foreign to them because they do not have much say in its

development. Therefore, chances of negating and teaching their own curricula are high. This is in line with what (Jackson, 1992a) noted: most teachers and administrators “inherit a curriculum when they accept their jobs and that there is relatively little they can do to modify or change it,” not only in their country but also globally (p.17-18). Therefore, in this regard as Pinar et al. (1996) argues, there is little need for them to concern themselves with broad curricular issues.

The means by which the educators may wish to make an impact on the curriculum at the school level depends on what is at their disposal (resources) and what seems to work for them (experience). New knowledge or ideas emanating from this way of doing things must be seen (by the authority) to be in line with what is clearly stipulated and what is within their mandate. Hence, teachers end up constructing their own ways of knowing and doing without necessarily breaking the set rules. For instance, in schools where you find the head of the school has a way by which to monitor his/her teachers through students, these students act as the agents linking and bonding the teaching relationship among the three parties (head teacher, teacher and student). This may be more common where the head teachers are not at their workstation due to other pressing and deserving administrative duties. This is a common case within the schools in the Kenya where I headed a school. The teachers and students must always comply and tailor their own means of communicating with the authority (in this case the head teacher). Therefore, we can say that hidden curriculum is a concept that refers to those unintended but quite real outcomes and features of the schooling process.

Contrary to what happens in most schools, particularly from an East African context, the curriculum has a huge burden directed to its users—the teachers and students. Moreover, it has been reduced to denote passing of exams (school based and national exams). I therefore agree with Eisner and Vallance (1974), who argue that “curriculum should enable students to use and

appreciate the ideas and works that constitute the various intellectual and artistic disciplines” (p. 161), and it should not be a burden to the students nor the teachers.

Curriculum is a complex term and, as I stated, it could mean different things to different people thus increasing chances of confusing people who are not familiar with the field of curriculum. For example DES (1985a) states that:

A school’s curriculum consists of all those activities designed or encouraged within its organizational framework to promote the intellectual, personal, social and physical development of its pupils. It includes, not only the formal program of lessons, but also the ‘informal’ program of so-called extracurricular activities as well as all those features which produce the school’s ‘ethos’, such as the quality of relationships, the concern for equality of opportunity, the values exemplified in the way the schools set about their task and the way in which it is organized and managed. Teaching and learning styles strongly influence the curriculum and in practice they cannot be separated from it. Since pupils learn from all these things, it needs to be ensured that all are consistent in supporting the school’s intentions. (p. 11)

While I agree that this definition is well-defined, I acknowledge the fact that this interpretation remains a very broad conceptualization, it combines all the forms of curricula (formal, informal, null and the hidden) that exists in a school, making it a complex issue. However, the definition appropriately highlights whatever the schools do that touches on pupils’ learning, whether through thoughtful planning and organization, unsuspecting reinforcement, or concealed and unrealized expectations. All these attributes portray appropriate elements of the school’s entire

curriculum, (Ross, 2000).

2.1.2 The Informal Curriculum

Informal curriculum consists of the learning that is not organized or even planned, which can take place anywhere. Informal curriculum is not tested. In schools, I consistently found students ‘teaching’ other students something he/she knows how to do. In sports for example, a student demonstrates how to dribble a football past an opponent or how to draw a cartoon during their free time. Informal curriculum in my view is purely based on our experience at doing things; one does not necessarily need to be a trained teacher to teach the informal curriculum. I would say that informal curriculum is crucial for students and teachers, as it tends to compliment the formal curriculum. Informal curriculum allows students to gain survival tactics in and out of school, particularly when they engage in school clubs and organizations like the debate clubs, soccer, Red-cross (first Aid club). Learning leadership skills also happens through looking and doing.

2.1.3 The Null Curriculum

Most secondary schools in Kenya select a number of subjects that they offer to the students. This means there are subject matters that are not offered in such schools. The null curriculum, according to Eisner (2002), is what a school avoids or omits to teach (offer). Schools in Kenya follow specific government guidelines on what they are supposed to teach; however, schools have the capacity to teach what they can afford. That is, government public schools do not teach/offer Common Law as a subject, while in some elite private schools Common Law lessons (case) are well addressed at the institutional level. Another example is agriculture. While Kenya cherishes agriculture as the main economic pillar, it is not taught as a subject in primary schools and is an optional subject in secondary schools. The omission of such an important

subject in primary schools and optional in the secondary level communicates to the stakeholders a different and contradictory message. Therefore the null curriculum is quite different from the formal and informal curriculum, as it does not compliment the two curricula but gives room to question what the schools offer and why or why not.

2.1.4 The Hidden Curriculum

In addition to the formal, informal, and null forms of curricula, curriculum research and theory reveal a fourth type known as the hidden or unwritten curriculum.

Life in Classrooms is a classic ethnographic study of an elementary school, by Philip Jackson (1968). Many curriculum theorists agree that Jackson was the first to use the words “hidden curriculum.” He portrayed a unique essence to life in classroom that forms a hidden curriculum that every student must master if he/she is to make a satisfactory way through the school. He noted that the demands created by these features of classroom life might be “contrasted with the academic demands of the official curriculum to which educators traditionally have paid the attention.” (Jackson, 1968, p. 34)

Implicit/hidden curriculum, according to Eisner (2002), includes compliance and competitiveness, two factors that make this implicit curriculum more popular and important in the schools. He notes that implicit curriculum teaches about time; the overscheduling of time, he argues, teaches students what is important and what is not. Important subjects are given first priority on the timetable, while the less important ones are ignored. In this case, those subject lessons appearing in the morning and have multiple time allocation on the schedule are deemed very crucial. This notion paints a clear picture to the students of what matters in schools, and eventually they make decisions on what subjects to give more attention to and which to ignore. This situation reminds me of the times I used to chair teachers’ meeting to deliberate on the

subject allocation. I could note the mathematics and science teachers' enthusiasm and keenness to get teaching spots in the morning.

Eisner concludes on this implicit curriculum by acknowledging that punctuality, hard work and delayed gratifications are very important for a student who is keen to succeed in school. He portrays a perfect image of what the society expects of a student and from a school. In my experience as a student, any student who is not able to confine him/herself within these parameters of punctuality, hard work and delayed gratification is considered a school 'failure' by the society. I believe that these unwritten rules are hard to keep up with, but to some students, they are important for success in and out of school.

Similarly, Miriani (1999) uses the metaphor of the iceberg to describe the (written) overt and the (unwritten) covert curriculum. He argues that, what we can see and talk about everyday, things like the syllabuses, standards, subjects and timetables that make up the overt (written) curriculum are given much more attention since we all believe they are more important. Miriani (1999, p. 3) cautions that school curriculum only forms one part of the curriculum, as another side of school curriculum exists that we rarely see or even stop to think about. This part is an equally or even more important side of the iceberg—the submerged covert (unwritten) curriculum. This hidden side of the curriculum is made up of what educators, parents, students, and administrators refer to in terms of attitudes, beliefs, expectations, and motivations. I concur with Miriani (1999) that this side of the curriculum (hidden) is equally important and calls for our attention. These hidden aspects are the ones that push or direct individuals to do what they do and in the manner they do it in school and classrooms. In schools students familiarize themselves with an unwritten curriculum, which is defined by its casualness and lack of cognizant planning;

however, (in some case) they are quite familiar with it (unwritten curriculum) since it forms the foundation of substantial growth of their critical pedagogy.

The hidden curriculum exposes what teachers believe students should achieve in terms of knowledge, abilities, morals, and stances and all of these corroborated and linked to the content of the numerous lessons learners attend throughout their school years to this fact. Wear and Skillicorn (2009) state that the hidden curriculum can be both “human and structural,” (p. 4) meaning it can be conveyed through our activities (educators) and through the buildings—the general outlook of the schools. When and how lessons begin and end, after school activities convey these hidden messages to the students.

Hidden curriculum is not readily visible. Hargreaves (1982) pointed out that teachers and educators become blind to the hidden curriculum because it is not what “schooling is officially supposed to be about” (p. 7). It is silent and unconscious in nature, therefore, one needs an extra eye or a different set of lens/eyes to be able to see and recognize the hidden curriculum. This statement allows me to entertain the idea that the hidden curriculum could be hidden to some people while not to others. This scenario changes the dynamics as we ask the questions: Why, how and where is it hidden, and by whom?

Hidden curriculum is often unacknowledged by educators as having a deeper and probably a longer lasting impact on students than the three other mentioned curricula in this study, (formal, informal and null). Therefore, for educators to fully understand the other curricula they must be ready to acknowledge the existence and its function. I concur with Kentli (2009) and Miriani (1999) when they refer to hidden curriculum as that which includes or teaches about “values, beliefs, intergroup relations and celebrations” that enable students’, teachers’ and administrators’ ‘socialization’ process with one another in a school set up and in the community

(p. 3). This practice ensures a smooth and coherent survival of all members in a community as they recognize the basic fundamental rights of a human being.

On the other hand, the hidden (unwritten) curriculum is presented as to what occurs in school settings that is the resourceful and habitually unintended teaching that happens between anybody who is involved in teaching: as parents, the school staffs and the students. Scholars have further argued that the hidden curriculum is not only present in schools but also in nonteaching settings such as staffroom, offices, corridor contacts, playground, social halls and/or the uncountable other settings in which teachers and other educational staffs intermingle with students. (Drebeen 1968; Wear & Skillicorn, 2009)

Although the hidden curriculum concept is a new thing in Kenya, the literature has revealed that it can be traced back to times of the philosopher John Dewey. From a historical perspective, Hargreaves (1982) describes hidden curriculum as the “collateral learning that goes on in educational settings that may have a more of a long lasting effects on learners than the formal curriculum.”(p. 5). This is the curriculum that informs the society of the acceptable practices among the students who learn how to respect adults as a result of teachings. Students equally understand the consequences of disrespecting the elders.

Hargreaves (1982) wrote about the two curricula of schooling (the formal and hidden), while Elliot Eisner (2002) wrote about the three curricula all schools teach (explicit, implicit and null). This difference, in my view, adds to the confusion of what exactly schools ought to teach and what exactly is curriculum. Hargreaves (1982) described the work and experience of Jack Common (a British socialist, essayist and novelist) in the school and argued that the school teaches not one curriculum, as we usually think, but two. Hargreaves (1982) argues that the hidden curriculum is not intended or even planned by the teachers and therefore tends to stay

undetected.

For a long time the hidden curriculum has been outlined as messages that are not explicitly specified, and according to (Jackson, 1968; McLaren, 1994) students are anticipated to cope and learn this hidden messages. Similarly, (Martin, 1976; Gordon, 1982) claim that hidden curriculum is unintentional learning consequences and messages, which remains as such unless someone (educator) discovers something extraordinary unusual in the 'system' (school) that calls for close investigation. Influences of the hidden curriculum help the educators to identify or detect some of these hidden messages especially among the students in the schools. Further, (Snyder, 1971) argues that the hidden curriculum could easily be termed as the behaviors created by the students based on the teachers' expectations. From this perspective, it is appropriate to note that even the experts have their own points of emergent and divergent perspectives when it comes to the issues related to curricula and especially the hidden curriculum. Therefore, it is not possible to define what exactly constitutes the hidden curriculum.

Further, as articulated by Hargreaves (1982), the hidden curriculum has its own special subjects and pedagogy just like the formal curriculum. He noted that the major subjects taught by the hidden curriculum "result in boredom and the capacity to endure it,"—repeating the same routine everyday five days a week. (p. 2) Fear among the students could manifest in various ways and as educators we can only identify it through the behaviour of the student. However this fear could be as a result of many practices in the school including what we are referring to as effects of the hidden curriculum. Similarly, John Holt (An American author and educator, and pioneer in youth rights theory) noted that the subject taught by the hidden curriculum "is based on fear" (Hargreaves 1982, p. 5). For instance when the examinations happen to govern the education system, learners are afraid of failure. In a situation where an exam becomes a matter of

‘life and death’ for students’ future endeavour there exists fear; fear not to please the teachers, parents and society. These fears damage the students’ self esteem which could finally lead to school dropouts.

Many studies have documented particular school issues dealing with the hidden curriculum and how it affects the social stratification as well as preparation for the (after school) future life of students (Jackson 1968; Hargreaves 1982).

However, it seems that less attention has been given to how schools deal with the issue of hidden curriculum and in particular how it impacts on teachers as they implement adopted formal curricula specifically in refugee camps. In *Life in Classrooms*, Jackson (1968) is clear that he was the first to coin and use the term ‘hidden curriculum’ to explain his interpretations in K-12 public schools to clarify his observations and what he termed the unofficial 3R’s (rules, routines, regulations) that govern life in classrooms (p. 95). It could be argued that the basic structures of the unofficial 3 R’s (stated by Jackson) are necessary to prepare children for social, economic, and political life outside school, which I believe has long lasting effects on students. On the same note, Dreeben (1968) scrutinizes the function of hidden curriculum. According to Dreeben as cited by Yuksel (2006) “American schools reproduce four key norms for their students as part of their reproduction of democratic capitalism: independence, success, universalism, and specificity.” These outcomes of the western hidden curriculum could be seen to differ from those of the east African basing on what their respective traditional political/government operated. The European colonized East African and the lessons learnt included unity and communalism among the Africans while the westerners advocated of individualism and control. Hidden curriculum basically tries to teach how to perfect what is familiar to its learners. According to (McLaren, 1994) the hidden curriculum deals with:

tacit ways in which knowledge and behavior get constructed, outside the usual course materials and formally scheduled lessons. It is part of the bureaucratic and managerial press of the school – the combined forces by which the students are induced to comply with the dominant ideologies and social practices related to authority, behavior and morality. (p. 183)

That is why it so easy for teachers and parents to see which student is not following the expected norms of the school or the society. In most cases they would be branded as “undisciplined.” As students strive to avoid such branded titles, they fall in the trap of reinforcing the lessons taught by the hidden curriculum. Although some teachers are not aware of the presence of the hidden curriculum, they play by its rules day in day out, in and outside the classrooms. This practice includes the decisions teachers make to and for their students, whether in class or out and especially while at the school. The driving force behind such decision-making is clearly unconscious, but it feels like it is the right thing to do. Given the complexity of teachers’ work, Jackson (1968) argues, “The teacher must learn how to tolerate a high degree of uncertainty and ambiguity. He/she must be content with doing not what he/she *knows* is right but what *seems* or *feels* is the most appropriate action in a particular situation” (p. 167). In short, a teacher must play it by the ear.

I agree with Jackson when he argues that teachers face several hurdles in their line of duty, since they must accomplish what is thought to be right and what is stipulated for them by the authority (government), even when they seem not so sure of the outcomes. The trust bestowed on teachers (especially by the students) allows them to make hard choices and decisions to meet these demands while teaching. Jackson (1968) acknowledges that the

uncertainties of classroom life are not limited to the unexpected events occurring there, but also include the complicated contingencies that bear upon many, if not most of the teacher's decisions. When should a teacher call in the parent of a student who is having difficulty? The relevant consideration should include not only the student's progress or lack of it, but also some estimate of how the parent will respond to this action. How might this affect the student's perception of his teacher? How will other students react to the episode? And so on (p. 167)

One huge headache for teachers in Kenyan schools emanates from the pressure of covering the syllabus in appropriate time so that students perform well on the national examinations. The fact is that most students in Kenya may absent themselves from school due to the nature of their living conditions at home (poverty). Although this can amount to time wasted for both the teacher and the student, teachers need not lose hope in such situations. Instead they should find ways in which to adapt to such situations and utilize the available opportunities sparingly. Jackson (1968) argued that every teacher knows that the problem of feeling that time is wasted extends beyond keeping students busy and avoiding unnecessary delays. It includes convincing them that the compulsory activities are worthwhile after all, and that the things they are doing are not just "busy work." This conviction, which depends ultimately on the teacher's own faith in what he/she is doing, would probably be more time-saving, in a psychological sense, than would any number of instructional short-cuts. (Jackson 1968, p. 169)

Researchers argue that hidden curriculum in schools has been used as a concept/tool for social stratification and taken for granted knowledge (Apple, 1982b, 1990a; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Giroux, 1981a, 1983a, 1988b; Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Giroux, Penna & Pinar, 1981; Shapiro, 1981, 1983; Sharp, 1980; Shor, 1986. Apple (1975a) argues that in schools the hidden curriculum serves to reinforce the basic rules surrounding the nature of conflict and its

uses. This is because hidden curriculum is silent (unacknowledged) and normalizes the status quo. It apprehends a grid of norms that when adopted by learners, creates the confines of acceptability. These assumptions are obligatory for the students, since at no time are they “articulated or questioned” (Apple, 1975a, p.99). Mostly, what this does is to promote the dominant groups’ ideology in a particular school at time. For example in the case of the Kenyan education, it is purely dominated by Christian values while Islamic and other religious faiths are slimly represented but when you visit the refugee camp schools, the majority are Somali-Muslims and that is the religion of choice by the majority. Therefore, everything done in these schools has to be in line with their demands of the ‘majority’ assuming the presence of others minority. The common source of knowledge in the camp is dictated by the culture and religion of the majority population. (Pinar et al., 1996, p. 249)

Teachers and schools claim to be busy changing the status quo in their schools, but literature has shown that teachers and schools promote other things like inequality (Gaskell 1986). In some cases within the schools, teachers allocate school duties to students based on what the society dictates or expects depending on how the gender roles are perceived. For example, in my experience as a teacher I noted that some simple tasks in the school, such as cleaning classrooms were meant for the girls, while the (tough) hard manual tasks were directed to the boys, such as splitting firewood and ringing the bell (our school bell was not the electric one or the normal hand bell you may be more familiar with but a rim from an old tractor hanged on a tree hit by using a heavy metallic rod).

I also noted that when students were given a chance to elect their own student leaders, their choice for the president was always a male student, and the healthy docket was always a female dominated. As a teacher who believes in democracy I could not interfere with such

happenings. However, that did not mean I did not see a problem in such students' happenings. This affirms claims made by (Gaskell 1986) in relation to promotion of inequality. These are some of the impacts of the hidden curriculum especially in situations where both the students and teachers are not aware of its existence

2.1.4.1 School And The Hidden Curriculum

I grew up knowing that school is a 'special' place where teachers are the bosses and students are the servants and recipients of knowledge ... I feared school, the teachers and the many school rules that I kept breaking without knowing, which landing me in trouble and made me hate school (as a primary school student). As a student, school was that place characterized with features such as: harsh teachers, blackboards, textbooks, "cupboards" with shelves for keeping books, schedules, a flag post and an old flag hoisted every Monday and Friday, homework and examinations. It is in the school that I came to learn about the power of teachers over students, huge crowds of students, workers at the school and teachers and most importantly how to handle praises and criticism from my peers. That was my primary school life; I was trained to follow rules and never to break them.

Jackson, (1968) has a different view of school. He says it is:

A place where tests are failed and passed, where amusing things happen, where new insights are stumbled upon, and skills acquired. But it is a place in which people sit, and listen and wait, and raise their hands, and pass out paper, and stand in line and sharpen pencils. (p. 4)

This corresponds with my life as a primary school teacher in a private school—they are individually owned and receive no grant from the government; parents pay for everything while the owner keeps the profit. Learners have access to many learning resources compared to learners in government-sponsored schools. Jackson (1968) goes on to note that:

School is where we encounter both friends and foes, where imagination is unleashed and misunderstanding brought to ground. It is also a place in which yawns are stifled and initials scratched on desktops, where milk money is collected and recess lines are formed. Both aspects of school life, the celebrated and the unnoticed, are familiar to all of us, but the latter, if only because of its characteristic neglect, seems to deserve more attention than it has received to date from those who are interested in education. (p. 4)

This description of school is quite familiar with folks from the Western world, although there are several similarities with Kenyan school organization. The portrayal captures the need to elaborate the concept of the hidden curriculum and the school. “School is a place where things often happen not because students want them to, but because it is time for them to occur” (Jackson 1968, p. 12). As mentioned above students attend school five days a week (some boarding school in Kenya attend seven days while the others make it six days). The need to attend school to some students appears like a punishment. In my view this overburdens the students reducing them to some sort of ‘little machines’. In the long run what these over attendance does to the student kills their creative and critical thinking especially where they are supposed to attend school for examinations sake. Unlike other social places, attending school is not:

Voluntary as it is in many other social situations. Students are there whether they want to be or not and the work on which they are expected to concentrate on also is often not their own choosing. (He emphasizes that) the most obvious difference between the way evaluations occurs in school and the way it occurs in other social situations is that tests are given more frequently in schools than elsewhere. (Jackson 1968, p. 19)

Although schools are essentially evaluative settings: what you go to do there, but also what others think of what you ought to do there. Parents expect students to be well-behaved and excel in academic fields. The ministry of education demands that the teacher fully implement the official curriculum. Similarly, the society looks upon the school to produce responsible citizens. However, school is a place where there is a clear separation of power between the weak (students) and the powerful (teachers). It does not take long for a learner to realize this difference, and even worse to think he/she is an inferior partner in the school. Teachers 'dictate' what is to be done in school and their words are final. (Jackson, 1968)

Teachers are indeed more powerful than the students, in the sense of having greater responsibility for giving shape to classroom events, and this sharp difference is another feature of school life with which students must learn to deal with (p. 10).

Therefore, teachers are perceived to be more powerful than students especially because students lack the 'social skills' needed to define what should count as the reality of schooling, and what is perceived to be norm and conduct while addressing adults (Hargreaves, 1982).

2.1.4.2 Teachers, Students, Classrooms And The Hidden Curriculum

Teacher's actions are driven by the needs of the students and his/her own belief; therefore, the teacher must adopt ways of dealing with such issues in classrooms. A classroom can be a very busy place. Take a case where a teacher is teaching a class of eighty students. Kenyan schools are known to have large numbers of students and learners of different levels in the same class due to the fact that new refugees enter the camps every day. (UNHCR, 2011) I agree with Jackson (1968) when he said, "the teacher must know how to network the social traffic in the classroom, scheme a route as he/she moves from one student to the next and back within the shortest time possible. Teaching commonly involves talking and the teacher acts as a doorkeeper who directs the flow of the classroom conversation. When a student wishes to say something during discussion it is usually the teacher's job to recognize student's wish and to invite his/her comment. When there is more than one student wishing to enter the discussion, it is the work of the teacher to decide who speaks first and in which order" (p. 11-12). He/she is the supply sergeant in case of lab materials and equipment. The teacher is the official timekeeper, sees to it that things begin and end on time although the school has a bell or other general timer. In all these efforts the main lesson being transmitted to the learners is that of suppressing their personal desires and learning to be patient. "Regardless of whether or not they are justified, teachers make it clear that... the most important part of learning is how to survive in the classroom. More so the learning in classroom teaches students how to give up desires as well as how to wait for their fulfillments as the teacher holds the key to all these - power dynamics in classrooms" (p.15). This way of learning teaches student that success in their class work will primarily depend on how willing they are to give-in to the classroom demand as well as please the teacher. This is what John Holt as cited by (Hargreaves, 1982) calls the curriculum of fear. It

is alleged that this “curriculum allows students to acquire the complex strategic skills, which constitutes the art of pleasing the teacher and satisfying his demands. It is true that teachers are very much aware of such students and this may undermine the objectives of official curriculum”, destroy intelligence and negate the true learning (Hargreaves 1982, p. 6).

