

Equality in an Environment of Difference

*The Effect of Integrated Education on Integration between
Refugee Students and Local Students in Nairobi.*



Merel Harrijvan
Carine van Slageren



Universiteit Utrecht

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Merel Harrijvan | 4132378
Carine van Slageren | 4132238

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Word count | 21.989
First Supervisor | Eva Krah
Second Supervisor | Sara ten Brinke
m.a.harrijvan@students.uu.nl
c.b.vanslageren@students.uu.nl

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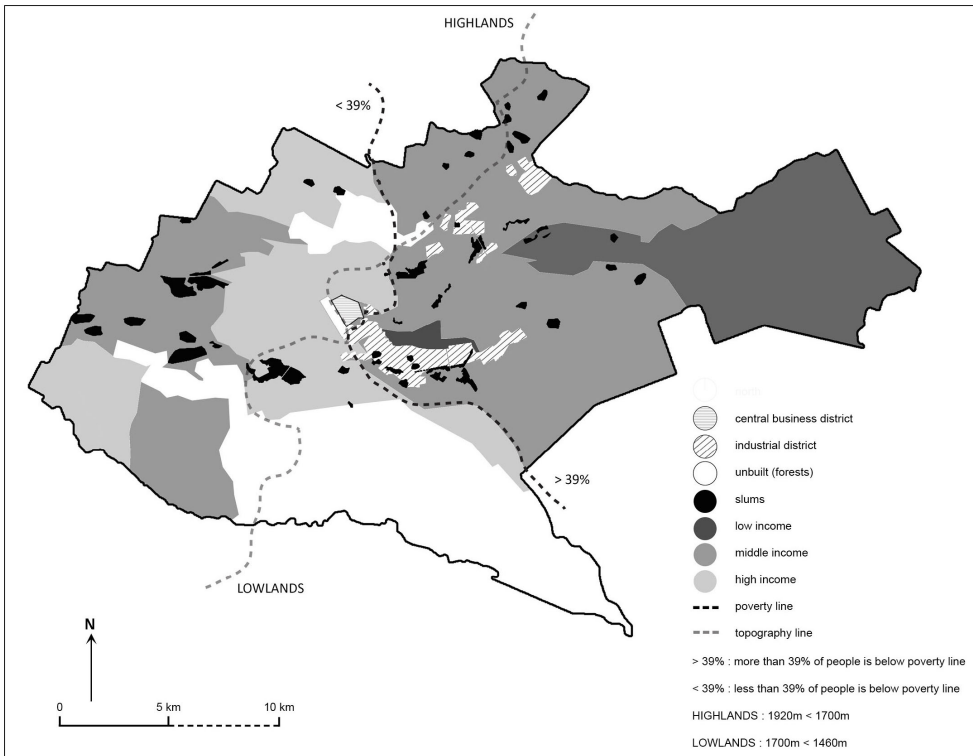
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Maps



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² Figure 1: Map of Kenya (uupcc.org 2013)

³ Figure 2: Map of Nairobi (tem.revues.org 2008)

Introduction

Kenya is one of the largest refugee-hosting countries in East-Africa. The majority of refugees in Kenya originate from East-African countries such as South-Sudan, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Somalia (Campbell and Turpin 2010; Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello 2010). The coexistence of these various groups within the Kenyan society raises questions regarding the integration of refugee groups with the local community. From a Western perspective the assumption is often made that refugees should be able to integrate easily with the neighbouring host-society as they would share similar cultures. Contrastingly, past studies revealed that refugees do often perceive cultural differences between themselves and the dominant local community in neighbouring host-countries (Fazel et al. 2012). Grown as a response to divided societies in different parts of the world, with as main example Northern Ireland, is the development of integrated education. Integrated schools offer education to all diverse groups in society, with the aim of fostering integration to positively influence social cohesion (Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007; Mavroudi and Holt 2015; UNRWA 2012). This study explores the effects of integrated education on the integration between refugee youth and local youth by looking at processes of mutual identification in an integrated school in Nairobi, Kenya.