“Learn to labor and to wait” are Jackson’s (1968) words, which he claims that every student in school is taught, and students must obey. He highlighted a few unpublicized features of school life such as delay, denial, interruption, and social distraction. He further argues that each of these features is produced, in part by the crowded condition of the classroom, this is because they spend 5-6 hours a day in crowded areas (p. 17). Students’ duty in the classroom and by large in the school is to learn how to follow rules set by the adults. Moreover, Giroux (2010) observes that students must also to some extent, “learn to suffer in silence as they are expected to bear with level-headedness the continued delay, denial, and interruption of their personal wishes and desires.”(p.149)

In my view, this is what led to the criticism shortly after Jackson introduced the idea of the hidden curriculum. The literature has it that in the 1970s, the Neo-Marxist authors tried to broaden the range of the hidden curriculum, questioning the education process by evaluating relationships concerning school practices and the societal, political, and economic protocols they produced. According to their analyses, students are ‘encouraged to be obedient and compliant, and sorted into their classes, by the hidden curricula of schools, which inculcate beliefs, values, and norms that cannot be openly stated in the official curriculum’ Yukel (2006,p. 95)

2.1.4.3 Examinations And The Hidden Curriculum

Assessments and examinations have been there for a long period of time and according to Arggarwal (1997) tests can be traced back to 2205 B.C. in ancient China. The emperor Great

Shun is said to have been exposing his officers to tests of which would determine their future in the empire. Arggarwal (1997) states that in India examinations started during the 4th century when the great grammarian Panini graded his students basing on the errors they made during the recitals of texts of the scriptures. In England the first examination was presented at Cambridge and Oxford in 1170 AD. In 1940 Keyan students enrolled in Form 4 wrote the country's first national exam called the Kenya African Secondary Examinations (KASE) (Sifuna & Otiende, 1994). Following the British school system, Keyan examinations included content reflecting British colonial rule.. Today, this exam is known as the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Examination (KCSE). Others such as my school colleagues call it the “do or die examination”. It is seen as the future life determiner to many students graduating from high school. Once a student fails to attain the required pass mark grade– entry to the university (C+), he/she is condemned and labeled ‘a failure’.

As I acknowledge the importance of assessment and examinations, assessing students' skills, accomplishments, informing decisions about the curriculum and instruction as well as making projections on how prosperous a student might be in future, I agree with Nichols and Berliner (2007) as they emphasize that, there exists another side of the curriculum that is not vividly at play that leads us to ignore since we cannot see it, but it does provide some answers to our long and short term problems. Therefore, Educators will need to focus on both sides of the curriculum. The visible and the invisible sides, the visible side being the formal curriculum while the invisible remains the hidden curriculum. Using the old the metaphor of the iceberg, (Miriani, 1999) described the curriculum as an iceberg, equating the submerged part of the iceberg with the hidden curriculum and referring to the overt part of the iceberg as the formal curriculum. (Scientific research shows that the tip of the iceberg is always small). In this particular case what

we see as formal curriculum can be referred to as the iceberg tip and hidden curriculum the part below the surface of the water, which remains the bigger part of the iceberg. Therefore, attending to the hidden curriculum part would save educators the hustle and negate or contain the possible negative outcome of the hidden curriculum.

Assessments and examinations contain a form of hidden curriculum. In Kenya, there are subjects that are not examined yet they are well scheduled in the schools' master timetables; Physical Education (PE), Pastoral Program and Instruction (PPI), Creative Arts and Life Skills. This sends a very strong signal to teachers and students that these subjects are not so important. Although teachers are trained on the basics of these subjects there are no teachers specifically posted in the schools to teach these subjects, mostly that time is used for teaching other 'important' subjects or if that is not the case the class teacher remains responsible for whatever goes on at those particular times. For a long time before and after independence teaching Kiswahili as a subject was faced with such treatment until a commission was set up that gave the language the status it enjoys today as a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools, and as the national and second official language in Kenya. This is evident from the Ominde Commission where at independence it recommended that Kiswahili be a compulsory subject in the primary school (Shiundu and Omulando, 1992). The same sentiments were shared by Freeman, Holmer and Tangney (2001) as they noted that the requirement for schools to be seen excelling in student attainments and the clarity of the relationship between teaching, learning and student outcome has generated for some teachers a feeling that if subject is not to be assessed then it need not to be taught. In Zimbabwe, "Some teachers negotiate with teachers of non-examined subjects to use their time to teach examined subjects thereby conveying the message that the non-examinable subjects are not important" (Hedwick et al., 2013, p. 73). In Zimbabwe

like in Kenya, passing the examination is a gateway to many opportunities in one's life, (Hedwick et al., 2013). Similarly the Kenyan students and parents see the whole purpose of schooling as primarily passing national examinations (has been trivialized and reduced to exams education, in Zimbabwe and Kenya seems synonymous with passing in examination). "With this rather distorted view of the purpose of examinations, a student is put under great psychological pressure to excel in the examination thereby compelling some to use unapproved ways of passing the exams" (Hedwick et al., 2013, p. 68). I share the same sentiments with the Zimbabweans, as this is how the hidden curriculum comes to play. From my teaching experience, students and teachers, following their beliefs, motivations, commitments, expectations as well as attitudes, do what they do since they think they can explain how and why they do what they do (as long as they succeed). This becomes the guiding factor to the teachers and student in reducing the whole system to one lesser but 'big' factor of passing examinations. Literature has further revealed that these examinations create pressure on everyone involved and especially on students and teachers. This makes some teachers teach various skills and knowledge first while others are taught last as they cover the syllabus, instead of integrating or following the proposed government guide (Boit et al., 2012). A teacher who has taught for many years tends to know or predict what is likely to be examined hence his belief informs him/her of how and what to teach in his classroom, irrespective of the stipulated guidelines. They tend to follow a certain path of success in doing what they have found to work well for them; always trying to perfect their own way of doing things. This has serious negative consequences as it denies the learners a creative interaction, integration and relatedness of these topics, which are supposed to be taught and learned jointly (Boit et al., 2012). As a primary school student I remember our science teacher – well groomed experienced old gentleman having taught for many years. He never brought any book or

reference material with him to class - he taught us what he knew. Those who heeded to his teaching surprisingly never failed in his science subject examination.

Currently, we live in a world where no one is sure that they are safe from all sorts of calamities be it man-made or even natural. I agree with those who suggest that all subjects taught in schools should provide proper life skills. However, Eisner (2002) noted that these are the subjects included in the null curriculum, and are NOT taught. Take a case of subjects that would educate students on how to develop critical and creative thinking, disaster preparedness and management, mutual respect for life, and most important problem solving skills. These topics are evaded in schools and mostly treated as common sense knowledge. I concur with those scholars who faulted the policy view of 2008 in Kenya that over emphasized examinations, the policy has since made it extremely hard for training programs that are practical oriented. According to (Boit et al., 2012), this practice has led to teachers teaching content that is predicted to be examined while this same content is evidently repeated in the main exams year in year out, hence encouraging rote memorization and killing critical and creative thinking. Such practices not only affect the implementation of the formal curriculum but also undermine the positive outcome of hidden curriculum while promoting negative effects of the hidden curriculum.

2.2 School Education System In Kenya

The Ministry of Education (MoE) is responsible for setting up the curriculum to be taught in the educational institutions through the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD). The current Kenyan national education system is a 3-tier system designed on an 8-4-4 standard with eight years of primary education, four years of secondary education and a four-year undergraduate program. This model replaced the 7-4-2-3 system in 1985, seven years basic education, four years in secondary (A level) two years post secondary (O level) and three years

in the campus (Clark, 2015).

Formal basic schooling begins at the age of six, with compulsory and free primary education running through to the age of fourteen. A child generally enters grade one of primary school at age six and is expected to exit grade eight of primary school at age thirteen (Muyaka et al., 2013, p. 6). Depending on performance in his/her final primary national exam Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), the student progresses to the secondary school cycle, technical schools or trade schools from the primary school. Secondary schooling in government sponsored is to an extent 'free' but not compulsory. Most secondary schools in Kenya especially from the district (a school within a given district that admits students from that particular area who do not qualify to join the provincial level school) to the national (national secondary school is the top most institution as far as secondary school learning is concerned in Kenya, students who attain the highest grades – 400 to the possible 500 marks in KCPE examination are admitted there. National school are few in number) level are boarding, therefore, the freeness comes in when the government pays part of the students' tuition fee while other students get constituency development fund in form of bursaries (Clark, 2015).

2.2.1 Primary School Education

Primary education, also known as the basic education has been free to all school going students since 2003 and is compulsory. It is structured on a cycle that is divided into 3 levels: lower (Standards 1-3), middle (Standards 4 & 5) and upper primary (Standards 6-8). At the end of the primary level, students take the national examination KCPE, which is supervised by the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC) under the Ministry of Education. The KCPE examination results are mainly used to rank and stream students into secondary and technical schools (commonly known by Kenya polytechnics). Students who perform well gain admission

into national (best) secondary schools, while those with average scores attend provincial (better) schools (Boit et al., 2012). The possible highest marks a student can achieve in KCPE is 500 marks – no child in Kenya ever attained that. They sit for 5 exams and each exam has a total mark of 100.

The curriculum is similar across the country and includes: English, Kiswahili (national and the second official language in Kenya), Mathematics, science, social studies, religious education, creative arts, physical education, and life skills. As of today only five subjects are examinable: Kiswahili, English, mathematics, integrated science, and social studies, but when I was at this level we had subjects like home science, agriculture, geography history and civics (social studies), Art/craft and music and all of them were examinable (Clark, 2015).

2.2.2. Secondary School Education

The secondary school tier lasts for four years and is organized into, two-year stages: (forms 1 & 2) where students are allowed learn all subjects offered in that school. However, students are expected to make a subject selection at the end of form 2. Although in many cases this does not happen, students should choose subjects with help of their parents and teachers. Primarily, most students select subjects in which they perform best.

At the end of the fourth year, students take examinations administered by the KNEC, which leads to the award of the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE). The examination is also used for admissions into universities and other training institutions of higher education in the technical and vocational stream (Shiundu and Omulando, 1992). Possessors of the KCPE who do not join in secondary schools can register to join youth polytechnics, which prepare students for Government Trade Tests, levels 1–3. It is a however saddening to note, “less than 50 percent of primary school students continue on to secondary school” (Clark, 2015, p. 4).

2.2.2.1 Types Of Secondary Schools In Kenya

Unlike primary schools, secondary schools in Kenya are categorized into three main categories: public, private and 'harambee'. Students with the best scores on the KCPE attend national (best, - few government sponsored schools that admit students from all over the country) public schools, while lower scoring students tend to attend provincial (better, - government sponsored schools that admit students from all over the province) and district (good- government sponsored schools that admit students from all over the district) level schools. 'Harambee' schools are run by local communities and do not receive full funding from the government. These schools tend to be less selective than public schools when it comes to student admission (Sifuna and Otiende, 1994).

On the other hand (Clark, 2015) claims that many private schools have religious affiliations (following the roots of the many missionary agents sent to African during the era before colonization) and typically offer British (Kenya's colonists) or less frequently American curricula and qualifications. It is a common assumption among the Kenyans that private schools are for the elite class in the society. Individuals or group of investors mostly owns private school both in primary and secondary. Parents finance the studies and other learning activities for their children in private schools. However, following the law all schools should offer the Kenyan curriculum. There are few non-formal education centers, which offer basic education for children who are unable to access formal education, especially in underprivileged inner city and pastoral drought stricken areas. (Clark, 2015)

Repeating the final school year very is common and accepted by students who do not pass examinations, more so those who wish not to repeat pursue technical and vocational education, either at four year technical secondary schools or three to five year trade schools.

Since 2010, (Clark, 2015) notes that a new development occurred as graduates of technical secondary schools turn out to be eligible for university entry.

2.2.2.2 Subjects Offered In Kenyan Secondary Schools

It is important to note that Kenyan secondary school education has thirty subjects that are currently offered; a top up of what is offered in the primary school level. The subjects are further clustered into six learning areas: (MoE, 2010)

- ✓ Sciences (mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology)
- ✓ Languages (English, Kiswahili, Arabic, German, French)
- ✓ Applied Sciences (home science, agriculture, computer studies)
- ✓ Humanities (history, geography, religious education, life skills, business studies)
- ✓ Technical Subjects (drawing and design, building construction, power and mechanics, metal work, aviation, woodwork, electronics)
- ✓ Creative Arts (music, art and design)

All the six groups of learning areas are mostly found in the national (admits students from all parts of the country) and provincial (admits students from a given province within the country) school as the other categories of schools lacks capacity to fund all the six learning areas, nevertheless, law requires all schools to provide the basic and mandatory subject areas.

In forms 1 & 2, which are the first two years of secondary education, students take as many as 13 subjects. This is eventually narrowed (through subject selection) down to eight subjects in the last two years, (form 3 & 4) with three main and obligatory subjects taken by all students: Mathematics, English, and Kiswahili. According to the ministry of education directive

(MoE, 2010), it is mandatory for students to take two science subjects, one humanities subject, either one applied science or one technical subject chosen from the group of subjects highlighted herein. Subjects are offered depending on what an individual school receives from government grants and parents contributions therefore, dictates what they can offer in terms of learning resources, how many teachers they can afford to hire in respect to their teaching subject specialization (Clark, 2015).

All the six learning areas are tested in the KCSE school examination according to what an individual school offers. However, It is good to note that the three core subjects (mathematics, English, and Kiswahili) are compulsory and the final grade on the KCSE is an average of the scores achieved in the best seven subject examinations. Where a candidate sits for more than seven subjects, the average grade is based on the best seven scores. “A final grade of C+ is required for university entry, although higher scores are required for some public universities. Admission to programs leading to certificates and diplomas at polytechnics requires a D+ or C- average, respectively”(Clark, 2015, p. 5).

2.3 Education For Refugees In Dadaab

According to the UNHCR report (2015), “only 50 per cent of refugee children attend primary school”(p. 8). These poses a very great interest to me having in mind what I had mentioned in here about the funding of the education in the refugee camps. I believe the refugee camp schools are unique especially because they implement a curriculum that is adopted from the host country. Although I noted that the hidden curriculum is a relatively new in Kenya, I want to understand how refugee camp schools navigate through these practices as I hope the results could be used to enlighten other parts of Kenya as far as the hidden curriculum issues are concerned.

The Government of Kenya and UNHCR hosts Somali and other refugees who were displaced by the civil war in Somalia and established the Dadaab refugee camp in 1991. The camp hosts other nationalities from Rwanda, Ethiopia, Uganda and Congo although they constitute less than 2% of the camp population (UNHCR, 1997).

It is said that between 1991 and 1994, the Somali refugees led by the elders, structured schooling in the camps by themselves that kept on the Somali curriculum. According to UNESCO (2011), it is a normal practice for refugees to use a curriculum related to that of their home country or sometimes that of the country of refuge. Further information has it that in 1994 to 1998, there occurred a transition when UNHCR and the government of Kenya started to provide the Kenyan curriculum that was delivered with the assistance of implementing partners in the camp schools (UNHCR, 2011). This move was well received by the residents of the camps who were present in Kenya at that time. The elders must have welcomed this since it gave their children a chance to obtain an international accepted primary and secondary education certificate. Since 1998, refugee children in the camps have been sitting for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) and the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examinations in the Daadaab camps (UNHCR, 2011).

Although it is the mandate of two key organizations to implement the education programs in the camp schools Windle Trust Kenya (WTK), which oversees secondary education, and Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE, Kenya) that oversee primary education in the Dadaab refugee camps, there are other implementing partners in the camps that assist.

2.4 Education In Emergency

If you want peace and justice, if you want jobs and prosperity, and if you want a people to be fair and tolerant towards one another, there is just one place to start — and that place is school (UNESCO 2011).

Education has been declared a human right in conventions around the globe, and especially in the promotion of Education For All; and Article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is the most widely adopted piece of international law to date (Mackinnon 2014, p. 4). However, education in emergencies is not given a priority in the budgetary allocation. The argument behind it is that the refugees would return to their home country or if lucky get resettled in a third country. Therefore the idea of temporality overshadows this one crucial right. Education in emergencies is seen as a privilege by the host (refugees) of the camps.

“Education in emergencies whether protracted or rapid onset not only provides a safe environment for children to learn, but also represents hope and the possibility of a better life for future generations” (MacKinnon, 2014. p. 4). From my experience as a head teacher from a charity-run day and boarding school, I understand that school as a place to live means everything to the less fortunate people especially if the services being provided are free. In ‘my’ school I witnessed students who spent their entire time in the school, even when they had places to go during the school holidays. They felt more safe and secure while at school even when other students left for home. These students spent most their free time doing some revision for the national examination. Today as I write here, these students have made the school their official homes. So I can only imagine and compare the students from the refugee camp school and those from a charity run school to be sharing some common aspect of striving for a better tomorrow. Moreover, education improves one’s capacity to mitigate conflict without resorting to violence,

and providing education in emergencies is a critical contribution to protection, human rights, and post conflict reconstruction (Academy for Educational Development, 2003). Hopelessness kills that desire to dream for a better day to come, a hopeless person under pressure would result to participating in inhuman activities of terror. Therefore, educating a generation especially a vulnerable one is restoring peace and unity not only in our countries but the entire globe. Educated persons are able to reason rationally and have the capability to scrutinize situations critically.

“Unfortunately, financing for education is rarely a priority during humanitarian emergency responses, and is often considered a development activity, which does not merit donor funding” (MacKinnon, 2014. p. 5). As I had mentioned earlier, education funding in the refugee camp schools is limited but the reality is that education has been declared internationally as a human right. This unfortunate situation does not only affect the students in the refugee camp schools but also teachers teaching in those schools. This leads to other unwanted outcomes in the camps, for example, the disparity nature of how teachers are paid salaries in the camps leaves a lot to be desired, it is oppressive and as MacKinnon (2014) notes, many teachers lack the motivation necessary to provide quality education, and all of the schools in the refugee camp face ongoing concerns with teachers not coming into work or not being able to conduct classes appropriately due to a lack of capacity, training or personal education. “On average, Umbima, Koelbel and Hassan (2010) cited by (MacKinnon, 2014) noted that a Kenyan national teacher will earn a salary of about “US\$1,000 per month, while (incentive teachers) the refugee teachers whether trained or not, earn on average US\$100 monthly” (p. 7). This clearly paints a picture of what is a considered priority and privilege. A refugee teacher cannot consider themselves equal despite the fact that they have similar training and works in the same environment, to me this

resonates well with the sentiments shared by the late veteran writer Paulo Freire in his 1968 book the *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Although his experience in Brazil was at different time I do not see difference in oppression in this particular case in Dadaab. I want to state that these underfunding of education in the refugee camp schools contributes to the poor quality of learning hence undermining the millennium goals of educations that promoted quality education for all.

The Government of Kenya's Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) has made the Kenyan curriculum mandatory in all schools, and it is widely known that since the year 2015 the Kenyan government has stated clear its intentions to close down the Dadaab complex. The students in these refugee camp schools have been taught everything from a Kenyan perspective and they barely know 'nothing' about Somalia. However, UNHCR is accountable for general camp schools administration. As it is in charge of protecting the basic right to education for all "Due to the requirement to follow the Kenyan curriculum (which focuses on Kenyan history), I think many refugees feel that this education is not relevant to their lives (especially if they repatriate) and does not reflect their immediate needs as returnees" (MacKinnon, 2014 p. 7) This is unfortunate especially to the students who have spent their entire life studying in the camp schools, well equipped with Kenyan knowledge but likely to use that knowledge in a foreign context (Somalia). Although I believe Kenyans will never build Somalia but Somalians, the students from the camp schools should get some formal education based on Somalia for easy transitioning if they ever repatriate.

Umbima, Koelbel and Hassan (2010), noted that MoEST recommends a harmonized teacher-pupil ratio of (1:45), the number of children per class (45) and the necessary minimum physical amenities, such as classrooms and desks for all levels of schooling. It is not clear what is the ratio of teachers and students in the camp schools but I must say the ratio is overwhelming.

Due the disparity we have seen in the budget allocation for education and the larger number of students enrolled in the camp schools. (As shown on that news broadcast in 2014)

2.5 Theoretical Perspective

This study is informed by the social constructivist theory (Vygotsky 1978; Creswell, 2009; Berger and Luckmann 1991). Creswell (2009) defines a social constructivist as an individual who develops subjective meaning of his/her experiences. These experiences are those encountered in the world they live in (including refugee camps). Therefore, these meanings could be directed towards those places (camps) or objects in the individuals' world and in these case individuals could hold multiple meanings in reference to certain things or objects, giving a variety of truths, in other words there is no single notion of truth. On the same point (Crotty, 1998), noted three principles that guide the social constructivist theory.

One, 'human beings create meanings as they mingle with the world they are interpreting. Two, humans engage with their work and make logic of it based on their historic and social perceptions. And three, the basic creation of sense is always societal, founded through collaboration within a human society'. Refugee camps are social places inhabited by people, the school in which they attend talks more about them (part of the society) and the actions they take on daily basis in and out of school is purely informed by what they find right to/for them (constructed meanings). In this light I totally agree with Crotty, (1998) and Creswell (2009) and thus their social constructivist theory approach forms the basis of my study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

I recruited teachers from secondary and primary schools as well as students from secondary schools. Therefore, the selected teachers and student from these schools were my participants. Through semi structured interviews and limited observations of both classroom environment and school routines, taking photographs of the schools' structure and environ I was able to explore how the hidden curricula guides teachers in a Kenyan refugee camp school context and more so how they interpret, implement and assess students in an adopted formal curriculum.

The study was guided by the following question:

What are the hidden (unwritten) curricula revealed in how the teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools interpret and implement formal (written) curriculum?

In order to tackle expansively the above question, an interpretive case study research design was deemed suitable. The research context and participants of the study are then described. Data sources and data analysis procedures are explained in detail to prepare the reader for the following chapter in which findings are reported.

3.1 Case Study Design

3.1.1 Methodology, Methods, And Procedures

To investigate the nature of the hidden curriculum in the context of refugee education, I used an interpretive case study approach (Stake, 1995, Merriam, 1998 and Yin, 2006). A case study approach stands appropriate as the context being investigated is unique and findings will be specific to the refugee camp context although possibilities exist to apply this to other similar contexts. I used largely interview complimented by photograph taking and observation methods.

Interviews offer a way of gathering data on and about things that the investigator cannot openly detect (Patton, 1990).

I gathered detailed information from select teachers, students, and head teachers in a refugee camp (Ifo, Hagadera, and Daghaley) in East Africa whose schools implement an adopted Kenyan formal curriculum. The choice of case study research design was inspired by the fact that it has a level of “flexibility that is not readily offered by other qualitative approaches” (Hyett, et al., 2014). I was in highly protected areas meant for refugee and being an outsider researcher I needed a research design that could accommodate any changes I could make in accordance to my safety and that of my participants.

To examine the hidden curricula in refugee camp schools, I used a case study where I treated each school as unit of analysis contributing to the broader case. Case study research (Stake, 1995) acknowledges is a research and analysis of a particular or combined cases, proposed to capture the diverse nature of the object in the study. Stake (1995) described qualitative case study research, as “a palette of methods” because case study draws together “naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, and biographic research methods” in a bricolage design, (pp. xi_ xii). Similarly Merriam, (2009) claims that case study methodology maintains deep connections to core values and intentions and is “particularistic, descriptive and heuristic” (p. 46). It is investigative in nature and suitable to novice researchers. This fact helped me to conduct my study smoothly with students and teachers in their schools as they felt comfortable being interviewed there. The schools also seemed familiar to me because I once taught in similar structured environments in Kenya.

As a study design, researcher and authors argue that, case study is defined by ‘interest in individual cases rather than the methods of inquiry used.’ The selection of procedures is

informed by the investigator and context's understanding and makes use of locally available sources of knowledge, such as the occupants of a place or observations of connections that occur in the real space (Stake, 1998). Further more, Thomas (2011) claimed that “analytical eclecticism” is a defining factor (p. 512). In the sense that, numerous data collection and scrutiny procedures are adopted to further improve and comprehend the case, shaped by context and emergent data (Stake, 1995). According to (Creswell, 2013b) qualitative method, “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and reports a case description and case themes”(p. 97).

Literature has revealed that, as a study approach case studies are used in a range of contexts and disciplines, for example, in administrations - presentation and information (business organizations); in small societies, families, homes (psychology and communal work); in nations, states or provinces (political science) (Davies, 2007; Mouton, 2001). Merriam, (2009) and Pickard, (2013) elaborate that, the purpose of case studies is to offer a thorough, an all-inclusive account and investigation of a specific, restricted component positioned in a certain setting to provide understanding into real-life circumstances.

The case study method is a common research method that mostly engages the related fields of study since procedures, difficulties/challenges, and programs in real life can be studied to create understanding that can increase our practice. Therefore, using a case study approach in investigation has some strengths comprising the capability to use a multiple of research methods (Davies, 2007), allows the ability to create link with research subjects (Mouton, 2001) on the same note it facilitates to achieve adequately diverse explanation that can be conveyed to related circumstances and, eventually to gaining desirable in-depth insight (Merriam, 2009).

3.2 Research Context And Participants

3.2.1 Research Context

Kenya an East African country, neighbors South Sudan (NW), Uganda (W), Tanzania (SE), Ethiopia (N), and Somalia to the (NE). Kenya has also been affected by the brutal violence and wars in the region. As a country, Kenya houses one of the largest refugee camps in the world. According to a report by the UNHCR (2016) Dadaab houses 275,467 refugees. Located in the northern part of Kenya stands Dadaab refugee camps (some people call it Dadaab complex). The camp was established in the 1990s when the Somali government led by a dictator Said Bare was overthrown (Mackinnon, 2014).

Dadaab refugee camps are near the Kenya – Somali border. These camps were established in 1991 and temporarily (as the case with all refugee camps none of them is meant to be permanent) opened in 1992 by the government of Kenya (GoK). Kenya as member country of international community was compelled to house the refugees from the war torn Somalia. It is also embedded in the African culture that we welcome our neighbors and visitors especially those who need our help (MacKinnon, 2014). However, at the time of my research a dark cloud of repatriation was hovering around leaving the camp residents with many questions than answers. On my way to the field, I saw a large group of ‘needy’ people in an enclosed area – I later came to know that enclosed area was a transit center. This was after observing that a jet with a huge United Nations label making several trips daily from the area, (a local driver who was also involved in the exercise informed me about the transit center). Transit center in the refugee camp is an area where ‘willing’ refugees are housed waiting to be taken out of the camp on voluntary basis. For the fear of being arrested by the security officers in the camps, the camp residents are forced and confined in these transit areas.

According to UNHCR (2011d) Dadaab originally consisted of three camps - Dagahaley, Hagadera and Ifo - but has since been extended to incorporate the Ifo 2 and Kambios. Further, as reports indicate I also noted that these camps include mostly Somalis, who are the majority of the population in the camps and a minority of the population comprising of the Ugandans, Sudanese, Ethiopians and Eritreans. A better description of Dadaab is captured by (MacKinnon, 2014) She claims that, “if Dadaab were a city, it would be the third largest in Kenya” (MacKinnon, 2014 p. 3). The population and the nature of how they have set up the camps is more similar to a ‘dummy’ of a western country city.

The environment that is dry and sparse characterizes the North Eastern Province of Kenya. Hot and windy days create sandstorms and outdoors classes are cancelled during the annual rains, (teachers as well as students attested to this). I agreed with the camps residents that such environmental conditions are not conducive for quality learning. As stated earlier on, the Kenyan system of education follows an 8 - 4 - 4 cycle, i.e., 8 years of elementary (primary), 4 years of secondary and 4 years of minimum university education. My study was limited to the first two cycles, elementary and secondary.

The Dadaab camp, Kenya, is involved with the Borderless Higher Education for Refugees (BHER) project, a result of partnership between University of British Columbia (UBC) Faculty of Education, York University and two Kenyan institutions Kenyatta and Moi universities. I want to reiterate that the population of this camp involves more than half a million refugees escaping violence and other natural calamities in neighboring Somalia and other African countries. I felt compelled to carry my research in this unfamiliar place to me, because I hope my findings will be useful in shaping the focus on improving the education and lives of young refugees across the globe. Despite the fact that there is no evidence I found that such study

has been carried in Kenya I hope my study will act as the stepping-stone toward such important studies.

Dadaab, according to UNHCR (2009b) constitutes a protracted refugee condition in emergency defined as one in which refugees have been in “exile for five years or more after their initial displacement, without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solutions” (Loescher, 2011 p. 3). From my visit and interaction with the refugees it was clear that majority had lost hope of ever returning to Somali citing the fact that they had been in the camps long enough. I agree with Mackinnon, (2014) that in Dadaab, “third generations are being born inside the camps, and they will likely never return” (p.2). I met student-parents attending normal classes with other young students. However, I am keen to note that education being provided in the refugee camp schools will go a long way to help the students become future leaders of Somali.

3.2.2 Transition From Primary School To Secondary School In Kenya

A wide range of subjects is recommended in the primary and secondary school curricula. After each of the two cycles, students take National examinations. At the end of primary education (Year 8) students take the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) examination. Similarly, at the end of secondary education (Year 12) students take the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examination. Student performances in these examinations determine the kind of high school to which primary students are admitted, and in the case of secondary students the kind of University and other programs for which they are eligible. Secondary and university places are very limited and are highly competitive. It is quite common practice for students to repeat these examinations with the hope of getting higher grades

to secure admission into either secondary school or university. For refugee students in Dadaab, these opportunities are rare.

From a Kenyan perspective, success in any educative process (for example, in schools) is measured through examination (Akrofi, et al, 2007; Boit et al., 2012). A teacher correlates teacher quality with student achievement as indicated by high scores on exams. This perception puts a lot of pressure on teachers as their performance is measured in terms how many of their primary school students are admitted in top high schools and consequently universities for high school students. This was well articulated by Boit et al., (2012) “Unfortunately, teachers’ performance is measured by students’ scores in examinations which influences their approach to teaching.” (p. 180). This is as argued by Sanders and Rivers (1996) where they conclude that teaching “quality is more highly correlated with students achievements than other variables such as students’ socioeconomic status or the racial composition of the school.”(p.6)

3.2.3 Participants

For confidentiality the names used in this study are not the real names of the participant who took part in it. Acronyms and numbers that will represent my participants in this case study are as follows:

(IPST) – incentive primary school teacher,

(ISST) – incentive secondary school teacher,

(PST) – primary school teacher

(HM) - headmaster,

(SST) – secondary school teacher, and

(S) – Student

Musa (SST1), Maria (SST2), Bond (SST3), Justin (HM1), Lucy (SST4), Galgalo (IPST1), Guyo (IPST2), Hassan (IPST3) Isak (IPST4), Harake (ISST5), Farah (HM2), Halima (S1), Mwanaisha (S2), Lulu (S3), Ibrahim (S4), Katana (S5), Adhinan (S6), Grace (S7), Abdikadir (S8), Moha (S9), and Twahil (S10).

Dadaab refugee camp has 7 secondary and 35 primary schools. (District Education Officer, Dadaab) I recruited 11 teachers and 10 students (between Grade 9-12) from three schools within the Dadaab refugee complex and from the oldest refugee camps: Hagadera, Dagahaley and Ifo 1. (Other camps are Kambios and Ifo 2). The three camp schools have been in existence for a long time and therefore I expected that they could provide deeper insights into the kinds of motivations behind the way they interpret and implement curriculum and assess students. More so, use of several cases may provide more compelling and robust evidence (Yin, 2002) and may ensure external validity (Merriam, 1998). One primary school and one secondary school from each of the camps (6 schools in total) were selected and I requested and obtained permission to recruit one grade 8 and one grade 4 teacher from each selected primary school; one grade 9 and one grade 12 teacher from each selected secondary school to participate in my study. However, one teacher did not make it to the interview. A total of 10 students were similarly recruited. In consultation with the NGO in charge of education in the refugee camps, I interviewed one school head to provide insights from an administrator's perspective. In total, I involved 21 participants. In interpretive case study research the number of participants is usually relatively small (Holloway, 1997). Yin (2009) strongly recommends that beginner investigators begin, "with a simple and straightforward case study" (p. 162) this is reduces the amount of pressure on the novice researcher as they deal with the multifaceted ways of organizing and analyzing the huge volumes of data. Moreover, (Yin, 2009) reminds us that the evidence from

numerous cases is “often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust”, (p. 53) and this is what (Levy & Powell, 2005) insists that it provides a binding foundation for our understanding. On the same note, according to (Eisenhardt, 1989; Crabtree and Miller, 1992; Curran and Blackburn (2001) there is no ideal number of cases.

Not everyone (students and teachers) who voluntarily participated in my study was from the Somali community; in this case 5 teachers were of Kenyan descent and the other 6 were from the refugee community. My initial plan was to recruit 26 participants. Among the 11 teachers 2 of them were female with Kenyan nationality. I recruited 10 secondary school students; 5 girls and 5 boys (1 Form 1, 2 Form 2s, 3 Form 3s, and 4 Form 4s). Nevertheless, these categories of teachers and students from the targeted population were capable of giving information in response to the research question. The schools seemed to have no obvious connection despite the fact that they are all in the same locality within the camps but the dispersed nature of the camps and schools within confirmed this observation.

Upon landing in the area (Dadaab) the process of participants’ recruitment started with official acknowledgment approval from the district education officer (DEO; the individual who oversees all education matters in the larger Dadaab district, he is an officer of the Kenyan government. The Kenyan government partners with the UNHCR to provide education in the camp schools through the ministry of education. After obtaining official acknowledgment ‘permission’ from the DEO’s office to access both primary and secondary schools within the district, I then proceeded to the NGO that deals with the education management in the refugee camps (Windle Trust and Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe (CARE) who gave permission to access the primary and secondary schools within the camps, through the research project – Learning Living and teaching in Dadaab refugee camp, (LLTD) based at the University

of British Columbia (UBC) Vancouver, Canada. I did not only get permission to access the schools but also obtained and followed a detailed procedure of how to carry out the research. The officer in charge at the NGO contacted all the head teachers in both levels alerting them of my presence. (All school head teachers were informed after highlighting my intentions to visit particular schools.) On the first day we discussed a schedule for my entire research period, which was shared with the head teachers, security agents and drivers on my behalf. The rationale for notifying all the teachers of my presence and intentions was based on security and other camp protocols issues. Consent from schools teachers and students were obtained shortly before I hoped to begin the interviews.

The head teacher or the deputy head teacher selected the teachers from the schools and in one case a senior teacher took charge. The class teachers picked students with permission from the head teacher. I explained the details of research to the teachers and students before all interviews commenced. I did not have difficulties obtaining consents from the teachers or the students and they were used to people like me (researcher) coming from outside because of their being in refugee camp schools. However, it was not going to be without challenges and tough moments as one incentive teacher declined to be audio recorded in the interview; he said he had been into so many interviews and none of them did anything beneficial to him as a person.

It is important to note here that our schedule (NGO officer, designated driver “my driver” and I) that we had outlined for everyday was often not followed at all; for instance, I had nine days to carry out the research. I had a plan of visiting three camps; Daghaley, Ifo and Hagadera. I, therefore, allocated each camp three days of school visit as well as meet the teachers (participants) for interviews. On the first 3 days of my research I was to go to Daghaley camp

schools, Second 3 days were dedicated to Ifo camp schools and finally I would spend 3 days at Hagadera camp schools.

On the morning of my first day at the camp the driver picked me up and informed me there were “slight changes in the schedule and they had affected my time and places of visit”. I was to be in the schools each morning by 8.00 AM but by the time he picked me up, he had already delivered another group of researchers to the hospital- hence he was late. This meant that I could not visit the Daghaley camp schools as I had earlier planned because the security escort to Daghaley camp had already departed. (Teachers later informed me that once in the refugee camp area, a person cannot move freely as they would wish for the fear of security issues.. This was an executive order from the United Nations 2015 after a teacher was abducted by the militia group but rescued by the Kenya defense forces in the area). Luckily, I was able to visit schools within Ifo and Hagadera camps and the visits to Daghaley camp schools were cancelled. Most importantly, the NGO officer arranged for me to interview some teachers from schools within Daghaley camps who had come to attend their diploma courses at the university (Dadaab campus a Kenyatta University branch, where BHER project is housed). I want to note here that, my studentness gained me that required trust from them to a point of sacrificing their special time (prayer time) to share that information. I was keen to introduce myself as a graduate student rather than a former head teacher. This seemed to work well for me as many students perceived me as one of them and the fact that I mentioned of other students I knew who were former Dadaab students now in a Canadian university was also an asset.

I worked on a very tight and unpredictable schedule. On one occasion the driver was sent to pick me up from the school where I had just obtained consent from a primary school head teacher to interview him. The interview lasted four minutes and we were both disappointed; he

so eager to share his experience and me so keen to learn of his experience. It was hard to meet with head teachers because of their busy programs pertaining teaching and other administrative duties. Most of the time I was dropped off at the schools late and picked earlier than I expected. I had 3 hours per day to conduct my interviews. Getting to the head of schools' office to explain my intentions as well as obtaining consents took more time than expected and this affected time available for extra observation. In spite of these limits, obtaining data from the teachers and students did ensure the accessibility of information from a variety of sources for triangulation purpose, therefore, enhancing the credibility of the study (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 1998; Yin 2003). Nevertheless, data were obtained from the students where they shared their school life experience in the refugee camps. Exam preparations and life of students in general revealed how teachers were interpreting and implementing an adopted formal curriculum. Both the students and teachers provided first-hand information with regard to the experience of hidden curriculum in interpreting and implementing an adopted formal curriculum along with assessing students achievement allowed me to corroborate the existence of a chain of evidence.

3.3 Participants Background

3.3.1 Teachers

A total of 11 teachers participated in the interview: 5 Kenyans and 6 refugee teachers. The teachers who participated in the study included 2 females and 3 males from Kenya; (commonly referred to as from 'down Kenya' by the camp residents) all were teachers in secondary schools teaching languages, mathematics and religion. They were non-Muslims and were comfortable with the '*down Kenya labeling*' (Geographically if you place the map of Kenya on the wall, you will find that Dadaab is to the northern part of Kenya and Nairobi the

capital is seen to be below Dadaab and I think this is where the residents of Dadaab take it literally to refer to people from Nairobi and other environs as from down Kenya). The other 6 teachers were refugee teachers who were “Incentives”, that is untrained teachers who are fresh graduates from high school (form 4 equivalent of grade 12 in Canada) with good grades and waiting to join higher education within or outside the camp or “Incentives Trained” teachers who have completed and qualified from formal teacher training in the Kenyan teacher training colleges.

3.3.2 Students

A total of 10 secondary students volunteered to participate in the interviews. Student participants who took part in this study were of Somali descent with an exception of one girl who originally came from Ethiopia. They were 5 girls and 5 boys from all grades in high school. Their teachers picked them from their classes. The teachers went to classes that had no examinations (students were sitting for their opener exams –beginning of term 3) going on and asked willing students to volunteer in my study. The student participants were coincidentally school leaders and good performers. I think the teachers needed or were keen to expose them for their commendable oral and leadership skills. Some of them thought I was a journalist and that I would publish their ideas in a famous newspaper. Because I had my camera hanging on my neck alongside my Windle trust visitor’s identification badge and on the left shoulder dangled my black leather bag) Before the start of the interviews I had to explain to them who I was and what I intended to do with them and how I was going to use the information they would share. This helped to clear the air of who I was and created a good rapport with them. These students were from Tawafiq secondary in Ifo camp and Haghadera secondary school in Haghadera camp.

3.3.3 Researcher's Background

I started as a primary school teacher and eventually became head of a primary school run by a charitable organization in Kenya, where most of the learners came from extremely poor backgrounds. I mostly referred to them as bright but (dis) advantaged youngsters. The school was located in the coast of Kenya where the climate is relatively harsh (semi-arid area). Therefore, being in a refugee camp with another group of disadvantaged people was a reminder and reflection of my past. During my teaching time (years), I was actively involved in and seeking audience with the county education leaders on behalf of the less fortunate in the society.

I was elected vice chairman of Kenya Primary School Head Teachers Association in the sub-county and vice chairman of the Kenya Primary Schools Sports Association in the same sub-county during my headship. We held several meetings at the county and sub-county levels to address issues of the poverty, ignorance and diseases that adversely affected the education in the region. Curriculum implementation (which was our mandate as heads of schools to oversee) was a heated debate that not so many teachers or participants wanted to talk about in our meeting because we believed the mandate of the curriculum rested with the Ministry of Education. Until now, I never heard anybody talk of the hidden curriculum or its effects in our meeting. However, this does not mean that the hidden curriculum does not exist in schools within Kenya. The hidden curriculum in our education leadership (top down) system may have made it impossible for teachers to acknowledge the existence of this unwritten curriculum. This gave me the impetus to start looking at this unfamiliar (in Kenya) field of curriculum.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

3.4.1 Interviews

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Complementing school observation and informal interviews/chats about observations written in my field notebook I created a password protected digital file.

All interviews were conducted at the learning institutions, as they were deemed convenient to the participants. Interviews with students with one exception were mostly conducted in the school laboratories, which were the only available facilities at that time, while teachers preferred being in the staffrooms (offices) where they were more comfortable and relaxed in sharing information freely (Boyce, & Neale, 2006). The semi-structured interviews were conducted in English and this to keep participants in focus with regard to research questions. Students were comfortable communicating with me in English as compared to Kiswahili language, although at some instances they would throw in some Somali words. In some instances I had opportunities to probe further for more description, information and or explanation. Students opted to be interviewed in groups and this lead to 4 random groups. 3 groups included 2 student participants each and the 4th group comprised of four students ranging from form one to form four. (For questions used during the interview please see Appendix).

Interviews are the most common for data collection in studies seeking to explore teachers' understandings and experiences of teaching and/or student learning (Merriam, 1998; Hatch, 2002), and keeping written field notes of my observations in a research journal allowed me to maintain an "on the spot record" (p. 88). I tried as much as possible to document the students' actions, behaviors and engagements in activities by detailing their conversations and interactions with their teacher. In some cases where appropriate and when conducive, trustworthy

opportunities permitted, I sought clarification or commented on observations that required further probing. For example I needed to know what students meant when they talked of using “kochokocho” so I asked the student to explain more about it although he thought I knew about it.

3.4.2 Observations

I visited three schools during my study and made observations. I visited one primary school and 2 secondary schools. I was keen to make observation of the school routines as well as classrooms. Two weeks after the official opening date for all schools, Central primary school in Haghadera camp had no single pupil in compound. However, all teachers including the head teacher were present in the school. The classes were empty and unorganized, the writing on the walls dating the previous term a clear indication no learning had taken place in that term. Teachers were busy making adjustments to the master timetable in the office of the head teacher. They were listening to some international news as I could tell the frequency from the radio placed on a shelf next to the school’s sports trophy (cups) was in either American or British English. The water taps and pipes were leaking draining the precious commodity into the dry sand. The compound was covered with dry leaves from the *neem* trees planted in front of the buildings. The volleyball net was still in place in between the two metallic posts; the sun had done some damage as I could tell the net was wearing off. Next to the main entrance of the school stood a huge old man (guard/watchman) who allowed me in after a short conversation with the driver who was driving me around. He was holding bunches of keys and something that looked like a walking stick in his right hand.

In secondary schools, there were a beehive of activities as opening examinations were underway. One deputy head teacher took me round the classes as we waited for the students to finish the exam. I noted the sitting arrangement was similar in the other school; boys and girls sat

in separate places. The classes had wire-meshed windows and in between the window grill and the mesh there were old flat cardboards. The labs were empty and seemed under utilized; broken taps and furniture, storage of other school tools like mesh wires and wheelbarrows shovels occupied the backspace of the lab. Teachers were busy marking the students exams in their offices. Most walls of the buildings were covered with some drawings from textbooks as I could tell those drawings were familiar.

3.4.3 Field Notes

I kept a field note that contained short and hand written notes, mostly from my observation. I used the information from my field note to ask for some clarification from the participants.

3.4.4 Photographs

I took photos of the information that did not allow me time to write in my field note within and outside the school. The photographs, field notes and the observation were mainly used to compliment my interviews and this is well captured in the next chapter on data analysis and findings.