The findings of this research are based on a ten-weeks field-research among local students, refugee students and teachers in the boys boarding school Aquinas High School in Nairobi, Kenya. This study uses a focus on processes of mutual identification to gain a deeper understanding of integration between local students and refugee students. Here, identification is referred to as the ongoing process of identity construction of the ‘Self’ in relation to different ‘Others’ in shifting social contexts (Van Meijl 2008). By first shedding light on the policy of integrated education in Aquinas High School and the experiences of the teachers who inculcate the school’s integrated ethos, the integrated setting of this study will be pointed out. Secondly, we will shed light on the notion of brotherhood as equalising factor influencing processes of identification among refugee students and local students. Lastly, we will point out the effect of diversity within the school on processes of identification among refugee students and local students. We have chosen to use this approach to emphasise the equality that is endeavoured within an environment of difference in Aquinas High School.

This study has been carried out among three groups, namely teachers, refugee students and local students. The complementary character of this study lays in the focus on two groups

of students in Aquinas High School: refugee students studied by Merel Harrijvan and local students studied by Carine van Slageren. In total, the school holds 1200 boys of which eighteen refugee students and 1182 Kenyan students. Names in this study have been replaced with pseudonyms to provide full anonymity of our research participants. In order to thoroughly understand processes of identification of refugee youth and local youth within the setting of an integrated school, this study has made use of multiple qualitative research methods.

To start with, we used participant observation and semi-structured interviews among all three research groups. Participant observation, including casual conversations, helped us to build rapport with our informants. By spending significant time in the school within and after school hours, our informants seemed to accept us more into their lives over time. This resulted in car rides home offered by a teacher, attending important cultural activities such as Parent Day and the sharing of confidential information with us. Moreover, nineteen semi-structured interviews were carried out to gain in-depth information on specific topics which had been considered relevant to the research. In addition, this study has used three creative research methods among the students; mind-map exercises, focus groups and mapping exercises. We have chosen to work with these creative methods to be able to level better with the age-category of the students which ranged between fourteen and nineteen years old. Firstly, the mind-map exercise instructed small groups consisting of two or three students to individually draw a mind-map around the topic 'home'. The subsequent discussion gave the students the opportunity to discuss their feelings, thoughts and memories of home which they had just written down. The information coming from the mind-map exercises with refugee students turned out to be of great value, whereas they turned out to be less valuable when carried out among local students. This because the exercise did not provide any new, unpredicted insights into how local students perceived 'home' as this naturally was Kenya, whereas refugees' perspectives on 'home' were more complex taking into account both their country of origin and Kenya. Therefore, the decision was made to carry out three mind-map exercises among refugee students and just one mind-map exercise among local students. Secondly, we have conducted four mapping-exercises. These mapping-exercises consisted of a geographical map of East-Africa on which the informants were asked to write down their knowledge about these countries. The discussion that followed turned out to be valuable in different ways. For example, a mapping-exercise with local students introduced the topic of tribalism as an influence on the acceptance of refugees in Kenya. Moreover, mapping-exercises with refugee students provided insights into the jokes related to the background of refugees. Therefore, these insights were subsequently addressed in semi-structured interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the topics relevant to this study.

Thirdly, a focus-group was carried out among six informants in the form of a theatre play. This was the only method in which refugee informants and local informants were mixed. The theme of the play was 'School Elections', and the informants were asked to divide the roles within the group and to think of a script. Even though this method did not give us any new insights into relevant topics that should be addressed in following interviews, it gave insight into the social dynamics between refugee students and local students. Finally, we have carried out follow-up interviews during the final weeks of field research to fill up gaps in the data hitherto. To conclude, the use of data triangulation gave us the chance to get a thorough understanding of the processes of mutual identification among local students and refugee students. Within this triangulation, the creative research methods gave us insights into topics that were of considerable interest to our research and which have thereafter been addressed in greater detail in semi-structured interviews and follow-up interviews.

During the field research, we have encountered several ethical dilemmas which asked for a thoughtful approach that would be of no harm to the research population. The first ethical dilemma arising in the field was related to the relationship between the students and the teachers. Several student informants told us about some teachers occasionally beating students. Even though we intended to believe our student informants, we had not observed any forms of physical abuse ourselves. However, during the second phase of our research, we recognized the arguments made by the students when we faced several situations in which students were being beaten by teachers. In these cases, students were laying on the floor in the hallway being hit with a wooden stick by teachers as other students were walking past them and looking at the situation. From our point of view, this was something incorrect and inhuman. However, we realised that even though this violent relationship between teachers and students is against our personal and cultural principles, we were not in the right position to intervene in these situations because of two reasons. First and foremost, we did not consider ourselves adequate to judge and change the situation in our role as researchers with an outsider perspective. Although acts of violence did occur, no students were put in serious physical danger by the violent acts. We, therefore, decided to approach the situation from a cultural relativistic point of view and tried to accept the situation for what it was. Second, by intervening in this situation, our relationship with both groups of informants could be disturbed. Where the teachers could feel threatened by our presence, it would increase the already existing gap between our student informants and us as researcher. It would, therefore, have an adverse influence on the rapport between us and our informants. A second ethical issue emerged in the final phase of field research and came forth out of expectations of us set by teachers in relation to our departure of the field. We were

shocked to receive a phone call from Mrs. Karen who was pleased to hear we had decided to sponsor two students. Interestingly, we had never communicated this information with anyone and were not planning on sponsoring two students. This situation made us feel uncomfortable since we did not want to disappoint our informants. At the same time, we had reasons to believe that one of our informants had provided false information to benefit from our status as 'rich Westerners'. Even though we wished we would have been in a position to fulfil their expectations, we decided not to sponsor any students. Firstly, because sponsoring the school would put us in a position in which the researcher-participant relationship would be disturbed since it would be based on perceptions of us as being 'rich Westerners'. Secondly, it would not offer a situation in which all the students would benefit from our presence. Instead, we stuck to our initial idea in the end; all the participant students and teachers enjoyed a pleasant afternoon-party with music and some snacks.

With regard to our role as researchers, two topics need to be reflected on. First of all, the ideas of students and teachers of us were primarily formed by a perception of us as rich, Western people. This opinion resulted in elevated expectations from teachers and students that often manifested in requests for money and food. By constantly refusing the fulfilment of these expectations, we tried to decrease the gap between 'us' as Westerners and 'them' as 'Africans'. Moreover, we have tried to adapt to life in Aquinas High School as much as possible. We ate the Kenyan food that was served in the school, dressed similar to local Kenyans, we used public transportation for travel, and we stayed in Kibera, the biggest slum in Nairobi. Hereby, we hoped to show our informants that we as outsiders tried to adapt to their lifestyle and were not acting different to them, despite our background. Therefore, by adapting to the Kenyan culture and way of life, we created a situation in which we tried to be perceived as insiders as much as possible within the time span of three months. Moreover, we faced challenges regarding our role as researchers in relation to the touching stories which our informants shared with us. Due to our established rapport, we were exposed to confidential information we considered to be disturbing from our point of view; such as physical abuse and violence. To prevent this information from negatively influencing the relationship with our informants, it was important to constantly try to step back from, and reflect on the situation. By doing so, we assured to analyse the situation from a researcher's perspective. By constantly reflecting on how the information touched us on a personal level, it was possible to decrease its influence on the relationships with our informants.