3.5 Data Analysis

First, I listened to the audios-recordings from the interview to familiarize myself with participants' comments and responses, more generally before transcription. Students' interviews were transcribed first because I wanted to maintain a consistency in the transcripts. I grouped them so as to make relevant reference notes without any knowledge of the other participants'. Finally, all transcription was done fully and this allowed me to trace common patterns in each transcribed data set. However, it is important to note here that, at some points during the

transcription and when necessary, I altered the normal audio play to a slower (pausing) pace to allow careful listening and to ensure I captured every perceptible comment.

3.6 Themes And Cases Analysis

Teachers' and students' data sets as well as observational notes from the school visits were examined for common repetitions and nuances. All data sets that were transcribed from the interviews were compared and grouped together into descriptive categories hereafter referred as common themes. Tables were used to organize themes derived from the data corpus and each relevant transcript excerpts from teachers and students were matched under each theme. Observed data were treated the same as the transcribed interview data themes and this formed a source of further evidence. For example I asked teachers for clarification on why primary school students had not reported to school two weeks after the official opening date... for my case I had assumed that the repatriation that was going on had affected them. Although I was partly right, other traditional school's practices were cited as the major cause, "students do not want to come to school in the first weeks because they do not want to clean school compound, and they also think no teaching happens during the first weeks of opening explained Isak an incentive primary school teacher".

Triangulation helped me to search for areas of convergence, divergence and nuances in the data under each theme (Mathison, 1998) in relation to the research question that enabled generation of new and substantive knowledge (Khan & VanWynsberge, 2008). Triangulation helped me to notice commonalities and differences more easily when all the excerpts from teachers and students were matched under themes in the research question. I had started formulating some of the themes in this study in my mind way before I started and during the

interaction time with my participants. Braun & Clarke, (2006) pointed out that, “researchers cannot free themselves of their theoretical commitments, and data are not coded in an epistemological vacuum” (p. 23). Some of them were later confirmed after repeatedly listening of the audiotaped interviews as well as judiciously reviewing the transcripts.

I noted that rereading transcribed data and repeated listening of the audiotaped interviews gave me a chance to dig deeper in to the data to look for new themes that had not surfaced during my interaction with the participants. Consistency of phrases, statements and words in the data corpus that provided hints in answering the research question were noted and catalogued. However, some themes named in this study do not necessarily emanate from direct phrases, statements or words mentioned by the participants. Therefore, early phrases describing the likely themes were created and manipulated several times until constancy in the meanings of the harmonies and patterns within the participants’ responses steadied. It was at this point after using this constant-comparative method that these themes were used to further cull the remaining data.

3.7 Credibility And Limitations

Credibility refers to how well the researcher’s representation of participants balances the participants’ perceptions (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008). Therefore, credibility is a vital basic component of determining the validity of a qualitative case study (Merriam, 1998) credibility of a qualitative research is judged against the question of HOW. On the same note the credibility is one of the most important aspects in determining dependability of a study (Lincoln, & Guba, 1989). However, I note and acknowledge that the interpretations of participants’ views were based on my pure understanding.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis And Findings

This chapter reports on data that sought to answer the question: “What are the hidden (unwritten) curricula revealed in how the teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools interpret and implement formal (written) curriculum?”

I collected data through interviews and observation of teachers and students as they interacted in the schools. To complement the interviews I further analyzed schools’ routines to make sense of the nature of the hidden curricula inadvertently enacted in Dadaab refugee camp schools that follow the official Kenyan school curriculum. The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim for close analysis. The analysis involved comparing responses from students and teachers. These were corroborated with my own school observations to respond to the research question about their experiences and perspectives regarding the nature of hidden curricula that influenced their daily teaching and learning.

A keen examination of the interview transcripts and comparing them with the observations I made in the schools about the daily routines, several key patterns emerged as themes that characterized the nature of hidden curricula, which influenced the implementation of the formal school curriculum. An overall of six key themes characterized the hidden curricula: 1) Curriculum of trust and alliance; 2) Curriculum of what is at stake; 3) Curriculum of communal benefits; 4) Curriculum and pedagogy of oppression; 5) Curriculum of silence and conspiracy, and 6) Curriculum of culture and religion. These key themes, which represent the findings, resulted from the analysis of the study’s data corpus. They were constructed in ways that attempted to answer the question to this study. I begin by describing the key themes, which from a social constructivist perspective structured possibilities for the emergence of the hidden curricula.

4.1 Curriculum Of Trust And Alliance

Daadab refuge camp exists as complex community. Not until I interacted with those who live there did I realize that trust did not easily come by. As I entered the context and interacted with those within it including symbols and other ways of life in the context as well as my own ‘nativeness’ of the larger Kenyan context, it started to become clear that, who to trust, whether or not the individual is on your side; whether or not the individual sympathizes with your just course and relates to your condition in terms of feelings and support are key to how a researcher like me was perceived and received. This emerged as a determining factor in my endeavors to get information from my participants, hence the characterizing theme of “Curriculum of trust, and alliance.”

This theme was constituted by sub themes including trust, alliance, relationship, and collaboration. I should point out that where trust was mentioned, relationship and collaboration are intertwined as well where alliance is referenced relationship is necessarily implicated, therefore for purposes explicating this theme I discuss and illustrate the sub themes trust, alliance relationship, and collaboration below. This I will refer to as curricula because they appear like sub-systems within the main system. These sub-systems seem invisible yet their impact is clearly seen in the teaching and learning activities within the camp schools. Although I categorized these under the same theme of trust and alliance, their effects manifest distinctly in the refugee camp context hence the reference to curricula.

4.1.1 Curriculum Of Trust

My own ability and sensitivity to the refuge community earned me the nativity trust that is accorded to insiders of the context. While there are non-refugees living and working in the

camp schools, the curriculum of trust from the refugees revealed to me things they don't reveal to others. For example they revealed to me that there is a place called "down Kenya"— a place where the national teachers come from. This 'down Kenya' labeling does not include teachers who are from the host community even if they are Kenyans. For once I was forced to see Kenya from the four cardinal points of the compass (north, south, east, and west). I had always considered Kenya as one until this encounter. It became apparently evident to me that there was a big difference between the Kenyans at the camp and those from "down Kenya", a distinction used by the camp inhabitants. Most surprising was the fact that teachers who are not refugees but from the local host community kept referring to their colleagues from other parts of Kenya as from *down* Kenya. Further it became clear to me that working as a team in this context required trust. Trust was tacitly understood and was a driving force behind successful collaboration, relationships and other communicative encounters (Wear and Skillicorn, 2009).

For them to feel as part of the community, the non-local and non-refugee teachers and stakeholders had no choice but to create a conducive space where they had to trust each other (refugees and hosts) for the sake of a good working relationship. I noted the good and respectful relationship between the teacher-refugees (incentives) and those from "down Kenya"(nationals). I realized that is how they identify each other but when I went further to inquire from the head teacher about this relationship, he told of how "... calling or referring to the ... [teachers] by their nationality would not be kindly received ...". Yet, in one of the head teacher's office a vivid large white board with large writings in uppercase displayed the teachers' names, their nationality and the positions they held in the school. I did not see any references or indications to "down Kenya." What I saw included, "Nationals and non-nationals/Somalis." The nationals depicted the Kenyans from other areas of Kenya while the non-nationals referred to refugee

teachers, who were also referred to as incentive teachers. In this case the concept of the hidden curriculum drives conversations by implicitly determining what to reveal and what not revealed (Hargreaves, 1982). In other words, it is this ‘tacitness’ of respect that constitutes trust and hence governing relationships in their task of curriculum implementation, with the sole purpose of helping students pass the exams, which in return guarantees their jobs. According to the teachers I interviewed, the serious consequences of failing the national exams is a threat to fair testing and using exams to fairly assess student. This practice becomes a “motivation” for cheating in the national exams. As I was discussing with the teachers, they seemed to know why students cheat in exams but how the practice began still remained a puzzle to them (teachers). But as I discussed with the students about the practice, I was able to figure out the reason why and when they gain prior access to the exam outside the officially scheduled time. The students revealed this to me after, I believe for the trust that developed between them and me and as they accepted me as one like them. I considered my ‘studentness’ to have earned me this trust.

Based on the trust I had gained from the students they told me why they engaged in the practice of exam cheating as well as how it happened. In this way I was able to get the data of how the students began to engage in the practice of cheating on the exams. The students noted that for many years there has been a big problem of national examination leakage in the country (Kenya) and if the news about the leakage or the leaked exam itself did not get to them, they truly felt they would fail that exam while others “excelled,” a factor that forces them to use “*Kochokocho*,” which is:

.... a small notebook used by students who don't believe in themselves... usually they write this when doing their revision for examination and at times sneak it into the exam rooms. (S4)

The size of “kochokocho” notebook makes it easy to hide and get it to the exam room and can be referred to during the exam. These are very common and many students who are not confident take them to exam room undetected, hence the reference to *Kochokocho*, which is a swahili word literally translated to mean something is in abundance; so much, too many. Despite the fact that the majority of students in Dadaab refugee camp schools plainly dislikes Kiswahili as a language, they have found it wise to custom a Kiswahili word in which the vice (tool) remains hidden.

In recent years the Kenya Ministry of Education has revealed the many ways students attempted to cheat in the national exams including writing on hidden parts of their bodies (thighs and palms), clothes, shoes and desks. They have been warned of the vice and consequences for those caught involved are regrettable (MoEST, 2012). But the teachers told me that irrespective of the painful and dire consequences meted to individuals caught involved in this ill and unethical practice of exam cheating some, corrupt and unmotivated teachers still get involved in order to make a ‘better’ or earn extra money for better living.

If syllabus is not well covered students panic due to untaught things and the desire to get a good grade they believe they will get good jobs here (in Kenya) and out (outside Kenya) as well as scholarships. Although cheating has dire consequences, for a long time, students have been punished for being involved in exam cheating. But there is a body

dealing with this therefore they should take responsibility. Also some teachers gain some cash due to poor pay. So they opt to engage in this unethical practice –vice. “They are always rewarded by students for helping them.” The system that we have, puts so much pressure in the student and has stressed on results so it so exam oriented. On the other hand, even teachers are in competition. Because by the end of the day, they sit and discuss or answer questions of how their subjects have performed in the school and also in the region as well as national ranking (SST1)

Often, not all the “exam papers that get sold” are fake or not genuine exam papers, although there are cases of some teachers having access to real exam questions regardless of whether genuine or not, these get sold to the ‘innocent’ customers – students or any interested party. Students would then spend hours cramming the answers that may be correct or incorrect depending on whether the questions they bought are genuine or not in readiness to vomit the crammed information in exams.

Teachers also feel the pressure of competition amongst themselves as to ‘who’ has the most students passing, given that they get rewarded for this in different ways including getting a job promotion based on the ground of good grades posted by students in their subject.

Again we are in a world of competition. Being top is a nice thing. There are genuine cases where teachers and students perform very well. This helps them gets some promotion positions since they love to produce what results they get at school. (SST1)

Furthermore, the trust bestowed on teachers is immense as students revealed to me. All teachers agreed on and confirmed to me that no one wastes time attending to subjects that are not examinable in national exams. Such subjects include physical education (PE) as attending to these subjects is seen as a waste of time, simply because they are non-examinable. (Mutweke & Modiba, 2013) Although teachers at the same time acknowledged the importance of attending to the PE lessons they see them as not contributing to what contributes to students' overall performance on exams.

...They don't go for P.E, you see they are supposed to go for P.E and this is in between other lessons. So we utilize this time for other lessons like Biology and Maths. We have so limited time with these learners so this is important time to compensate for lost time.
(T3)

Sometimes they (students) get an opportunity to take part in activities outside the classroom and they have to compete in teams, they believe and trust that nothing can go on fairly without involving the teachers. They believe for a sport team to win fairly, teachers must take part in the decision-making and for sport rules to be maintained. Even if the teacher does not have adequate knowledge of the activities taking place, students trust the judgment made by the teacher; in short the teacher remains trusted judge to the students. This kind of relationship and interaction between students and teachers is inevitable.

...For example during co-curricular activities, the teachers are the referees in the fields and that way nobody can fight in the field. (S4 & S3)

Academic successes of former or other students especially girls who have attended school (studied) in and out of the camp schools has led the teachers to label parents as ‘good or bad.’ Parents, especially those who trust and allow girls to take equal chances with boys at school leaving behind the ‘backward’ cultural practices that saw for a long time girl child being neglected in the refugee camp community. As reported by UNHR, (2011), according to the Somali cultural practice, when girls become of ‘age,’ they are there to be seen and not heard. The Somalis came with this practice to the refugee camp. But, as revealed by Justin (HM1), education has changed the narrative; change in the mind of many community parents. Justin attributed this change to parents’ trust in the Kenyan education as doing them ‘more’ good than harm as they had previously perceived. He explained how refugee parents slowly and comfortably started embracing the change—especially the older generation of parents who strictly follow the traditional norms and culture of the Somali community.

Those of them (parents) that are so nice keep a close eye on their children and this is because, there are those who have gone to Canada and have become successful, they want their children also to be the same. There are those (students) who are now bold, they even talk in front of other people even in gatherings especially girls. (HM1).

I realized teachers have understood the actions of parents well and why they do what they do and act the way they do. From the interviews I had with the teachers they all agreed that as a way to discipline misbehaving students in the school/society, parents have a role to play and they also expect to be accorded that role. The Somali culture has experienced so much that is good

and bad since they came to the camps. Some parents cannot afford to see things going wrong about children before their eyes. As such, they do intervene by taking early precautions in a cultural way. The Somali culture, as it was made clear to me, has a 'constitution' that no one can challenge, (it is a no go zone). However, the ways in which they deal with these issues reveals a lot and mostly why it remains a no go zone. For instance, prostitution, drug abuse and promiscuity are not accepted and go against the Somali culture. As such early forced marriage is prevalent as preventive measure.

Prostitution and drug abuse are big problem so parents don't wait for the shame to put them down so they force them out [to marry]. And that is why you find that in lower primary girls are many but as they get older in the school they are getting few and few. (IPST2)

The measures such as described above affect the number of school going children in later classes. For instance in the cases of early child marriage both the boys and girls are forced in early marriage but those most affected are the girls. Once a girl enters in the marriage and becomes expectant, her school life comes to an abrupt end while the boy goes on with his education normally despite being married. As explained by the Social Studies teacher, the community seems to objectify the girl child.

...You see most of the people in the community see a girl child as an object to give birth, so even educating them becomes an issue, they say even after educating them they will end up getting married. (SST3)

Here I argue that in this community roles are constructed in ways considered normative and unchallengeable. But this is now changing given the current developments in the schools within the camps that encourage retention of girls in school. Moreover the current generations of parents in the camps have access to formal education and appreciate its value. Curriculum of trust based on the information I was able to get from the participants, unpacking the trust among the different stakeholders and that accorded to me as a researcher, I believe this trust is not for everyone who ends up in the camp schools. This curriculum is informed by the personal choices of who do we trust with what and why. My 'shared status of a student' enabled me to access such rare revelations.

4.1.2 Curriculum Of Alliance

Teachers and students informed me of the deal they had struck in their efforts towards helping each other as 'friends' allied towards a common agenda. This mutual agreement benefits especially the slow learners who obtained help from the fast learners. The bright (fast learners) students are treated like 'small' teachers, and the teachers adore them because those bright students somehow make teachers' work of teaching easier.

Those fast learners are kept busy by giving them extra responsibilities and assigning them roles to help the weak ones. (ISST2)

There are those students who do not understand the Kiswahili language hence resulting to their poor performance in that subject, eventually this affects their final grade in examination and most importantly to note, it affects their self-esteem. It takes the collective effort of the bright

students to help their peers as guided by the teachers. In this way, the teachers and the bright students are allies or have forged an alliance for a common good (striving to succeed). In the same, even, the bright and the weak students have forged an alliance particularly to do well in exams as a team. In this regard and good performance their school gets a 'good' name and as a result their teachers get promoted. This connection helps the students to develop a practice, which I refer to as a long life tactic that enables them to overcome the hardships of life after school. Moreover, helps students to survive in the school as well as in the community in the presence of others in the crowds. (Jackson, 1968) As I could tell, it acted as a technique of the teachers to model for students' life expectations of society from them after graduating and out of school. It shows the students how to express their feeling in different set up other than school.

Those who don't come are those who are faced with a great challenge of language. Most don't know how to speak in Swahili. (SST2)

Both the secondary and primary school teachers shared these sentiments.

The shy students are brought on board by the less shy ones during weekend classes and other free time in school. We try to use the bright students to help their weak friends. Saturdays are well utilized and students are ready to come to school. Especially during exam times they all come to school to get ready for the same. (IPST2)

On the same note, learners have learnt how to sacrifice free time in pursuit of good performance. They have given up their desires to be free and to exercise (embodied in PE) in

order to study other subjects, a practice encouraged by teachers who reward this practice by labeling them as “good students.”

PE is taken less seriously as teachers argue that learners should utilize the break times they have, lunchtime and other after class times. In many cases where the PE lessons come before subjects like math or science the students opt not go for their PE instead complete other assignments just to be ready for the incoming lesson. (IPST 3)

The curriculum of alliance as portrayed by the teachers and the students is operationalized with a purpose to succeed. Teachers understand teaching responsibility lies with them; however, they share this responsibility with the bright students as a result of what they have mutually agreed to work for as allies. It clearly shows the educational bargain made by both parties and the outcomes are positively received in the schools and in the society.

4.1.3 Curriculum Of Relationship

In preparation for life after school, students know and appreciate the need to work closely with their teachers even after official school time. For them making it in life or becoming successful requires them to work hard and make crucial sacrifices. In order for them to achieve this, students acknowledge the importance of a healthy relationship with one another in addition to that of their teachers. This means that some scheduled lessons on the timetable gets ‘less value’ since they do not have an examinable ‘face’, and hence deemed ‘useless.’ Instead they (teachers and students) allocate this time to other examinable subjects perceived ‘more valuable’ to them as so as to study together. Physical Education (PE) and Pastoral Program Instruction (PPI) are the obvious victim subjects lacking in value to be central to a mutual relationship.

Lessons end at 3.10pm and before prayers we give extra teaching. PPI, we forego because it is not examinable and PE, weather is very hot and students are taught not anything to do with PE, in the real sense we do not teach and instead we utilize that time for remedial class [for another examinable subject], again PE is not examinable hence it is not important to give [it] ... attention. (IPST2)

Despite the physical, mental and social benefits attached to the practices of PE and the spiritual benefits attached to the PPI subjects, the relationship coined by teachers and students in these schools overlooks them for the sake of examination success.

Parents and teachers have also established a good relationship on how to communicate to each other. Some schools are headed by national teachers and to make the matter more interesting, non-Muslims. This puts such head teachers in positions that require a lot of guidance on matters dealing with the Somali culture, as there exists cultural and religious issues that non-Muslim teachers cannot be allowed to deal in accordance with the Somali culture. In such situations the teachers have developed a mutual relationship with the selected few parents members of Parents-Teachers Associations (PTAs) to handle such matters on behalf of the school.

Culture, marriage and others religious issues, we give up. Being a non-Muslim as a head some issues we don't deal with them rather we communicate through P.T.A (HM1)

Members of the PTAs face the task of explaining to other parents on the decisions made by the school's administration. After every exam for example the PTAs become a very vital component to the school's management as they interpret the results to their fellow parents who cannot understand English language—the official language of communication in the schools as conveyed in the excerpt below.

The exams results are a thing that communicates to the many stakeholders like the parents, sponsors, teachers and students. PTAs come to school to interpret the result especially where the head teacher is a Kenyan. You find that they follow those results and compare the results from time to time and if there are negative changes the chairman of the PTA asks the head teacher to explain why there is a drop in such exams. Especially the KCPE, so the PTAs play a very key role in education in the camps.

(IPST2)

Hassan (IPST3) explained to me that some parents have also heeded to the call by the teachers to develop good parental relationship with their children at home as this would translate into better academic work at school. This relationship exists mostly as witnessed among students whose parents accessed education and have jobs (employed; teachers, drivers and clerks) within the. These compose the classes of the elites and according to them (teachers) though they 'elites' are the minority they tend to influence the way things happen around those schools. The parents and other educated siblings in the family coexist and seen to assist their young ones with schoolwork at home and this gives them an upper hand in the syllabus coverage. They literally

teach them at home as a way to push them a 'mile ahead' of the teacher and other students at school.

Students are from very different backgrounds, some are massively assisted by their parents at home especially those who are teachers, drivers and other. So these pupils come to school with a lot of knowledge ahead of the rest. (IPST3)

However, such students who come to school with so much knowledge compared to the rest pose a great challenge to the teachers who have no teacher education qualification or teachers who are newly employed (incentives). This situation was well captured by Galgalo (IPST1):

Some students try to test especially the newly employed teachers in their schools. So they ask so many questions. You find that some have elder brothers and sisters who have completed school and they teach them at home. So you find that they [students] know so much, so what they were told by their bothers at home, they either want to compare or naturally try to test the teacher. Student gets this information from the environment they interact among themselves and share so much knowledge even out of school. Because sometimes these students will even challenge you with new information and if you are not well prepared, you will find yourself in trouble. Some read so much ahead of the teacher and when they come with such questions you cannot dismiss them you have to deal with them as they come. Some times the untrained teacher are overwhelmed and

don't actually know how to handle such things so they dismiss students unceremoniously for asking difficult questions. (IPST1)

But as Harake (ISST5) explained, as a result of the relationship they have developed as a family of teachers - trained and untrained, new and old, they keep helping each other when called upon or when such situations arise.

Because we are like a family, we keep asking help from each other as teachers. (ISST5)

Isak (IPST4) revealed to me that some teachers teach students with a hidden agenda of teaching the “uneducated” parents at home. As a matter of fact, as he put it, some topics in some subjects take long to cover than others, the reason being that they teach two sets of people: the students at school and the parents and other relatives at home. He gave an example of a science topic like the one dealing with *health and nutrition*. It takes long to cover (teach) by some teachers because they want students to clearly understand the concept and the ideas behind it so that they can transfer the knowledge to those at home and as a way of preparing the students for the future life in the society.

Some topics take long to teach for example the food & nutrition topic. This is a topic that helps both the students and parents at home. (Other than exam) this is because of everyone's health. They need to know more about the food and balanced diet to educate their parents on the right rations they require every day (IPST4)

On the same note, Maria (SST2) revealed that some topics have less value than others. The perceived values depend on how a topic is repeatedly examined in the national exam, so the more it is tested the more value a topic gains and vice versa. I noted that the teachers had confidence in their way of deciding what to do and especially the experienced teachers.

Time dictates on what I teach, depending on the importance of what I have to teach, if I feel it is examinable and something important they need to know, I will teach and insist on it. But if I feel it is something they already know I don't teach that. (SST2)

Similarly, Guyo (IPST2) believed that the mother nature teaches as good as himself, or even better than, therefore those thing that he thought appears as common sense to everyone in the school and society environments, teachers should not waste time teaching them.

Some areas students are well versed even without being taught they understand them naturally. So there is no need to keep wasting more time on such areas attention is given to the areas they don't understand. (IPST2)

The curriculum of relationship exhibits the connectedness between several factors within the society that ripples effects to the schools. For example, the relationship between the teachers, parents and students is based on students' performance at school. Secondly, the relationship between what teachers should teach and why (currency). It gives the teachers the opportunity to investigate their practices and capitalize on what they know in relation to their teaching experience (practice).

4.1.4 Curriculum Of Collaboration

Teachers and parents have agreed on some form of joint efforts aimed at controlling the truant students. Parents have given teachers the ‘go ahead’ to punish those students who seem to ‘joke’ with school and education in general (this is a common practice even in Kenyan communities). Students clearly understand what it means to have a parent or guardian called to school. Although corporal punishment was abolished in Kenyan schools, some students do not get away with it. As an accepted way to correct the unwanted behavior, students get into ‘slight’ punishments like cleaning the school compound or uprooting some tree trunk depending on the level of crime committed by an individual in the refugee camp school as implied in the excerpt below.

Sometimes we ask them to bring their parents and others we punish them lightly. So this also makes them attend school, because they know if they don’t go to school, when they will appear they will have to clean somewhere. And most parents are ok with such kind of light punishments they even give us their contacts and tell us if their children are not in school, we just call and contact them so we follow up everyday. (SST2)

Although there existed a good collaboration between the teachers, students and parents, students (S1, S2, S6 and S9) noted that some very important parental roles that could play a huge part in their (students) academic successes remain unnoted and left out on issues regarding their children’s future. For instance, before students join form 3 (grade 11), school policy requires them to make subject selection from the main clusters (elaborated in Chapter 2), a combination of subjects depending on what kind of career paths one would wish to pursue. The students

accomplish this exercise without input from their parents. They (student participants) further noted that parents appear at the forefront urging their children to go to school with the hope that students' success in school will translate into a bright future for them and the entire family.

Parents were never consulted during the subject selection, our parents are refugees others are still in Somalia, and so they just tell us to go to school but no further advice. This is a big challenge. (S1)

Some schools have gigantic students enrollment and this becomes a challenge for regular subject teachers (different subjects in the same class are taught by different teachers as from class 4 and beyond). Therefore, for easy students monitoring, teachers have adopted the use of calendar dates as a tool of establishing a successful collaboration between the teachers, students and parents. Every teacher teaching any lesson in any particular class has to make sure he/she writes clearly on the chalk board the particular date for each specific day. The same should then be transferred onto pupils' exercise books (each subject taught and every lesson attended that day) and this remains as a mandatory requirement for every student (to write the date in bold on their workbooks). The teachers use this technique to communicate with the parents at home. They consider this as a successful way for monitoring students who miss school. It also happens to be a technique to show or identify to the parents the homework given to students. Moreover, teachers use these 'dates' as a tool to defend themselves against any accusations of not teaching from any person—teachers retrieve their teaching notes' dates and students' work for comparison when need arises. The dates in this case validates and identifies distinctively the

work given by the teacher for a particular day especially to the parents who cannot read and write at least these parents understand the calendar dates.

Teachers do their work even at home. Students too should do their homework because even at home they have many revision books and a lot of time. Every day we write the date on the chalkboard (C/B) and we ask the students to make sure they also write the same on their exercise books before they start to copy the notes from the C/B. This helps the students' parents to keep a record of what they are doing in the school. And for the teachers to know which student doesn't copy or write the notes. Date validates the work done at school. (ISST5)

Although using bright students to teach the academically weak ones was noted in forging alliance, it can also be argued here to implicate curriculum of collaboration. As a way of extending the collaboration teachers assign homework to students who later engage their elder brothers and sisters at home.

To make clear follow up and communicate with the parents we give them homework to do at home where parents can also give feedback. Elder brothers and sisters who have finished school are of great help to their younger ones to complete their homeworks, especially from homes where parents can't read and write. (ITPS2)

Students commitment to learning could not be ignored, to a greater extent students even requested extra teaching from their teachers and peers in their assumed free time. Although I

mentioned this idea in the earlier themes, where I argued it as a teacher's creation, as a clear indication students' demands to be at school for long hours could have been the major trigger of normalizing the Saturdays to normal school day. They have made Saturdays normal learning school days. Normally in the Kenyan education system Saturday exists as a day for recess to the teachers and students. But as conveyed in the excerpt below, all such days remain "school" days.

We work for six days Monday to Saturday. Saturday is mainly remedial teaching and during breaks and when the classes end at four, some teachers makes arrangements with students to remain. Usually the students request the teachers to do some coaching to them. So the teacher remains with the students or they even come to school on Sunday and this is mostly free for anyone willing although not all who turn up. (SST1)

Both the teachers and the students celebrate the fact that their mutual collaboration bore good fruits in academic achievements especially on the normalizing weekends (agreement) as school days. Although no one said it, I could see the joy on the faces of the female students who seemed very pleased with Saturday classes. This practice as a matter of fact keeps them away from household chores.

The curriculum of collaboration as elaborated above and from the excerpts, illustrates how working together on agreed issues help teachers and students to maneuver the difficult and unforeseen situations likely experienced at school. It also shows how self-sacrificing subsists as paramount towards their academic success. Therefore, what 'others' consider normal routine that guides their daily school life does not matter to the teachers and students in the refugee camp

school but what ‘they’ collaboratively as a team consider to be a familiar way of doing things that matters.

4.2 Curriculum Of What Is At Stake

The participants expressed to me how important a bright future, good quality of life, healthy relationship and job security are important in their lives. Teaching in the refugee camp and making the matter more deserving of attention, teaching as a contract teacher in a refugee camp school is not a “walk in the park.” It challenges them and has some levels of difficultness. Underneath all these feelings by the teachers and students exist fear. In response to fear, the relations to students’ performance, constant testing by the teachers occur, which translates to modeling of exam situations by the teachers. This, therefore, amounts to ownership of responsibility to learn as well as complete the prescribed syllabus by the students. But, these never end so long as the national examination result stands as a measure of the teachers’ competence and the students’ academic ability. There is always the fear implicated, hence the reference to curricula.

Teachers (SST1, SST2, ISST5 and IPST4) elaborated to me how everyone in the school and community keeps high expectations on the national examination results— the results should be positive and if not they should be in an improving trend. It therefore becomes very challenging and disconcerting when the learners do not show up for lessons. In response to counter attack such situations, teachers have to develop mechanisms of making sure learners attend lessons. Although some ways may be seen as threats, students have no option... they have to get used to, making it a habit at the advantage of the teacher. In that case the national exam assumes the ‘scaring’ or ‘disciplining’ (tool) position to make sure learners come to school and

actually attend lessons all day whether they like it or not. Students believe that only an “examined” life deserves a worthy living. Teachers and elders utterances make students practice and comply with such beliefs.

It is very hard to cover the syllabus with them, but I keep telling them the K.C.S.E will never want to know whether you were in school or not...remember the K.C.S.E is supervised and invigilated by people who don't know you at all. (SST2)

In some cases circumstances forces (SST1, HM1, SST4, SST5 and SST2) teachers to teach irrespective of the class attendance. As revealed by teachers the attendance sometimes go as low as 2 students in a class of over 80 students. The teacher cannot divert attention to other activities even with the few students present because the syllabus has to be covered.

So I have to do my job and teach the two students but deep inside I feel wasted, because when the others come we have to go back and repeat the same thing. (T2)

Those teachers teaching the elective subjected risk their jobs should students fail or deliberately refuse to select their teaching subjects (history, agriculture, religious studies, computer, business studies among others). Currently, the schools within the camps do not offer subjects like Geography and Agriculture in secondary schools. Students deliberately refused to choose these subjects for a number of years forcing the education managers within the camps to remove these subjects from the schedule. Teachers who used to teach such subjects were adversely affected and more so those refugee teachers from the community. They were forced to

go back to class to study other courses, as they cannot move to the schools outside the camps to teach. For the sake of maintaining the teaching job teachers must develop a very strong passion of what they teach for students to like those subjects.

The school doesn't teach Geography today, it was found to be a very abstract subject, no rain, no mountain no lakes no rivers or any physical features (SST1)

This led to scraping off of the said subject from the schools systems and what happened to the teachers who used to teach that subject remains a good guess for us. On the other hand same sentiments were shared.

I used to teach agriculture and IRE (Islamic Religious Education), but you see agriculture was removed from the system. And for you to continue being a secondary school teacher you must have two teaching subjects. Because I could not move to down Kenya to look for a job (I'm a refugee even with my diploma) I had to go back to class for another combination. I now teach and study chemistry and biology but I love teaching agriculture. (ISST5)

When the system holds your fate definitely this increases chances of fearing; fear of what is at stake and the fear of the unknown.

Heads of schools within the camp feel the burden of their positions, they have to be role models to the staff, teachers and students. They say... the school is the head and the head is the school. Head Teachers practice the, 'management by walking around,' a system commonly

known as (MBWA) in Kenyan schools. Head Teachers walk around the school to make sure they remain on top of their game. Head Teachers move around the school as learning takes place just to make sure teachers and students prioritized teaching and learning. By performing this noble duty, Head Teachers believe the teachers will emulate and get committed to what they are duly supposed to do without close monitoring.

Proper management of time I wake up as early as 5.00am do what I need to do on my laptop but most importantly is being committed to what I do since I also have deadlines to meet as well. (HM1)

The school heads take all the responsibility of making sure learning takes place at all times even when they felt least motivated. To an extent they use their own pocket money to facilitate some school programs. (HM1) They do this as way to minimize the contact between them and their bosses, they do not want to keep calling the 'main' office for 'cheap' help or facilitation of the school's programs instead, they take the responsibility to settle the bills. Normally, one would request and keep the transactions' receipts and make claims later. As Justine (HM1) revealed to me in such situations where official receipts do not exist (available) hence lacking evidence to back up any expenditure they have to suffer in silence as they try to meet deadlines as well as being on top of the game.

Sometimes the network is too slow, when you need to send or download some data you can't do it on time. So you are forced to use your personal bundles, initially we used to get airtime (mobile data bundles); today we don't have it anymore so we use our own

money to run some activities and no one will refund you the money. However you have to get going. (HM1)

Kenyan system of education is based on examination; learners get tested only through the standardized tests (cognitive) at the expense of other talents or abilities of the students. It becomes even worse in cases of the refugee students who have been made to believe that the only road to a good and a bright future should be passing the exams. This idea therefore cause panic and diverted attention to some students—anything coming their way when the exams are about to commence or during the exam time does not warrant their attention even if it is syllabus coverage.

Students' interest, and prior knowledge matters, if they don't understand what you had taught... In preparation of examination some teachers opt to make changes to their personal lessons to feature these demands of the learners to revise. Some students panic and cannot concentrate if the teachers continue covering the syllabus at the expense of doing revision. We also allow and encourage students to come to school during the weekend, and other free lessons like PE for remedial work and revisions because exams are very important here it is the only way out. (ISST5)

Rewarding of best performing teachers in the camp schools has been common practice (not a new thing). As revealed by teachers (SST4, IPST3, IPST4, SST1, and IPST2) rewards motivate the teachers to perform well, but this can only happen if their students perform well in their exams. Somehow this brings some competition among teachers and unwanted pressure

because they noted well that learners experience and understand learning differently. Even when subjected to the same kind of environment at the same time with the same teacher. Therefore, subjecting learners to the same kind of curriculum and standardized tests demotivates them hence affecting their performance negatively—denying some teachers the opportunity to be awarded and mostly affecting their self-esteem.

To boost the morale of the teacher when learners perform well students also feel great when they perform well. Like in our camp the best performing teachers are awarded and I was awarded as the best science teacher. So you can imagine if you are a teacher and you never receive any gift how do you feel...? it is like you don't know how to teach. So this is a tool to make teachers work hard and dedicated to their work. Everyone wants to do well, to be recognized (IPST3)

On the other hand examinations create fear and a guilt feeling among teachers, some even doubted whether they really did the right things (teaching).

For teachers, the exam enables us to know whether we are really teaching because by the end of the day, classes are ranked against each other and subjects are also ranked. So, if your class doesn't perform, as a teacher there are a lot of questions you need to answer even if no one will ask you this questions, the guilt of not performing will sink down you and you will know there is something wrong. (SST1)

The curriculum of what is at stake mostly affected the teachers, it all concerned about the worries or fears expressed by the teachers as they carry out their daily routine of teaching. Although majority seemed contented with what they were doing I keenly noted there existed a certain internal individual pressure from the teachers that they wanted to fulfill, as a means to secure their jobs and maintain healthy interaction with one another and students as well. Otherwise there stood several risks involved; worst being losing their jobs. From the students all what mattered remains good performance in examination.

4.2.1 Curriculum Of Fear

“I do not know” happens to be a common phrase so unpopular with teachers in the camp schools. It has a lot to do with students’ ‘trust’ towards their role models (teachers). The fear of not knowing from the teacher can lead to complicity that can result in failure. Especially due to the fact that everyone works hard to ensure students pass the Kenya national examinations. As one of the teachers explained, admitting or telling student ‘you do not know’ does not exist as options; they all believe that teacher should know everything!! All teacher participants admitted that, “I don’t know” should not be a teacher’s phrase and they avoid it like “plague”. They “take the bull by the horn”— like they know it all.

As a teacher, I can never say I don’t know to a student’s question. Never ever! You know students have so much confidence in a teacher. So at the first glance when a teacher does say I don’t know.... Yes you don’t know but it should be inside you. What you do is throw back the question to the same students/ learners. Let them try it out so as they try to discuss the question you may get some little input and ideas and somehow the learners will be satisfied... but as you go out, you tell them, “I will go and do some research on

the same.” You know some students will try to do this on purpose especially to the new teachers, testing their intelligence. Mostly they will try to do this from experience of the previous history with other teachers. They want the best for themselves and maybe if you are capable of answering the questions they will associate and gain confidence with you. (ISST5)

Moreover, it is perceived as an expensive phrase that can damage the image and intelligence of a teacher; teachers cannot afford to let students doubt their intelligent as revealed in the excerpt below by one the teachers:

If you purely admit that you don't know to the learners and say we are teaching the same combination they will come to ask some question in the staffroom and will not ask you rather they will go to another teacher even if you are their teacher. So to a teacher this can be a very painful psychological torture. They see me as not knowledgeable and even when you go to class you don't have that confidence to teach, you fear they are going to ask other difficult questions. To avoid all the embarrassment as a teacher you should be well informed and prepare more on the content you are going to deliver to avoid such cases. (SST3)

Teachers have to prove their credibility to their student beyond doubt, otherwise undesired consequences are expected. Including students avoiding to attend to a teacher's lesson or even refusing to select the subject if it happens to be a selective option.

The curriculum of fear functions so closely and seems related to curriculum of what is at stake, teachers fears are seen in case where they cannot 'become good examples' to be emulated by the students simply because they cannot adequately supply answers to students questions. The belief that teachers should know everything regardless of his/her area of expertise remains a "painful thorn in the teachers' flesh". As elaborated in the excerpts above the consequences of the curriculum of fear remain so dire to the teachers, however they must formulate ways and means to suppress their fears and embrace critical and creative teaching.

4.2.2 Curriculum Of Testing

I feel so nice when they pass in their exams; like I have my students in Canada they call me and send me something small in my phone (ksh1000/=). They also quote me on their Facebook pages. Like...I saw one written, "I remember my mathematics teacher please God bless him", this makes me feel so nice. (HM1)

Expressions such as the one conveyed in the above excerpt reinforce teachers' instructional methodology as such methodologies bore success. As I observed in the schools, constant testing appeared normal. Therefore, comments of recognition as conveyed by the excerpt above by one of the teachers, are heartening. Thus, their (teachers') feelings are energized when their former students publicly recognize and appreciate them. Moreover, of the teachers further added that the feeling of, " I changed somebody's life", is worthy enough to urge an individual to do even better.

Revising for examination occurs often hence making it a very crucial season in these schools. Teachers as well as students revealed to me how they had adopted and put into play the most effective techniques that seemed to work for them. According to them they have well plans

for the revision of both the school based and national exams. They have mastered and predicted the national examination questions' sequence as well their topics in all subjects. Thus, this has worked for them as they unanimously explained and as captured in the excerpt below.

As a teacher, you should know the areas that are mostly tested /Examinable. So in such topics you will take most of your time preparing for... and learners that you know will be tested. For example in Kiswahili, I have never seen a question directed from the topic: - “Matumizi ya Kamusi” (Use of a dictionary) being set in an exam. Yes it is there in the syllabus but never ever appeared in any national exam. We have analyzed the previous national examinations and therefore we know which areas to give more time. On the other hand, say a subject like Swahili where they have to sit for 3 papers. One of the papers is all about set books Fasihi (Literature). You find that learners do want to read a certain set book. May be they say the book is not interesting, so as a teacher you will not spend so much time on that. In the exam they are only required to answer only one question from each book. So what you do is putting more effort in what they want and brush over the other set books just to give them an idea of what is in the book and pass the exam. (SST3)

In this context, (above excerpt) students have a negative attitude toward Kiswahili subject. This could be as a result of the wide selection of questions students are likely to find in exams and hence reducing the predictability of actual final examination questions. Furthermore, the three different and ‘many paged’ Kiswahili set books “kills” the motivation of learners in my view.

However, Justine (HM1) explained that revising repeatedly a topic that is repeatedly tested is key to success in exam for both the teachers and students.

You see when you look at the examination question, papers, there are questions and you realize there are quite easy question even the weak students can capitalize on and get some marks. So a topic like this I will take some time to make sure everybody in class understands something. Since they are tested year in year out I must make sure they know how to draw the graph. The key thing is, you want the students to pass. So those topics that are frequently tested we have to spend so much time on them. (HM1)

Teachers too, revealed to me that innovation, adjustment and teamwork among the members were inevitable especially during the national examination term (September-November).

For now, we have come up with new ways of teaching since it's general revision time. So today we are revising various mock past papers from other parts of the country. This is exposing them to the examination world. (HM1)

According to Musa (SST1), during the revision season teachers group themselves into departmental units and share the revision workload according to subjects and topics. Since the teachers would have adequately studied the national examination questions' patterns they know the areas they need to prioritize in revision in order for the students to do well on the exams or to produce the best result. Therefore, for this plan to succeed they collapse the official master timetable (mostly in Form 4) and adopt a homegrown timetable (locally, school based time table)

agreed upon by all teachers and approved by the head teacher. A teacher selects revision topics he or she feels and has proved best at, irrespective of what they normally teach. Take for example a subject like mathematics, which has topics like number, algebra, geometry, matrices, and graph.

Term 3 is very short, so with my members of department, we have employed a method we call vocational teaching. A teacher teaches certain topics in a particular subject say like Kiswahili *fasihi* (literature) since that teacher is well knowledgeable on the topic, he goes in and teaches *fasihi* only, another teacher who is well equipped with *lugha* (grammar) skills goes in and does the same its kind of an exchange program across the stream especially the candidate classes. Kiswahili has 7 lessons per week therefore – 3 lessons dedicated to *fasihi* and 4 allocated to *lugha* lessons. This helps to bring teachers and students at par, no one is left behind and we cover so much within the short time. This has worked so well and given great results. Other departments are also embracing it. Administration is very helpful in this move. It was also a tactic to deal with the huge lack of teachers. We do teach on a block timetable. (SST1)

This could be termed as a, ‘philosophy’ of ‘scratch my back I scratch yours,’ basically building on each other’s strengths. In Kiswahili we say *umoja ni nguvu* direct translation would mean “unity is strength”.

A K.C.S.E certificate remains a key paper in their (students) life. The grades on this certificate (paper) dictates who gets a job in the camps or not, who attains grades to join the Kenyan and other world reputable universities. Moreover, it has the power to secure a job for an

individual even when they go back to Somalia (repatriate). I however witnessed a big difference between school attendance between the secondary and the primary schools. My visit to the camps school happened to be in the first week of opening for the third term—in Kenya school year starts in January, January to March forms first term, May to July forms the second term and September to November forms the third term. April, August and December are recess months. Most secondary schools had students in their classrooms from the first day while the primary schools did not have any students opening school for the first week and even going to the second week after the official opening day. Musa (SST1), Justine (HM1), and Bond (SST3) explained to me how they (teachers) and school administration have been using examinations as tactical tools to force students report to school the very first day of opening even if they do not feel like. As I noted earlier in here, the students like exams, so the schools have well-scheduled timetables for continuous assessment tests (CATs) on the first day of school every term. Students in secondary school cannot afford to miss these exams, they are meant to gauge their abilities and expose their areas of weaknesses. Even those who do not attend school regularly try to attend school during testing times.

It makes them come to school even if they missed the whole school year; they appear to do this exam. A K.C.S.E certificate is a very key thing in their life. It helps them get scholarship, like the world service of Canada (WUSC) also for them to get settlement to other countries when they go back home –Somali- they get jobs at the public service, which is picking there and the K.C.S.E certificate is highly regarded in Somalia. Best education for them. It has been a success story for majority who has gone there, some

have even called to say thank you for getting jobs like teaching while some have enrolled in the universities in Somalia. (SST1)

In their words, teachers and students agreed and explained that the exam exists as the only fair way to compete for the available scarce opportunities of joining better tertiary institutions in Kenya and abroad. Moreover, the certificates awarded at the end of class eight (KCPE) and form four (KCSE) make them feel equal to the Kenyan students because it nationally and internationally acceptable.

It is a unifying and equalizing certificate (factor) between the refugees, the host community and Kenya at large. Certificates are the same for everyone. (SST1)

Students in the refugee camp schools are in ‘love’ with exams. I was surprised when they expressed their love for exams; they have been conditioned to believe that good grades translate to good life; and that while this stays true, the playing field remains ‘unfair.’ Girls complained of lacking enough time to do their revision at home or late in the evening at school as their counterparts (boys). According to the girls I interviewed, a position that some teachers seemed to support, that, unlike girls, boys have so much time to themselves after school, which in most cases, girls see it as wasted time—boys playing football. Remember the PE lessons and the value attached to it by the teachers...girls have a point here in my view.

Boys, most of the time you will find them playing in the fields meaning they have too much time at their hand. (SST3)

The Somali culture dictates that girls should stay 'safe' at home undertaking household chores. However, it was not made clear to me as to what role the boys assumed at home, especially in a refugee camp context. Boys are seen to have an academic advantage, which girls claimed as the sole reason why boys perform better than girls in examinations.