This study contributes to two academic debates. Firstly, it gives new insights into the academic debate of integration by looking at effects of integrated education. More specifically,

we believe this research reveals interesting insights into the relationships between locals and refugees in integrated education in the specific setting of Nairobi, Kenya. Secondly, by looking at processes of mutual identification of refugees and locals, this study contributes to the original anthropological debate on identification in which the ‘Other’ within the social context seems to be of significant influence. Moreover, this focus sheds lights on perspectives, feelings and attitudes and therefore contributes to the understanding of processes of integration in Kenya and other refugee host-countries. Subsequently, it contributes to information relevant to NGOs operating in the field of refugees, refugee resettlement and refugee youth. Insights into this study can help NGOs to gain a better understanding of the complex and dynamic relations that exist between locals and refugees. This can be of help in overcoming the gaps between locals and refugees that exist due to different ethnic and national backgrounds living in the same context.

This study starts with a theoretical framework focusing on the concept of identification, refugees and integrated education. It will thereafter focus on the context of this research by shedding light on Nairobi and education in Kenya. The empirical chapters that follow will show the results and findings of this study and is divided into three sections. First, the integrated policy of the school will be pointed out. Second, the influence of this equalising policy on the identification of the students will be shed light on. Third, we will turn to the way in which the students deal with the diversity within the school. Finally, the conclusion will give an answer on the effect of integrated education in the context of Aquinas High School, as well as research limitations and recommendations for future research within this field of study.

Theoretical Framework

This study starts with a chapter providing theoretical background relevant to this study. In order to provide a thorough understanding of integration between local students and refugee students in integrated schools, we will pay attention to various academic debates. Therefore, this chapter will start with a paragraph looking at processes of mutual identification by looking at the academic debate of identification. We will thereafter continue with a second paragraph shedding light on the anthropological debate of refugees. Moreover, a link will be made here between processes of identification, and locals and refugees in a refugee-hosting context. Thirdly, as this study focuses on processes of identification within the context of integrated education, we will look at integrated education and its influence on identification in the third paragraph of this chapter. This will be completed from two perspectives: the integrated policy as a way to influence attitudes and to increase respect, and the integrated school as a ‘site of social interaction’. Hereafter, the context will introduce the setting of this study.

Processes of Mutual Identification | by Merel Harrijvan

This study uses processes of identification to explore the integration between refugee students and local students as effect of integrated education. Identification sheds light on how groups identify themselves in relation to the social context in which they are placed. Since this study is set in an environment in which groups with different backgrounds live together, processes of identification can be challenged. Explaining these processes of identification, therefore, helps to understand behaviour, perspectives and attitudes among and between different groups. In order to get insight into the integration of these groups, this study looks at processes of mutual identification; how refugee students see themselves in relation to local students and vice-versa.

To get a thorough understanding of identification, we will first shed light on the concept of identity by means of early anthropological debates. “Identity is a socially labelled object” (Schwartz and Merten, 1968, 1). This definition of identity is in line with the original, dominant anthropological view on the concept of identity; namely that of a completely social product. By neglecting notions of the ‘Self’ (Eriksen 1994; Sökefeld 1999; Van Meijl 2008), the individuals’ influence in the process of identity construction was denied in this dominant anthropological view on identity (Cohen 2000). In addition, within early anthropological