For example, boys are left at school at night to do their group discussions, for girls they have to go home and stay there, there is no electricity, there are no people to discuss with them so this makes girls fail and it is a disadvantage for the girls. The family members especially parents can't allow us girls to be out at night. But boys can be out at any time. So we think a solution to giving the girls an equal opportunity like the boys is to lower the university entry grade for the girl child to act. (S3)

The curriculum of testing plays a center stage role in the entire study. As elaborated above examination preparations are seen to share the large portion of time dedicated in the schoolwork. Both the teachers and students have portrayed how important these examinations remain to them and to the entire community. Although the participants did not highlight any shortcoming of the usage of examination, I want to argue that overuse of examination could be academically unhealthy and therefore I tend to think that overemphasis put on these testing could make some weak students fear the school and motivates the cheating in the same if they do not end up dropping out of the school.

4.3 Curriculum Of Communal Benefit

Underlying communality there exists unity. And, unity is achieved in many ways including celebration of success especially students' success. This is also normalized within the society hence the reference to these communality, unity and success as a theme. *"It takes a village to raise a child..."* a common proverb in the African culture; this wise phrase is well utilized in the refugee set up. As I noted, one cannot run away from the community responsibility, the communal nature of child raising influences the way teachers and their students implement and enact their obligation to educate. They all understand very well that success requires sacrifice, for them to succeed they must work towards a common goal and helping each other remains a key factor. For example, although it is not something unique to have drawings of the key topics drawn on the walls of the schools, the drawings I saw in the refugee camp schools were well drawn and clearly labeled in English and Somali languages. I imagined that the information on the drawings did not just address the students in the school but also every visitor (like me) who understand either language. Further investigation from the participants, such drawings and writings serves the critical purpose of enlightening the school community in different way especially during the break times in the school routine. Therefore, on top of what the students do in class, continued learning during their free time becomes inevitable as Justine (HM1) noted:

During free times we create study times and they do some discussions from their revision books. They (students) believe in helping their brothers. They can't wait to see a fellow Somali suffering they must help when it comes to teamwork, they are not like Kenyans.

(HM1)

This clearly indicates that learning takes place anywhere anytime, translations on the drawings on the school walls meant that students would further continue to develop curiosity and interest in learning.

Unity among the school members exists as another vital pillar of success. Isak (IPST4) noted the need for them as trained teachers to help and mentor the fresh and untrained teachers who join their teams; they take them for saviors as they come to lighten their teaching workloads. But, most importantly these new (incentive) teachers come to help their perceived young brothers and sisters in this case the students. And as a way of giving back to the community the trained and experienced teachers take it to themselves to mentor and guide the newly employed teachers all for the sake of success.

Some teachers are not trained, and when they join us may not know what methods to use in term of teaching and guiding the students but we try to help them to get the right methods to do so. (IPST4)

Guided by the urge of helping the society, seven students (S1, S4, S6, S7, S9, S10) expressed how they felt about the need to work hard, succeed and eventually go back to the camps where they would continue helping their siblings in pursuit of success. Relating to a previous theme where students detailed why they took the responsibility to cover the syllabus. They have no choice because their dreams lie within hopes of performing well and attaining better grades that would grant them the opportunity to go to good (national) schools and beyond—later fulfilling their wishes. For “without hope there is no way we can even start thinking about education” (Freire, 2007a, p. 87). Twahil (S10) shared sentiments that captured the intention of other

students

We need further education to have a better life since it continues and the far you go the better. Get higher education, to help the next generation. We have to come back to the camp to help those still in the camps. (S10)

The students' community has developed ways of helping one another in order to make good names for their schools (top performing). To this effect students revealed that, science subjects (biology, chemistry and physics) and mathematics are perceived to be the difficult ones, but the bright students have created private study groups where they accommodate the weak learners. They revise together and ask each other the difficult questions on topics they do not understand during the lesson in class. They told me that they only seek teachers' attention if no one in the group or the entire class has no idea about the question, they try as much as possible to be independent. One interesting thing they portrayed in supporting their private study group was that, some students were good at science and mathematics subjects while others were good at humanities and yet co-existed symbiotically (no one considered him/herself as better than the others). Another interesting thing I noted is that they consider mathematics subject as problematic, this was because, as they said, most of the questions appearing on the mathematics exam paper starts with the statement, "*solve the following problem*" (S4,). I wonder if the mentality brought by this phrase to students would change if something else were used to describe their task in the mathematics exams.

So success of everyone in the school society is therefore seen as important and everyone seems to have a role to play towards achieving success.

Some of us go first to our fellow students especially if we have mathematics problems. Mathematics is always solving problems therefore it is a problematic subject; and some of us don't like it. (S9)

The urge to succeed goes beyond the school compound. Isak (IPST4) explained, at the 'blocks' where the students and the refugee-teachers stay/live there are other 'schools'. He told me that the students who perform well in the national examinations especially the KCSE, set up coaching 'schools', with the aim of earning some money to cater for their immediate needs and as well as readying ('sharpening') the young ones for future success in KCSE.

Some go to some private tuition in the block set up by school leaver and trying to get some livelihood. Mostly they teach what they are best at...say the best performer in math, best performers in physics and so on. (IPST4)

Those top performers join hands to set up spaces within the camp's residential blocks where they conduct private teaching (coaching). They each teach according to what they scored best at the KCSE. This is a big sacrifice of their time and energy and most importantly their limited resources to set up those spaces for the sake of their brothers and sisters. Although some parents end up paying cash money (rewarding) those 'student teachers' for teaching their children after school time and during the weekend/holidays, it is clear that the unity and support toward success is overwhelming.

On the same note these ‘block schools’ are seen as a blessing to students who are not able to attend school regularly and they feel shy to go to the adult learning centers - for the older people. Since those ‘block schools’ have a more flexible and accommodating schedule, those students who do not attend school regularly because of refugee challenges (those who are alone without parents, those who are young parents but students) find the block schools useful. Most importantly, as noted by three teachers (IPST4, HM1, and IPST2) because of the nature of their uncertainty life in the camps (repatriation fever, as HM1 would call it), they prefer to get some knowledge especially communication skills should it happen that the worst comes to the worst, when they have to go back to Somalia.

Time allocated at school is not enough for them and they want to gain knowledge, some say, “we might go back (to Somalia) so soon and I don’t have the certificate but it is better to go with the knowledge” so they end up going for private coaching within the block. (IPST4) And on the other hand,

Most students wants to go to Canada they work day in day out, but there are those who are just looking for the certificate, there are those who want the knowledge, since some tell me even if they don’t perform very well there is a difference from those who just stay at home. (HM1)

The majority of those who take the time to attend to those private classes, Harake (ISST5) revealed that students look at such classes as opportunities to maximize their chances of attaining best grades in their national examinations which in return rewards them with scholarships to

study in tertiary institutions in Kenya and abroad. Thus, it is the only sure way to a bright and secure future and access to greater freedom. Even if education and other basic needs are provided for free by the agencies, they still feel that complementing what they are offered for free by spending a little more would get them to the ‘promised’ land—a bright future.

They want good grades to go to better schools, get scholarships out of the camp; some get good grades and join other schools within Kenya national schools. Students see this as the only opportunity to be out of the camp. (ISST5)

Sharing happens to be a very common practice within the Somali culture and especially where they are sharing for a communal benefit. I witnessed and benefited from this humane act of sharing; during my school visits I was on several occasions invited by the teachers for free lunch meals, especially after interviews with them. It was a big surprise to me, as I never expected it. Teachers (SST3, HM1, T1) revealed that teachers go out of their way to share their little food over lunchtime with some students who cannot go home because of the long walking distance home and the hot weather in the afternoon. They do this to make sure they save the time for the students and increase student attendance at school all day, as it was revealed that some students go home for lunch and fail to return to school for afternoon classes.

They come from far distances. It is very hot in the afternoon. Although many opt to go for lunch, those who are left behind in school we try to share the little food that we have with them as teachers. Because we understand maybe at home they have nothing

to eat or it is very far away. Although some appreciate the food some of them do not accept it completely. They do not just eat anyhow. (SST3)

The curriculum of communal benefit, unity and success illustrated the collective responsibility of every member of the community, the society expects nothing short of that and every member acknowledges this norm and strives to live by it. As a refugee community they are driven by the power of the traditions of the Somali culture embraced in most African cultures; togetherness and oneness for a common goal. This as elaborated in some of the excerpt, it is evident how communities even outside the Somali embrace that social practice of unity and success. Where their strength is harnessed for the benefit of the entire community, a person's achievement is a community achievement and they all celebrate the outcome.

4.4 Curriculum And Pedagogy Of Oppression

Underlying this theme are acts of suppression, obedience and compliance.

Incentive teachers are refugees, some are qualified (trained) teachers and others are not (untrained). According to Galgalo (IPST1), Guyo (ISST2), Hassan (IPST3), Isak (IPST4) and Harake (ISST5), whether qualified (trained) or unqualified (untrained), incentive teachers are paid less compared to their Kenyan colleagues teaching in the same schools. They did not reveal to me how much they earned per month, as they seemed to be uncomfortable explaining this situation. Though unhappy with this form of oppression, they nevertheless continue to teach as I felt they have no other options.

Most of us are refugees, we get so less as pay, we have families and this is not enough. So even if we love teaching some of us go looking for other jobs that pay well. Transportation for us to and from school, accommodation this is all upon our slim pay at the end of the month. (IPST4)

While the national teachers are provided with safe shelter, transport and food within the UN compounds, the incentive teachers are not. They therefore felt so left out terming this as unfair, they blamed this disparity and unfair treatment for not performing as they would wish to. It does not give a positive motivation.

Because of the security in the camps, we waste a lot of time travelling from our homes to the school, we could use that time to prepare for the next day teachings or doing our research and other things like the other teachers (national Kenyan teachers). (IPST3)

The agents responsible for education at the camp schools try their best to make sure there are enough teachers in the schools. However, the teachers expressed how they felt oppressed by the fact that schools had large student enrolments and the ratio of teachers to students was such a huge challenge as one teacher expressed.

We have a huge shortage of staff, and this is a hardship area far from other parts of Kenya and so not so many people like coming to work. Our school for example has 1,200 students in 5 streams (60 students in a class). Over-burdened teachers do not

have ample time to prepare for the lesson and also time to relax. Otherwise one can't deliver. (SST1)

Students, especially female, felt that the rules set for university entry are biased and oppressive to them. They took time to explain how they were unfairly being compared to boys on the national examination, when in actual fact they do not have adequate time to study as boys. They blamed their culture and the grading system for working against them. In other words there appeared to be a curriculum and pedagogy that oppressed a section of the community. Ironically the male students agreed with their female peers, terming it a huge challenge for girls.

Those who get grades A & B are considered to have passed the exam. But girls are faced with so many challenges one of them being the high grading for them. The university entry grading for girls is very high. It is a B-, and according to the refugee status this is very hard and high for us. Other than this, there are other challenges at home. For example, boys are left at school at night to do their group discussions, for girls they have to go home and stay there, there is no electricity, there are no people to discuss with them so this makes girls fail and it is a disadvantage for the girls. The family members especially parents can't allow us girls to be out at night. But boys can be out at any time. So we think a solution to giving the girls an equal opportunity like the boys is to lower the university entry grade for the girl child to act. (S3)

On the same note students seemed angered by the fact that despite having lab facilities, teachers never allowed to work or do experiments. In other words, they never did experiment or were never taught in those labs. I was personally conflicted knowing that labs are places where dangerous chemicals and expensive equipment are stored but also places where students are supposed to be taught or trained or to experience the “scientific process” – hands on – experimentation. Yet, they did not have teachers to teach them how to carry out practical lessons in the labs although practical were part of the national exam. Practical exam required that candidates conduct practical directed by the exam question. I can see the reason why they deeply expressed their dissatisfactions, frustrations and oppressions because they cannot afford to fail in the national examination, since failing the practical component meant losing almost 40% of the mark in science exams.

All the same we have other problems. Rarely do we go to the labs for practical. Practical are very important as they cover very important part in the national examinations. For example we can count the number of times we went to the lab for chemistry practical. This is a great problem and a point of concern since it will affect our grade in the final exam. There was no teacher teaching us all the way from form 1-3. But in form 4, we have now gone 2 times. We don't even go to the labs on our own, we are not allowed by the teachers despite having two labs (Physics & Biology) (S4)

The curriculum and pedagogy of the oppressed shared some crucial sentiments more or less the same those highlighted by Freire (1968). In this curriculum teachers and students shared their

(frustrations) challenges, it is where the power of the authority takes place as explained in the literature Chapter 2 by one Jackson (1968). Teachers are more powerful in decision making than the students and the school administrators have powers over the teachers and the chain goes on and on. Although everyone (participants) seemed confident on what they were sharing they were keen to note that there was nothing much they could have done to avert those oppressive ways. Jackson (1962) In all these as stated at the beginning of the section, the theme is underlay by the acts of oppression suppression especially with regard to gender: compliance and obedience, which in the study were in a way manifestations of emergency situations. Because of their consistence and regularities I have referred to them to as curricula as discussed below.

4.4.1 Curriculum Of Suppression Of Adolescent Gender-Based Desires

It was very clear that girls and boys were not supposed to sit together in class, based on Somali religious and cultural prescripts. But the underlying reasons vary. However, the one that seemed to make sense is to minimize contact between boys and girls. As a way to suppress opposite sex desires, teachers implied that behaving in ways likely to stimulate desires from the other gender remains unacceptable. Teachers (T2, T1) explained why they did not take that issue lightly they believe that the consequences of these desires are intolerable and could often lead to major distractors of educational (academic) achievement. As a result teachers are forced to take the role of members of the society in instilling discipline to the younger generation. One unacceptable behavior that has been associated with good learning distraction is the way boys shave their hair. I was informed that according to the Somali culture boys never shave their heads clean. However, teachers noted that some boys use their hair style shaving as a way of attracting or enticing girls—wooing them if I may say so, because maybe girls would be interested in being associated with such ‘popular’ boys. These particular boys are canning in

nature and teachers portrayed them, they do not take learning seriously, these boys reported to school whenever they felt like and would even look for the slightest chance to be absent from school. They miss school if a teacher asks them to go and have a 'proper' hair cut.

Learners are different; we have slow, fast and middle learners. But according to these differences, some success-promising learners are those who struggle everyday to be at school irrespective of their problems. Those who come and share their problems that hinders them from performing well in their studies. These are learners ready to learn. There are also jokers those who do not come to school or come whenever they want, they even don't want to follow school rules. For example you can ask them to shave their hair or cut short their hair (Trim) they don't do it. You see when you are tidy in class even your levels of concentration goes high you don't spend so much time thinking about how to keep it attracting especially for the boys. Some of these things affect their studies having funny hair shavings (Mohawks), influenced by the media. Some of them value that hairstyle more than their studies. Some of them when they are told to go and shave they opt not to come to school instead. They can compromise education simply because they have been told to go and shave their hair. They do it to attract attention. Although the majorities have respect for teachers, they don't like it when they are asked to go and do as the teacher asked them. Because of the culture, we do not ask them to clean shave their hair but rather trim. (SST3)

Teachers further expressed their frustrations and challenges with the new social media (Facebook, twitter, instagram and WhatsApp). They talked of how students were becoming untamable when it came to issues dealing with usage of these social media platforms. They noted how these social media platforms had created fodder for cultivating unhealthy relationships among the students. Thus, the teachers see these platforms as distractors to learning; learners did everything possible to get access to these platforms through their small mobile gadgets. Furthermore, the teachers stated that the social media seemed to encourage ill motivated and unwanted behaviors among the students. The fact that these mobile gadgets had smaller screen and could access the Internet easily posed a great threat to academic achievement as well as exposed the students to the cruel (international) world. Teacher shifted their blame to the media for early marriage since it became clear that students used as an avenue to woo and attract their fellow students from the opposite sex. Also, the teachers noted that students were doing what they could to afford the most sophisticated mobile smart and android (phones) gadgets that allowed them access to the media—it has become a way of life for the students' community. With aims of accessing and connecting to the world of Facebook, twitter, instagram and WhatsApp the student are constantly breaking the set school rules. Therefore, as a way to curb this behavior or habits among the students, teachers administered punishment to the students, supposedly, in an effort to “help” them concentrate on their schoolwork. In defense, the students claimed that they use the electronic gadgets for academic research. Despite this noble use of social media by the students, no experienced teacher would listen; moreover, the school rule states that no students shall have a phone in school premises. Worthy noting among the students there are parents—the fact that some of the students are parents hence, the possibility of using

such gadgets to research or receive information about parenting not withstanding the fact that this should happen outside of school hours.

Social media is a challenge, Facebook twitter, they don't attend to class work even homework they take and post photos on these things. We detain the phones for a term when we get them. (IPST2)

Teachers are trying to keep off the new technology out of school because of the perception that what it brings to school in their view is undesirable for the youth—a vice as they call it, while the students are circumventing it by continuing to engage with the social media.

The curriculum of suppression of adolescent gender-based desires is founded on the tenets of Somali culture and religion teachings. In my African wisdom, adults (someone who is older than you) posse the right to correct a child (young or old) who is found doing something wrong – against the perceived cultural norms, irrespective of their relationship. Therefore, teachers acting like the adults in this case they have the authority and are rightful to instill discipline to the students in a manner deemed correct to them. Although there could be resistance from some students the majority do not risk facing the dire consequences of indiscipline. The society perceives teachers as the sole custodian of students school discipline and are comfortable taking the responsibility. However, an all-round student would require proper guidance from home as well as school. As argued in the social constructivist theory (Vygogtsky 1978)

4.4.2 Curriculum Of Obedience And Compliance

Obedience is correlated with good performance in the camp schools. Justine (HM1) believes in this view. In other words he happily expressed how heads of the schools had known

and perfect the art of how to maintain discipline among the teachers and students. According to him students had the 'authority' to monitor and report fairly to the head teachers about teachers' teaching practices. Teachers must obey and report to their workstation in time and more so teach students, and especially (if by chance the head teacher is not within the school or is within but busy with other administrative duties). Good results are attributed to obedience, which to them literary means being a very disciplined person.

As a head, I have a team of trained teachers they know what brought them here. They are so nice. This is because of the orientation I gave them the first time they came. Our students are so sensitive, if a teacher doesn't do his /her work, always I get the information at my desk from them. So if I don't get anything, I know something good is happening. This is because of the trust (with students) and the tracking tool, (student monitoring- head teacher expect students to report any mishap within the school and even report those teacher that skive classes) for my school. I first introduced it at Hagadera and it worked so I also introduced it here and it is working. As you can see our school was the best in the region K.C.S.E 11 students qualified for international scholarship from this school. (HM1)

The school requires students to be obedient as teachers revealed; obedient students are rewarded with material things to use at school (books, pens, mathematical sets and uniforms) Furthermore, such students assumed the role of students' leaders in the school. This means that a student leader is considered independent and must be highly disciplined.

As a result (of being obedient) you find some students are self-driven they don't have any other force (parental support) from home. They are self-motivated, after every exam we reward them especially those who perform well. (SST4)

Those at the top get rewards and gifts while those who are still coming up we reward them verbally. We also try to recognize the small and simple things the learners do, like for example when the students come to school early and clean the class. It also encourages others to do the same so that teachers can mention their names and /or reward them (with books, mathematical sets). Those obedient girls that participate in ballgames are given uniforms balls and games kit.

(SST3)

A student who is publicly recognized by the teacher feels appreciated and this becomes big deal to the individual student. The student tries to maintain that honor and in pursuit to attract more recognition as long as teachers are okay with it or encourage it.

The curriculum of obedience as portrayed in this case confirms what Jackson (1968) talked about in his book life in classrooms. Students construct their own understanding of what is expected of them in school. They strive to do everything within their reach to please teachers and teachers clearly know this. Teachers encourage this practice, considers it legal within the societal norms. Although there are material gifts attached to this form of curriculum, it looks attractive to many students and teachers see it as a motivational to doing the right.

4.4.4 Curriculum Of Emergency

What can a teacher do in an empty class?

Student absenteeism is rampant; some are ... husbands and wives [or] mothers and fathers and they have to fend for their families before coming to school; at times due to family issues they don't appear in school for days. We do not wait for them; we keep teaching even if it is one student in class. One thing is, we must teach and complete the syllabus. (SST1)

Absenteeism—especially in primary schools within the camp is rampant as noted earlier in this chapter. I observed this during my primary school visit. In a school that normally had an enrolment of 1450 students according to Farah (HM2) had no single students coming to school for over two weeks since opening. I was told that it was nothing unusual as teachers were used to such absences. Teachers explained how difficult their work was dealing with a group of students whose minds, souls and bodies were based on hopes of “unsure tomorrow” (people on the move/run).

Chronic absenteeism makes syllabus coverage very difficult. Students come in the morning and then disappear in the after lunch. (SST3)

In regards to absenteeism, the teachers highlighted some specific challenges they face while teaching Kiswahili. Kiswahili is a mandatory language subject in primary and secondary schools; however, most students did not like the subject. According to the teachers, students did

not see an immediate benefit of the subject. (As of 2010, in the new Kenya's constitution Kiswahili language was elevated to official language). However, in my view, it can be justifiably argued that the Dadaab refugee camp residents could see themselves as non Kenyans and hence the resistance; especially if they perceived the Kiswahili language requirement as a way of being 'Kenyanized' through a language; instead they preferred Somali language to Kiswahili. Mackinnon (2014) Understandably, Somali is the language they have grown knowing and home language and one that is spoken back in Somalia. However, even in Kenya, Kiswahili is just as foreign to some ethnic groups as it appears to residents of Dadaab refugee camps. Besides, when it is a curriculum requirement, one has no choice but to learn it. The teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools revealed to me how they were forced by circumstances to bend the ministry's policy on language use. Those in primary schools are forced to translate their teaching notes to Somali language. The policy states that: mother tongue or the language of the catchment area should be used in teaching class 1, 2 and 3, and English language should be taught as a subject and should be used as the language of instruction as from class 4 – 8 and beyond.

In the school when we are planning to teach we have to prepare notes in English and then translate into Somalia.(teachers that are not familiar to the Somali language are mostly allocated lessons in the upper classes where students understand English language) So we have to explain in the language they understand. I.e from class 1 to class 5 they mostly request teachers to translate into their language because they want to understand the concept. We have to translate to them because they are young and they come from a population that is dominated by that language so they tend not to understand English or Kiswahili. (IPST4)

In this case students in class four and five should at least have some knowledge of the English language. However, teachers are seen to consider them too young to understand the language. In other parts of Kenya teachers teach using mixed languages for example when I was a primary school teacher sometimes I found myself explaining social studies concept to students in class six in Kiswahili instead of English. Using what is familiar to the contexts for the sake of clear concept communication.