debates, identity was defined as something permanent and homogeneous (Van Meijl 2008). People from the same group were regarded to share the same identity, that was developed during childhood and once incorporated, more or less fixed (Sökefeld 1999). Currently, anthropologists claim identity only becomes a meaningful concept when the idea of comparison between the 'Self' and the 'Other' is made (Sökefeld 1999; Eriksen 1994; Van Meijl 2008). Hence, a fundamental characteristic of the construction of identity is "the boundary between itself and the centre" (Cohen 2000, 12). The anthropologist Cohen explains the centre as the social context with the presence of the 'Other'(s) (Cohen 2000). Therefore, interaction between the 'Self' and the social context in which the 'Self' is placed, is fundamental to identity construction. The definition of identity used by Cohen is: "The way(s) in which a person is, or wishes to be known by certain others" (Cohen 1994, 49). Within the current anthropological terminology, the term identity, therefore, combines, on the one hand, the influence of the 'Self' and on the other hand, the influence of the social context with the presence of 'Other'(s). Hence, in this study the presence of the 'Other', being both refugee students and local students, is indispensable in the process of identity construction. Furthermore, identity does no longer have its singular character within scientific debates. Instead, anthropologists now argue that individuals have multiple identities. These different identities are constructed in relation to the social context in which the 'Other' is placed (Van Meijl 2008). Since this social context can always be different, the individual will find itself exposed to different 'Others' (Hall 1996). This constant negotiation between the 'Self' and the social context with the 'Other', results in multiple identities, such as ethnic identity and national identity (Van Meijl 2008; Cohen 2000). As is in agreement with Van Meijl (2008) who did research on the concept of identity within anthropology, this study uses the term identification to describe the never-ending process of identity construction. This term contradicts to the previous fixed, essentialist concept of identity and rather emphasises the dynamic, multiple characters of processes of identification.

The great variety of categories of different people that characterises our population nowadays challenges these multiple forms of identity (Anthias 2009). Hermans and Dimaggio argue that in this globalised world, which is characterised by its diverse population, individuals and groups are no longer located in one homogeneous culture (Hermans and Dimaggio 2007). Instead, we are increasingly positioned on the interfaces of cultures we are exposed to (Hermans and Dimaggio 2007; Anthias 2009). In this social context with the presence of the 'Other', we can have different belongings, positions and locations that influence the identification of the 'Self'. Subsequently, forms of identification in relation to the social context in which the 'Self' is positioned, also become more heterogeneous (Hermans and Dimaggio 2007). They refer to a

multiplicity of different social, cultural positions, coming together within the individual (Hermans and Dimaggio 2007). These various identities which are context and time dependent, engage in negotiations, agreements and tensions, resulting in some parts being more dominant or important at times and in different contexts than others (Hermans and Dimaggio 2007). This can be illustrated with an example of a refugee in a host-country. Where 'being-a-refugee' might not be in the foreground if that individual is surrounded by people from his country of origin, this part of the 'Self' is likely to be more dominantly present when the refugee is exposed to members of the dominant, majority group in that society. These two different social contexts give significantly different meanings and values to the identity construction of the refugee as part of the 'Self'. It is therefore important to realise that the multiple identities of the 'Self' are in a constant interplay with each other depending on the social context in which the 'Self' is positioned (Van Meijl 2008).

In order to understand this dynamic relationship between multiple forms of identification, this study holds on to the term identification to refer to the ongoing process of identity construction of the 'Self' in relation to shifting social contexts characterised by the presence of the 'Other'. Since this study focuses on the effect of integrated education by looking at processes of identification, the next paragraph will shed light on the relationship between identification and refugees in a host-country.

Refugees, Locals and Processes of Identification | by Carine van Slageren

Building on the previous paragraph, we will now take a look at processes of mutual identification among refugees and locals within the context of refugee-hosting countries. We will do so by means of the anthropological debate of refugees. In addition, with regard to the purpose of this research, we will thereby focus on refugee youth in urban contexts.

As pointed out in the previous paragraph, different forms of identification are the result of an interplay between the 'Self' in relation to different 'Others' in shifting social contexts (Van Meijl 2008). The anthropological debate of refugees functions as an interesting focus on processes of identification. This is the case since the social context of a refugee-hosting society offers an environment in which different groups of people with various cultural backgrounds

live together. These differences bring along various forms of identification among locals and refugees which are subsequently challenged in the social context of a refugee-hosting society.