On the other hand teachers in secondary schools teach Kiswahili subject in English language. They do this, as it becomes the only option left for them to pass the content to the students, because most of them (Kenyan teachers teaching in the camp schools) are not very familiar with the Somali language as expressed by two teachers below.

Actually according to my own technique I have discussed with other teachers, when I go to class, I normally teach two subject English and Kiswahili I have to do what is called interpretation, that's how I teach especially when I teach *Nomino* (noun). This is to make sure they understand because of how they perceive Kiswahili as difficult subject I have to teach in a language they understand. I teach them to understand but not necessarily for exam purpose. (SST3)

Most don't know how to speak in Kiswahili. They say, "You know I am just here and after form 4, I will go back to Somalia and I don't think that language is going to help me" but we try to encourage them to see the benefit of the language. Despite the fact that they studied in the primary schools within the camps, they don't like it.

Some even say even if I pass, I will go to Canada, and there they don't speak in Kiswahili. (SST2)

Education in emergencies surrounded with repatriation issues makes teaching in refugee camp schools challenging for the teachers. As they explained, syllabuses are hardly covered in some subjects. When the repatriation news keep hovering around the refugee camp students take the advantage to keep off from school, affecting their daily school life of learning.

It's now term 3 (last term of the year) and the syllabus coverage is not so pleasing especially after the announcement of the repatriation. Most of them (students) opted to boycott the school from form 1-4. Teachers used to come to school but there was no one to be taught. They were demanding clear explanation of their fate. It took about four weeks. There were staying in the 'blocks' (HM1)

This study happened at a time when the government of Kenya had announced to the refugees that they would be repatriated within few months before the end of year 2016. This announcement caused a lot of confusion and according to the teachers I interviewed it led to students' class attendance decline. In other cases, the students went on strike and engaged in daily demonstrations around the camps, asking the 'poor' teachers for answers (of course the teachers were also in the same situation). Justine (HM1) revealed to me that most students were not in support of the repatriation idea; they opted to remain in the camp because they wanted to continue with their studies and obtain certificates that would later help them secure jobs.

For the first time I witnessed a decline in attendance was during the current issue of repatriation. Before then, attendance was always at 92% daily; today it's about 62%. Majority, according to my close contact with them they don't want to go back. Most of them were born here in the late 90s. So their argument is, "I don't know any place in Somalia, so where am I going?" For us as teachers we empathize with them but you see that's a government directive, there is nothing we can do about it. Although, there are some who want to go, those opting to go have relatives there, or because of the lucrative gift package from the UNHCR of about US \$ 400. So once they receive the money they go. Others go simply because their parents are going and they don't want to be left alone. Others (parents) have gone and left children. Children have opted to remain so that they can continue learning. (HM1)

Personal security remained as one thing that I noted was highly valued while at the camp, I was supposed to show my identification card every time I had to go in any school and even going back to the compound where I was housed. There were many security officers around the camps. 'I could feel them.' I was not allowed to go anywhere without a security escort. My movements were monitored and restricted. In the morning and evening when leaving the United Nations (UN) compound for the fieldwork we left in convoys—I had only seen this in a Hollywood movie, but there I was. In my designated car only the driver and I drove in. I could not understand why, but later I was made to understand (why) as it was a way of distributing of risk in case of an emergency. Nonetheless, the tight security remains as a good 'asset' for the people living in these areas including workers or humanitarian service providers.

Insecurity in the region especially from the reported terrorism ...this is from the media, (the case of the teacher abduction was all over the media and it made headline news as well as some western country issuing travel ban to Kenya) one case last year (2015) of a staff of this school was abducted and luckily found and rescued by the KDF (Kenya Defense Forces) in Somalia. So when such things are in the news no one wants to be here. So many teachers left and never came back. (SST1)

Curriculum of emergency painted a clear picture of what life looks like within the refugee camp schools. Teachers are tasked with the responsibility of teaching but students fail to turn up to school. It is a huge burden for the teacher trying to implement the mandated curriculum while other curriculums are in play. Life in the camp school not only do teachers face the absenteeism challenge but also insecurity risks as explained in the excerpts above. Combined with other challenges in the camp schools explained in this study curriculum of emergency gives a real image of what is likely taking place in other similar situations around the globe making this study a unique case. As the issue of language was addressed in one of the excerpt above, I want to put in my weight and support the teachers for what they do everyday. I want to imagine that another contributing factor to this language policy dilemma could be as a result of new students coming to join these schools from Somali on daily basis.

4.5 Curriculum Of Silence And Conspiracy

Underlying silence were acts of conspiracy and a feeling of sharing responsibility. It was clear that being silent in the refugee camp life and emergency does interfere with the smooth

implementation of the prescribed curriculum. Realizing this is beyond the control of the teachers, the students do not complain but they instead take the responsibility to complete the syllabus. This appears normal to everyone in the camp school hence the curriculum of silence. The Students felt the responsibility of syllabus coverage lay squarely on their little “shoulders,”— they owned it. Many of them expressed their concerns about this issue but one student who captured the actual sentiments said that:

It is our responsibility to cover the syllabus because we are the ones who do the exams. After we pass the exam we qualify to join world universities and also go to Kenyans schools. It is the responsibility of that student to address the issue or go to the teacher for assistance. Some of us we go first to our fellow students especially if we have mathematics problems. So it will be our own initiative to struggle and get what we want. (S4)

Students felt compelled to work extra hard as they heeded to advise from their teachers and the fact that examination awaited them. Although teachers felt they had extra time to teach, students did not think so; even when weekends became regular school days not all students came to school.

For the teacher we try to encourage learners to read ahead of the teacher “being a mile a head” Just incase something not covered is tested in the examination. They don’t have to wait for the teacher to come and teach. There is no pressure to cover the syllabus since we, as schools have the Saturdays to cover up. (SST2)

Similar idea of ownership was shared at the primary school level,

When I teach, and I realize students are making grammatical mistakes, I usually refer them to their English/grammar teacher for correction because that is what he/she is there for. I tell them to ask their teacher to give them dictation lesson to improve on their language. For me I need to see science in place. (IPST1)

As the students explained, they felt challenged in making certain decisions especially career related ones, but nonetheless, they embraced the challenges and went ahead with making the tough decisions on their own.

There are no career advisors in the school. Teachers just told us to select subjects but no further advice. Parents were never consulted during the subject selected. Our parents are refugees others are still in Somali. So they just tell us to go to school but no further advice. This remains a big challenge. (S2)

Students in the camp schools have realized that, to do well in exams, they must own and like being tested even if they do not take part in formulating the tests. As they explained, they felt being tested was a fair way to gauge their knowledge level.

Exams are very important because they help to know and evaluate your-self to increase our knowledge. Some of us like exams because we are able to know our weakness and strengths. Exams help us to know what we need to do. Without exams

is like someone who doesn't know what distance he has to cover what is remaining so you find the exam tells us what subjects we need to improve in and by how much. A student should always be ready for the exams all the time from the start of the year to the end. So, as a student whether you have exams or not you should read. This helps us to know why we are in school, and the exams we get are not the final exam, the final exams still waits a head. (S6)

As a way to evaluate oneself in comparison to the performance of others, a justified way is through the exams.

The curriculum of silence and ownership of responsibility explained why the students had no option other than obliging to do revision for the exams together. They understood very well that, teachers will never sit for any exam as they (students) would and that even if they did not personally perform well, teachers were not the only ones who were to take the blame at first. No teacher would be fired for the failure of one or two students therefore every students understood the art of perfecting their academic role. Students silently revised and covered the syllabus as a call to heed to the 'being a mile ahead' as propagated by the teachers. As noted in the previous curriculum of emergency the issue surrounding students' absenteeism, students clearly knew that it was their responsibility to learn what others learnt in class in their absence otherwise they risked failing in examination and that meant no progress to the next level. In some instances when state of emergencies and curfews dominated the (area) refugee camps, students also knew very well that their national exams waited therefore, with or without the teachers they must revise and cover the syllabus as the exam had to be done at the same time countrywide.

4.5.1 Curriculum Of Conspiracy

Although it is a point of concern to the students, they did not feel like it was their responsibility to report any or reveal cases of exam cheating. They felt and feared no action would be taken against the offender and if it happened, they had a feeling that their privacy would be compromised. They also believed that, since they were in the camp, no fair hearing could be accorded to them hence they did not see the point of reporting, instead they opted to concentrate on what could improve their personal lives—studying hard for their exams.

Our school has a bad history. It used to be a center of excellence, now we have a history called “History Y” (Y is a mark awarded to students who is suspected to have cheated in examination in Kenya. In simple term it means the results were cancelled.)

This is a very worrying thing to us even we can’t sleep at night. The results of all except 9 students in the last K.C.S.E were cancelled. I have never reported anybody who is involved in cheating because I don’t have that time. You see going to the police to report, is very far away. In down Kenya rules can apply but in the camps, we don’t have time because some of us have to do all the things for us and by ourselves. For example when you think of practical waiting and you don’t have teachers to help so you can’t think of wasting time going to report. The teachers can only do something if you have witness and evidence. They can’t do anything. So mostly we just see things happen and we can’t do anything. (S2)

The curriculum of conspiracy seemed to incline more on what students were willing to share to the public and the school administrators. While it was highlighted in this study that

teachers would never use the words, “I do not know”, students did not mind using these words any way. Students felt it was their sole responsibility to be their brothers ‘keeper’ especially when it was clear someone would land into serious trouble. As noted, students feared the consequences of their conspiracy however, ironically they were readily willing to admit that they ‘did not know’ to an inquiry from an authority or would be reluctant to uncover the ills among themselves. Nevertheless, I think all these have long traditional societal connections. It goes without saying... it is what they have constructed be the meaning of the life around them after interacting with the society and its inhabitants.

4.6 Curriculum Of Culture And Religion

There are some things that are not taught as the syllabus intends due to how the content is perceived in Somali culture and as expressed by teachers (SST2, SST4, SST1 and SST3). They said that they were forced to not explicitly offer the intended meaning as it is prohibited in the Somali culture and religion religious teaching.

Mostly, the cultural issues when deciding on some topics especially in literature guides me. Some things are very important for them to know but we find ourselves brushing over them otherwise you can find yourself being stoned for saying some things as they appear in the books. So sensitive critic or creating awareness on gender, culture and religion are special topics we don’t deal with them we look for other better ways of saying it rather than saying it the way it appears in the books. We have to be very sensitive (modification) without critic, avoid culture religion and politics. (SST1)

It was a point of concern when some of the Kenyan teachers displayed their fears as they performed their respectful duty of teaching. I could tell how uncomfortable they were at the time of discussing the matter of culture and religion. However, due to the ‘sharedness’ of faith between the non-Muslim teachers and myself, they felt comfortable sharing some of this concern. I think this was also another instant of curriculum of trust.

The religion is so strict, and when we are teaching the literature, we have to be very cautious of what we say. Make sure you put out the content and make sure students are feeling good about it, more comfortable even when giving examples we have to be very careful of the examples we are giving otherwise they will leave you in class and walk out. You don’t touch their culture or religion. (SST2)

Students understand their right to religion and appreciating what other people from other religious faith have to offer. Teachers that are non Muslim (minority) are keen not to preach their religious views to the Muslim students as that would not auger very well with teachers of Muslim faith.

...So for me Kiswahili is for community purposes. The decisions I make towards teaching, I have to make sure I don’t brush shoulders with them (students) especially on issues to do with religion & culture. So when teaching I make sure that my cultural knowledge doesn’t seem to be superior to theirs. So I try to appreciate and identify with their culture. As a teacher you must just identify with their culture so as to make the

learning more interesting for them. Make sure their attitude towards the subject is positive so that as a teacher you can achieve your objective. (SST3)

I noted even the dressing mode of the non-Muslim female teachers had been influenced by the Muslims' way of dressing who are the majority. I did not ask about this but I think it could be that, they wanted to fit in that society without so much cultural friction. They wore long free dresses (kitenge – a common type of African women wear) to depict those worn by the female Muslims – the long dresses covering from the head to toe.

Culture, marriage and others religious issues, we give up. Being a non-muslim and as a head some issues we don't deal with them rather we communicate through P.T.A (HM1)

Non-Muslim teachers do not find themselves qualified or competent to solve some of these sociocultural conflicts, despite the fact that the mandate given to them by the employer allows them to offer guidance.

Teachers are faced with huge challenges of trying to make learning experience equal for boys and girls; this is a totally out of order with respect to the culture of the Somali people. Teachers, especially the Kenyan nationals (non-Muslims) are seen as hindrance to cultivating the norms of the community. They are always suspected of propagating girls' rights, which impede the enforcement or impartment of cultural values by the elders. Moreover, as Bond (SST1) expressed, the culture is adversely affecting learning and particularly the girl child.

Cultural values impends these girls, you find that most of them are married off when they are still young. Some come to school expectant. This makes them very uncomfortable other small girls look at them and make fun of them. So they opt to stay at home. To make the matter worse some of them register for an exam. So when they do an exam, they don't perform well as the boys. Although these girls are married off to these same boys at school these gives them, an upper hand. On the other hand, in the school, it is very difficult to distribute school duties like the cleaning ones. From a teacher's perspective, both boys and girls are equal. So you have to make them understand that. For example in a class that is dirty, and you want them to clean the class, both boys & girls must clean their class, but the problem comes in when the ego of the boys comes to play. They say, "now that my wife is in class how can I sweep the class while my wife is watching me". And because they can't go directly to ask their wives to do the job for them, they say to me, that, "that is work for girls". So such a situation, which is a vulnerable area, they together with their parents tend to think that these teachers have come to spoil our children. (SST3)

This does not only make it hard for the teachers but also it complicates the discharge of their roles of a teacher.

Culture makes girls feel inferior to boys as Bond (T3) explained; there is a clear-cut line between boys and girls even if they are in the same class. They too do not share the same furniture in class; boys stay on one side while girls occupy the other side of the class. Somehow, boys feel

they have upper/superior knowledge over girls and believe they should be prioritized. This promotes inequality in the class as well as undermines that basic role of a classroom.

In class when asking general questions, and you realize that no one is raising their hands to answer the question, you point to a boy to answer and the boy has no answer for the question, you do not go to ask the same question to the girls. Because if the girl answers the question, the boy will feel so inferior, 'how can a girl know and I don't know'. So what you do is try to ask as many boys as possible and try to give hints to them so that they can answer the question. So a boys' question remains a boys' question. Even girls feel inferior to the boys. Oral questions are totally different from written ones. The written ones have a higher level of confidentiality and if a boy does not answer them correct not so many people will know about it but when are not able to answer oral question everyone in class knows that so and so (a boy) does not know the answer therefore me (a girl) am better than him. (SST3)

This promotes gender inequality with girls being sidelined, and especially when it is obviously against what the schools purport to be fostering.

The curriculum of culture and religion formed the basis on which most of the issues around the camp schools were founded. As noted herein, the majority of the population in the camp schools is Somali who are purely of Muslim faith. Therefore, incorporating the non-Muslim in the schools and hatching great working relationships between the Muslim and the non-Muslim displayed to me a picture of symbiotic life. Although there were some challenges experienced by both parties the desire to overcome them was overwhelming and I tend to think

this was as a result of unity and success. This curriculum shows how acceptable the Kenyan curriculum is in the refugee camp schools since it has transformed many lives. However, some of the practices encouraged by the culture and the religion seems to favor the boys child while promoting gender inequality among the students as of cases elaborated in the excerpts above.

4.7 Discussion

Implicit curriculum according to Eisner (2002) includes the compliance and the competitiveness, two factors that make this implicit curriculum more popular and important in the schools. He notes that implicit curriculum teaches about time; the overscheduling of time he argues teaches students what is important and what is not.

This study explores the role of hidden curriculum in a refugee camp school context and how teachers in these schools implement, interpret and assess students. Based on the data collected I found out that, there are indeed several beliefs and governors that guide and inform the teachers as well as students in their daily school life interaction. The data I compiled contributed to the following themes referred herein as “curriculums of”. These *curriculums of* formed the keys aspects of the hidden curricula in this case study. Therefore, as mentioned above an elaborate data analysis in Chapter four resulted in six themes, 1. Curriculum of trust, and alliance, 2. Curriculum of what is at stake, 3. Curriculum of communal benefits, 4. Curriculum and pedagogy of oppression, 5. Curriculum of silence and conspiracy, and 6. Curriculum of culture and religion, which served as answers to the research question below:

What are the hidden (unwritten) curricula revealed (discerned) in how the teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools interpret and implement formal (written) curriculum?

Teachers in the camp schools interpret and implement the adopted formal curriculum as well as assess students based on the national examination influence. This is from the fact that the society expects that. The social constructed truths around this idea inform the practices of the teachers and students at school. It is what they believe works for them that matters. Findings in this study indicated that, teachers and students in the camp schools are unaware of the existence of the hidden curriculum in their schools. In fact, basing on the same findings, and borrowing ideas from Crossman (2013), the concept of the hidden curriculum is clearly demonstrated by teachers and students through their actions within the refugee camp schools unaware of its impact and in the way they carry out activities. To them, everything seemed normal and justifiable; they have perfected their own ways of carrying on with daily routines in the schools.

Significance given to examination in the camp schools remains a notable aspect as displayed in this case study. I concede that, the entire education system in the refugee camp schools ascertained to be revolving around the testing space. Everybody goes to school simply because they want to pass in examination; further, the findings informed me that, students and teachers would do anything possible to make sure they pass in the national examination. This unique factor (examination) in my view undermines the main intended objective of the entire education in the camp schools. It consumes students' that bit of critical and creative thinking, instead promotes unethical techniques of trying to 'make' it in school life—attaining good results/passing exams. However, examinations are an integral part of any schooling system as it is a tool to measure and evaluate students.

From the researcher's standpoint, I noted that the banking system of education rules the camp schools (Friere, 1968). Teachers in the refugee camp schools exist and treated like small gods, he/she stands to know everything and they also believe so. As discussed in the previous

chapter, a teacher would never attempt to say that he/she does not have an answer to any question directed to him/her by the students, especially during class discussions. Teachers believe that, admitting that they 'do not know' would hurt their careers as well as reduce students' confidence in them. This remains a clear indication that teachers encourage learners to believe that teachers know everything because not knowing is considered unfit to teach. This perception and other factors discussed below expose manifestations of the hidden curriculum in Dadaab refugee camp schools.

There are students who do not show up in class during normal school time, but they are ever present at school during examination period. This still emphasizes on the examination influence. As explained by Bond (SST3), students fail to attend school due to the fact that residents of the refugee camps face many challenges at 'home'. (Remember some students are parents/ wives/ husbands) However, boys deliberately fail to show up at school. "They do not come to school during normal school days but during exam time they are always present, when you ask them why they do not come to school they tell you that they want to show (them) teachers and other students that one must not necessarily come to school for them to pass the exams – these are students who mostly attend the block schools. Thus indicating that, students have their own hidden agenda toward school attendance as well as examination performance. There exists a fragment of competition being displayed here by such students or rather a form of resistance. Although none of the students ever said it directly, teachers display students' examination results on school's public notice boards with an impression that everyone would see, therefore, students felt that they needed to do their best for their names to appear at the top of the displayed list. This notion of competition is highly encouraged in the hidden curriculum. Teachers, unintentionally display the results as a norm but communicate otherwise to the

students. Those students, who do not attend the school regularly, are quite aware of this display but as long as they ‘defeat’ other regular school goers; they feel great.

As I had earlier on stated (chapter 1), the formal curriculum could be the same everywhere within a particular jurisdiction but these unwritten governors may not be as they might include the cultural practices within a location where the school is located. In this case focusing on the refugee schools study where education is provided on the bases of emergency, there are many factors that make it unique compared to normal schools within the host community (Kenya). In my view I would like to note that the state of schools within the camps is far much better off than that of the host. There are permanent structures, furniture; electricity from diesel-powered generators, fences, and gates guarded by fulltime watchmen and most important running piped water in the refugee camp schools that I visited. Unlike most schools in Kenya, I agree that, “It is better to be a refugee in Kakuma than a Turkana in Kakuma” as claimed by (Aukot, 2003 p. 73) a renowned Kenyan proferssor, because my experience from the school I visited confirms it. The refugee schools are by far privileged because they have most of the needed resources.

While it could be true that the formal/written curriculum is the scheduled program of objectives, content, studying experiences, resources and evaluation offered by a school, teachers and students in the refugee camp schools did not necessarily follow that. Findings in this study showed that, syllabus coverage and testing formed the curriculum teachers and students adhered to. It follows, thus then this exists as their familiar meaning of the official curriculum. Therefore, the notion of hidden curriculum does not exist at all in their minds. They all insisted on these two factors and showed passion in fulfilling them and nothing else mattered.

Students felt it was their sole responsibility to make sure they did their best to cover the

syllabus and perform well in the examinations. This came as a fact that teachers kept insisting to students that they must always be ‘a mile a head’ of the teacher simply because of the uncertainty of the national examination sake. In this case teachers have secretively delegated their teaching responsibilities to the students and because the school rules dictates that students remain disciplined and obedient, students embrace that and can never question that position. (Jackson, 1968) It would be considered culturally wrong by the elders. This clearly stands out as to how hidden curriculum exhibits the notion of power and respect within the school between teacher and student; teachers are assumed to be the custodians of that power while student remains the receivers. Further more, as I noted from all the schools I visited, participants purely demonstrated the hidden curriculum concept from their behavior, personal relationships, the use of power and authority, competition, sources of motivation. For example: For example: Behavior—students were more willing to participate in my study after the teachers informed them (despite the fact that they were past the age of minors) ...did not question anything said by the teacher even when they were called upon to take part in my study they all adhered, this demonstrates power and authority between teachers and students. It is good to note that it was purely on voluntary basis for students.

Students and teachers fearlessly expressed their urge to compete in examination because of the lucrative goodies associated with it.

Co-curricular activities; debate, sports/games – football, leg ball, volleyball, netball, basketball, tennis, and athletics among other officially documented activities are taken for granted by the teachers and students in the schools. Although no one ever indicated this to me, as a former head teacher I know that there ought to be a clear budget meant to finance these activities in the schools (vote head), on the contrary no one seemed to care about them. In my

view, these are not important activities worth time for the students and their teachers (they are not examinable) hence termed as a waste of precious study time. However, the culture and the Muslim faith of the Somali people forbid participation of girls in these activities especially because, for one to actively take part in these activities, participants must be dressed in particular attire. This kind of dressing remains prohibited as it is seen as one that exposes girls' hands and hair to the public hence stands as a 'sinful' practice. However, all said and done boys who can comfortably take part in those activities were also denied the opportunity to actively participate and instead taken to class to study. They not only go to class to (just) study but to seriously study for examinations. Therefore, everything that matters to these students and their teachers is exam and exam alone. This in my view and from the participants view exists as a practice they have embraced and no one can separate it from them, it is the only fair and just way for them to succeed, achieve and realize their dreams of better life out of the refugee camps. (Unlike the co-curricular activities.) The only curriculum they know and understand remains examination and syllabus coverage.

On the other had, the climatic conditions of Dadaab area does not favor such activities and especially if they are scheduled to take part in the afternoon; the temperatures can go up to about 40°C. Although it is not my obligation to question on the schools budgets audit I therefore wonder where the money/vote head meant for such activities go. Most interestingly, it was revealed to me that some students end up in the market places where they go to watch movies and especially the European football matches at the expense of attending school. Any one familiar with the life situation in the refugee camps should be worried about these findings, I therefore conquer with Eisner (2002) that, what is not taught at school teaches something too. The life in school could be seen as boring Hargreaves (1982), meaning they (truant students) feel

the school is a place that wastes their time or somehow retains and confines them. Why should a student and especially secondary school students drop out of school with the knowledge of how education at school could change their life?

PE: quite a beneficial subject well scheduled on the schools' timetable, appears among the un-examinable subjects. Therefore, it is considered unimportant subject first by the teachers and equally transmitted to the students. From the findings, boys stand accused of wasting time whenever they try to play football during the PE time. Nevertheless, there exist some Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) making rounds in the camps schools encouraging girls to take part in sports (playing) or taking part in co curricular activities by giving them appropriate game attires. I hope this will eventually succeed and change the narrative of, 'spending time in the field exercising/playing is not a waste.'

PPI: happens to be another 'mandatory' subject on the timetable appearing once a week, however, no one gives attention to this subject since it is never examined. Instead, teachers and students revising for exams or remedial classes spend PPI time because they are more important. On the same note, the arrangement of subjects on the timetable as I observed made it clear that science subjects were given an upper hand in the time allocation. As I noted and confirmed by students, mathematics and science subjects were taught in the morning while art based subjects 'enjoyed' the afternoon. Mathematics and science subjects deserved to be taught a position students argued and agreed upon. The main argument revolved around the temperature issue that in the morning hours they felt fresh and the temperatures were relatively low. According to them, the calm morning hours improved and increased their concentration in solving the scientific and mathematics problem. This agreement jeopardized and antagonized the art based subjects and teaching of the same. Students treated science and mathematics subjects with a lot of respect and

the same was transferred to the teachers teaching those subjects—they are important while those art-based subjects were treated otherwise. Art based subjects were allocated the afternoon time when students seemed tired and high temperatures. This communicates to the students as well. As a result, students avoid selecting some art-based subjects leading to the subjects' extinction in the camp schools. For example, agriculture and geography subjects are no longer offered in the camp schools. Students, in my view deliberately refused to select these subjects because they are not associated with the great white-collar jobs. A fallacy that needs to be dealt with if we have to safeguard the art-based subjects. Students cannot see an immediate importance of the same.

For example when I was a young boy, my teachers taught and insisted that we should work hard at school to avoid becoming farmers later in life (career). The whole of my young life I kept the idea alive about farming as expressed by the teachers and—farming was seen as a dirty job and for the less educated. Although I know better by now, this idea rests in the minds of many young Kenyans and unfortunately agriculture is mostly associated with poverty. I remember when I was growing up in the rural area, my mother would make an after school farming schedule for all of us—my siblings and I. Before I joined the my mothers farming team officially, I enjoyed helping out on the farm, but the moment my mother (better say my age) promoted me to an official farming member in the family and assigned my farming portion, the most enjoyable task turned out to be the worst activity of my life. It was tiring. It was an after school time activity, around four o'clock in the evening we had to run home from school because farming (tilling the land, harvesting, milking the animals, watering the plants and picking coffee tea over the weekend) was to start soon after getting home till dark settled in. However, the government of Kenya insists that agriculture is the backbone of the country's economy.

The area around the camp is fertile but lacks enough water to support proper growth; therefore agriculture can only thrive through irrigation. In addition, traditionally Somali are known to be nomadic community majoring on one type of farming—livestock keeping. Similarly, it was claimed that the area basically does not have natural physical features; there are no mountains, rivers, big rocks, valleys, and forests. Therefore, there was no need of teaching, leaning or offering geography as a subject. However, the area of Dadaab is on a large plateau—raised flat land/tableland. In geography this amounts to a natural physical feature.

Another evident issue that surfaced from the findings under the hidden curriculum in the refugee camp schools remained the usage of Kiswahili language. Students in the camp schools ‘hate’ Kiswahili subject, they claimed the subject was hard and difficult to understand leave alone passing in the exams. These were the same sentiments shared in regard to mathematics, unlike Kiswahili, students made sure they consulted widely within themselves as well as engaging teachers in pursuit of good performance in mathematics. Kiswahili is considered a foreign language in Somalia, therefore, those school going students who come to seek refuge in the camp school in upper classes (6-8) have to start learning two new languages (English and Kiswahili). While this remains true, students eventually favor the English language at the expense of Kiswahili language. I can only try to think that this happens from the fact that, English as a language of instruction and teaching is offered in the same language hence making it even more familiar and demanding for them to learn. Furthermore, all examinations are set in English with the exception of the Kiswahili. Ogechi & Ogechi (2002) Acknowledges that, while hardly a small number of the Kenyan population can sufficiently use English, it remains the privileged official language and the medium of instruction in the education system, contrasting Kiswahili, the second official language.

Kiswahili is the regional (East African) *lingua franca*. Promulgation of the new constitution 2010 promoted Kiswahili to a national as well as an additional official language of Kenya. (English is the other official language in Kenya). When it comes to this topic of Kiswahili language, most Kenyans will readily agree that Kiswahili as a school subject had received a hard start during and after Kenya's independence in 1963. Where this agreement usually ends, however, is on the question why was the language treated in that way. Whereas some are convinced that Kiswahili was a political language used to deceive them other maintains that it was part of their livelihood—mother language. However, Kiswahili was brought to life in Kenyan schools by the various educational commissions set in the country. For example, (Nabea, 2009) notes that in the year 1924 Phelps-Stokes Commission “recommended that Kiswahili be dropped in the education curriculum, except in areas where it was spoken as the first language” (p. 124).

In 1950-1951, the Education Department Reports pointed out that it was inappropriate to teach three languages at the primary school (English, Kiswahili and mother tongue). (Nabea, 2009) Emphasizes that the reports included “Beecher's 1949, Binn's 1952 and the Drogheda Commission of 1952,” (p. 124). The documents recommended that ‘English be introduced in the lower primary to be taught alongside the mother tongue, and called for the dropping of Kiswahili in the curriculum, except in areas where it was the mother tongue.’ (Gorman, 1974) notes that the implementation of the said policy started in 1953-1955, Kenya was still under the British colonial rule.

However, in most cases Kiswahili was favored in schooling particularly for purposes of nationwide and provincial harmony. Furthermore (Mazrui & Mazrui 1996) claims that “Kiswahili was seen as the appropriate language for the Pan-Africanism dream however, unlike

English, the language was not anchored in to the school curriculum, and for a long time, it remained an optional subject” (p. 125).

The light started to show up for Kiswahili in 1964, when the Ominde Commission pronounced Kiswahili as the language of Adult Education alongside the mother tongue (Gorman 1974). On the same note the Gachathi Commission in 1976, suggested that ‘Kiswahili should assume the role of the language of teaching from class 4 in primary school all through to the university.’ Although the Gachathi Commission (1976) noted and acknowledged Kiswahili as a vital subject in primary and secondary classes, the language received lesser status when compared with English in the school curriculum. While English was allotted 8-10 periods (nearly 7 hours) 18% of the total hours per week (40), Kiswahili was allocated approximately 3 hours 8% of the total hours per week (Chimerah, 1998). It was in 1981, when the Commission lead by Mackay approved that ‘English remains the language of instruction, and Kiswahili was made an obligatory subject in both primary and secondary schooling. Thereafter (Njoroge, 1990) notes that production of Kiswahili books (as a policy) followed to meet the ballooned needs of both students and teachers. Further, the Mackay Commission advised that the ‘mother tongue be used in lower grades of primary schools, in areas where this was possible.’ In the refugee camps, teachers are forced to break this routine, as they had to teach Swahili in English for secondary school while in primary schools (classes 4-6) translation of learning content into Somali language was evident.

These findings supports the claim made by (Karambu, 2013) that hidden curriculum is ‘largely unidentified, hardly spoken about, and very frequently undervalued and hidden curriculum is all about what people believe in, how those beliefs affects the way they feel and what they decide to do. I believe that the hidden curriculum is all about those simple invisible

and unacknowledged endeavors we accomplish during our interactions in school without necessarily realizing. Although such issues are often overlooked in educational programming they contribute in reinforcing the gender disparity in education. From the findings, I realized that teachers had separate oral classroom questions set for boys and girls (remember confession by Bond SST3). Therefore, I do not refute that, girls are habitually considered as gloomy ‘other’ students who are vulnerable looked down upon when it comes to answering of difficult questions (mostly in mathematics and science subjects) and boys are given demanding responsibilities like time keeping and buzzing the school bell while girls are liable for cleaning, sweeping and organizing furniture in the classroom (Kendall, 2006). I further acknowledge that, emphasis of getting girls to school without tackling hindrances in their learning process further puts them at a disadvantage – some of the negative effects the hidden curriculum.

From the findings, a parent’s involvement in following up a student’s academic school (matters) progress gave teachers opportunities to form either positive or negative impressions towards a student. A student whose parent frequently visited the school to check on the student’s academic progress was given special attention by the teachers, they knew follow ups were being made, hence they needed to trade safely. Mostly, parents are involved in academic matters after the student fails to get the desired examination grades. It is at that point other ‘sins’ committed in the school by the student are revealed to the parents. Therefore, I want to argue that an indiscipline bright student would be found fit in the school while disciplined but poor performing student would be sent home to get his/her parents simply because they were found in simple messes at the school. Teachers give close attention to students whose parents are ‘ever’ present at school seeking to know the fate of their children. This close monitoring of teachers by parents enhances a great collaboration between teachers and parents against or for the student. Therefore,

common knowledge tells me that a parent who is not keen on academic follow-ups exposes his/her children to unequal treatment at school.

The competition amongst students in examinations is a notion purely informed by the fact that those who excel in academic are highly treated by the teachers and also in the community therefore this belief settles amongst them and becomes part of their life at school. Beliefs work as a kind of sifter between the world and us; it is a filter through which we give sense of the world (Mirani, 2009). Remember there are students who never show up at school but are ever present during examination times. The point they want to prove is that, ‘even if we did not come to school we can still compete with you, who attend school daily’, this is because examination is seen as the only way of settling down any academic scores. You also remember how teachers used the opening CATs? Since they cannot go round the block calling the students to attend school, teachers are forced to set examinations at the beginning of every break from school (mid-term/ full term). This overuse of examination is to an extent threatening, students have been forced to love sitting for examinations as it positioned as the only possible and true way to freedom. Those who are not academically gifted will fold up their hands and eventually drop out of school because they cannot realize their dreams simply by being at schools; they feel inferior, low self-esteem and academically condemned leaving chances of bolting out of the system very high. Their belief is that they cannot make it, so, in a way, as (Mirani, 2009) states, beliefs are not a strictly individual issue: rather, they are an essential link between our own self and the people around us. And that leads us to consider how they work, and what their function is. Similarly (Ridley 1997), argues that, “by means of our belief system, we perceive and re-interpret experiences. But these perceptions and interpretations are not neutral: they usually evoke feelings and reactions, like or dislike, acceptance or rejection. These feelings often go

together with some kind of judgment or evaluation: we may agree or disagree, we may approve or disapprove - and this leads us to shape our own personal attitudes to people and things. And, as we know, attitudes then affect our intentions and decisions and, ultimately, our actions. If we take a closer look at this pyramid, we shall see that actions - what our students and we actually *do* in the classroom, what can be seen happening under our eyes - are just the tip of the iceberg. Below this lie decisions that we make both before and during our lessons. And these decisions, in turn, are affected by our attitudes and, basically, by our beliefs” (p.21).

Teaching on the weekends with hopes of compensating lost time... catch up times. The fact that teachers would convince the students to attend school over the weekend makes them (teachers) somehow relax especially in matters related to syllabus coverage during normal school days. The confidence expressed by the teachers as they explained how they utilized the weekends showed a big difference in perspective between them and the students. Students (girls) report to school simply because they want to catch up with lost time (while) at home helping their parents—boys are always left at school in the evening carrying on with their discussion groups. Teachers utilize this time to cover the syllabuses, as a hidden agenda by the teacher students often fall in the trap. But as I discussed earlier on in this Chapter several factors are at stake for both students and teachers (job and examination being at the helm). The sentiments shared by (Hek, 2005b) regarding the refugee education seem to resonate well with my own idea of how educators should start to view the school and all that goes on in the schools for the benefit of the innocent refugee students – future leader and policy makers of a better Somalia.

...If schools are to support the education of refugee students, they must take seriously their capacity to socialize, acculturate, accommodate, integrate, involve and care: It is no

exaggeration to say that refugee children's well being depends to a major degree on their school experiences, successes and failures... School policies are a powerful tool for helping a refugee child feel safe and normal again, and begin to learn. They can promote the child's confidence and integration and prevent isolation and frustration. Failure in school can have a disastrous impact on children who are trying to reconstruct their lives and their self-esteem and develop hope for the future. Educational progress and emotional well-being are mutually dependent. (p. 29)

Whether implementing a host's curriculum or not acknowledging the hidden curriculum remains a great asset for any school and especially the refugee camp schools that seriously want to experience a fundamental change in approaching the mandated formal curriculum.

Chapter 5: Conclusions And Implications

In this chapter I make conclusions of the findings in Chapter 4 with reference to the theoretical perspective discussed in Chapter two. I further interpret the key findings and respond to the study's main research question. I also discuss implications for theory, practices and future research.

5.1 Conclusions

This study investigated the question: *What are the hidden (unwritten) curricula revealed in how the teachers in Dadaab refugee camp schools interpret and implement formal (written) curriculum?*

Similar studies dealing with the hidden curriculum have been carried out, for example Yuksel (2006) investigated the effects of hidden curriculum on university students in Turkey. In his report Yuksel indicated that as a result of hidden curriculum, male and female students were handled differently in favor of the female students. He pointed out that instructors did not treat male students equally compared to their female counterparts, during class time interactions; he called that gender division. Contrary to Yuksel report, it has been reported in this study that due to religious and cultural practices female students are seen as a discriminated lot. I therefore, note that depending on the context, students (people) in schools (social places) as they continue to interact with one another they are able to make their own knowledge and hence developing their own meanings and truths of practices in such places and their surroundings. In this study examination currency is evident and the discourses around it in and out of school shows that exams are socially constructive of teachers' and parents' disposition toward better performance of the students. This conclusion pinpoints the need of having a more leveled means of measuring

student achievements that involves the students, teachers and parents. This does not in any way mean exams are not worth but over emphasizing the examination, as the only way out in life is deceiving. However, this is one of the realities of the hidden curricula.

Different people even in the same context this is because of how we make meanings of things around as we interact, experience hidden curriculum differently. However, there are similarities in the hiddenness, for example in this study I noted how timetable and scheduling of subjects in regard to time (morning and afternoon) conveyed the importance of such subjects. In other studies reports indicated that some teachers taught topics in a particular subject with more emphasizes hence making students have the feeling of ‘this is important than that’ see Yuksel (2006). This conclusion point to the fact that the curriculum designers need to adjust their designs in consultation to such findings so as to minimize such instances (some subjects perceived to be more important) and give more freedom to students to select their pathways, this will also reduce the workload for teachers.

Hidden curriculum as suggested in this study thrives in all schools, however the nature of hiddenness varies from one institution to the next. For instance in schools that teachers and students are aware of the existence of this curriculum will handle its content differently from others who are not aware. Therefore, I conclude that, the hidden curriculum in Dadaab refugee camp school thrives and drives the learning process and it does it so well that no one is aware of its existence. However, there some negative effects caused by this hidden curriculum as I noted in the discussion Chapter four. Hidden curriculum in Dadaab camp schools is fully supported by all stakeholders (teachers, students, community leaders and parents) unconsciously and this propels its development.

While many may argue as they ponder about the question of the importance of the hidden curriculum in schools, I take a position that, in the case the hidden curriculum promotes a negative practice then in my view that hidden curriculum is ‘important’ and need to be addressed with due diligence. Unfortunately, in this case I reported that teachers are not aware of this curriculum due its silent nature. I therefore, conclude that teachers and students in Dadaab and (East African schools) need to be told about the hidden curriculum. This is what I hope this study will accomplish. Being aware of the hidden curricula will enable teachers and students negate the negative effects brought about by the manifestation of the hidden curricula as explained in the discussion on Chapter 4.

I need to note that while this could be the first study of its kind to be conducted in an East African context, there could be some untold facts about the hidden curricula, therefore, I call upon other researchers to take it into consideration. In connection to my findings, I make the following conclusions as I find them consistently agreeing to the social constructivist theory as discussed in Chapter two.

The hidden curricula are socially, culturally and contextually defined, understood and enacted (invisible). It was evident that the social-cultural practices are a great source of hidden curricula in Dadaab society under the following themes: curricula of culture and religion, communality and benefits (unity and success), trust, alliance, relationship, and collaboration. It is upon these cultural practices where people in the society base their understanding of life around them as well as formulating rules that guide them.

The hidden curricula dictated the discipline of enacting the formal curriculum. It was observed that the hidden curricula were in many respects teacher centered, student centered or society centered. This is conveyed in what has been described as the curricula of what is at stake,

fear versus modeling, testing, conspiracy, silence and ownership of responsibility. This was apparent in the ways the stakeholders (teachers, students, community leaders and parents) dealt with such curricula in educational circumstances.

Hidden curricula are formal system centered. This is clearly demonstrated when previous successes in the national exams are considered a validation of culturally and contextually enacted hidden curricula. These hidden curricula are the greatest pillars of the formal system. The hidden curricula thrive as teachers and students struggle to fulfill the demands of the formal curriculum, especially where the hidden curricula are unacknowledged.

The hidden curricula in large part determined the extent to which the boys and girls accessed supports for educational success. Curriculum and pedagogy of oppression and suppression of adolescent gender based desires, are good examples of how the hidden curriculum supports the delivery of the formal curriculum although from a more negative perspective. The hidden curricula, therefore, constantly and unconsciously keep reminding the stakeholders in the education sector the importance of acknowledging the efforts made by each other towards achieving a desired common goal in education for all.

The dynamic, but unspoken nature of events in Dadaab refugee camps was a major influence on the differentiated values placed on the contents of the formal curriculum. This position is well elaborated in the curriculum of obedience/compliance and emergency.

5.2 Implications For Theory, Practice And Future Research

This study's findings have an implication on how we understand curriculum implementation in contexts of emergencies. This study points to the need to be aware of the hidden drivers of curriculum implementation in often-unfamiliar contexts. The current study

reveals the hidden curricula in the refugee camp schools as well as expanding our understanding of the different aspects of the hidden curriculum in both primary and secondary schools from an east African refugee camp perspective. Today there are many refugee camps around the globe maybe more than ever experienced before. This study has revealed six hidden curricula from a refugee camp in East Africa it therefore sets a platform on which other researchers can use it as reference in studies within refugee camps worldwide. This study was carried out in Dadaab refugee camp. However, I wonder if it would give similar outcomes if carried out in other parts of Kenya such as in the internally displaced persons (IDPs) camp schools or other refugee camps in the region.

One striking lesson in this study is that there is a significant need for applicable, facilitated deliberations at the two levels of learning (primary and secondary) and beyond in the field of education with an aim of engaging all stakeholders in developing an evolved and well thought of response to the role of hidden curriculum in education. I consider this as a societal problem rather than an individual school endeavor. Therefore, it is a sociocultural problem that will require an equal social response. The more the educators and other stakeholders sideline the opportunity to learn and acknowledge that hidden curriculum the more they will negate from engaging with the positive practices posted by the hidden curriculum.

Therefore, there is a great need for more research on this and similar topics in the future to determine the full role of hidden curriculum in east African schools. Enlighten the educators and students on this important topic since it is widely unknown to many and there is little known about it. This will help us (educators) to recognize, acknowledge and more so appreciate the presence of the hidden curriculum and its role in the interpretation, implementation and assessment of the formal curriculum.

5.3 Closing Thoughts

The hidden curriculum is a reality in schools, as a matter of fact, teachers and students in Dadaab refugee camp schools seem not aware of this. Hidden curriculum is silent but very influential and due to its silent nature it remains unacknowledged, underestimated and clearly undervalued in the schools. However, actions of teachers and students in schools prove that teachers and students play by its rules day in day out without their knowledge. The practices by teachers and students as revealed by the hidden curriculum have both positive and negative effects on the learning process. I therefore think it is the time we became aware of the hidden curriculum in the schools to ensure we (educators) practice the most meaningful learning in the schools.

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Appendix

A. Sample Research Interview Questions For Teachers

1. How do you plan how to teach what you teach? (T)
2. What influences your decision to teach what you teach, when you teach it and how you teach it? (T) (methods).
3. *To what extent has your understanding of the students, their parents and community leaders been a factor in the way you interpret and implement (teach) curriculum as well as assess the students? (H/T&T)*
4. How do you decide on which aspects of the curriculum/syllabus to emphasize and which aspects to ignore or place less emphasis? (T)
5. How do you know your students understand and what are predictive pointers for a success-promising student? (T)
6. What strategies do you employ to ensure sustained potential and its realization by such students? How do you deal with those students who struggle in class with the purpose of bringing them to the point of achieving success? (T)
7. How often do you test your pupils/ students? How does this contribute to ensuring sustained and realization of student success? (T)
8. *How do you decide on when and what to test? What do you use the test results for? Who else has interest in the test results besides you and the students? Why? (T)*
9. Under what conditions are both formative and summative testing conducted? Who is involved in the assessment process? (T)
10. Of what use are these tests and especially summative exams at the national level in Kenya and the refugee camps in particular? (T)

11. Where are the examinations done? (Place) Why? (T)
12. *What challenges or constraints impede your teaching capabilities and how do you deal with these challenges?* (T)

B. Sample Interview Questions For Students

13. How often do you sit for exams?
14. How are examinations important to you and why?
15. How do you prepare for examinations?
16. What is your role in the syllabus coverage? And how do you prepare for lessons everyday?
17. What challenges do you face in school and how do you deal with them?