Since the end of the Second World War, we see a rise of armed conflict (Turton 2003). This increase has led to significant flows of refugees with and between nations and the creation of transnational networks across borders (Turton 2003; Mavroudi and Holt 2015). When we look at the academic debate of refugees, the term 'refugee' is often based on a legal status (Hathaway 2007). The term, moreover, regularly places unique situations and experiences of persons in one homogenous category of 'refugees' (Hathaway 2007). In line with the debate around identification, which has shifted from the idea of a homogenous identity towards the idea of multiple identities constructed within social contexts (Sökefeld 1999; Eriksen 1994; Van Meijl 2008), is the perception of a heterogeneous category of refugees (Hathaway 2007). This approach of refugees as a heterogeneous category emphasises the importance of recognising personal histories, various socioeconomic statuses and personal experiences of refugees (Malkki 1995; Turton 2003). We can then state that refugees as a heterogeneous category are ever changing, fluid and dependent on social contexts. Bearing this in mind, we will for the purpose of this study refer to refugees as "people with unique experiences and memories who have left their own country because of persecution and violence, and who are unable or willing to return to it" (Turton 2006, 14; Soguk 1999).

This study uses processes of identification to explore integration between refugees and locals. This study considers the relationship between integration of refugees and locals and processes of identification to be important in order to look at processes of integration. Within anthropological debates, integration of refugees in a host-society is defined as "participation in different sectors of social life that follows a process of conflict, negotiation, and compromise" (Jacob 1994, 308). Moreover, Crisp (2004) argues local integration of refugees should be seen as a process leading to a sustainable solution characterised by legal, economic and social dimensions. Ager and Strang argue a 'successful' integration is based on four themes: "assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; processes of social connection within and between groups within the community; and structural barriers to such connection related to language, culture and the local environment" (Ager and Strang 2008, 166). This study will mainly focus on the last two themes regarding integration.

When we turn to the social context of a refugee host-country, we see one major factor challenging integration, explicitly the settlement of refugees (McGlynn 2004; Jacobsen 2003). According to McGlynn (2004), host-societies often face challenges concerning the peaceful integration of refugees with the dominating groups, and refugees in return face challenges regarding their settlement in a new country where they often end up in refugee camps with little future perspectives (Jacobsen 2003). Thus, most refugees prefer to live outside of refugee camps and often move to urban areas. Nevertheless, here their legal status is precarious and the local community benefits from their activities such as illegal money transfer systems, to which we will turn to later in this study (Jacobsen 2003; Campbell 2006). On the other side, refugees living in urban areas often get integrated with the local community easier which could positively influence processes of identification among locals and refugees (Mak and Nesdale 2000). With regard to integration, a study carried out among South-Sudanese refugees in Australia showed how refugees maintained a strong connection with their background. They explained to pursue successful careers in order to help their families and relatives back in South-Sudan. More interestingly, all of the refugees in this study wanted to return to Sudan at some point (Cassity and Gow 2005). These findings could indicate feelings of identification among the refugees as Sudanese, within the context outside of Sudan. As we saw in the previous paragraph, notions of the ‘Self’ are constructed in relation to present ‘Other’ group within the social context and can differ from place to place and time to time (Hermans and Dimaggio 2007).

Before we take a look at one specific group of refugees that is of particular interest to this study, we will turn to an argument made by Fazel et al. (2012). In the argument, Fazel et al. (2012) state that refugees from low-income countries often move to neighbouring low-income countries. From a Western point of view, these neighbouring low-income countries are characterised by similar religions, cultures and languages, which would ease the integration of refugees with locals (Fazel et al. 2012). However, previous studies show refugees to perceive cultural differences between themselves and the dominant local community in the neighbouring host-country (Fazel et al. 2012). These arguments are of interest for the purpose of this study, as we will shed light on the integration between refugees and locals in Kenya. This study could, therefore, be interesting as it tries to investigate whether these groups experience themselves to be similar or different in relation to the other group.

Refugee youth are of specific interest regarding this study. On the one hand, refugee youth are often exposed to violence and experience insecurity at a shaping stage of child

development (Fazel et al. 2012). Moreover, they regularly have to deal with the loss of parents, migration and resettlement into a new context (Ensor and Gozdziaak 2010; Fazel et al. 2012), while at the same time they have to take on responsible tasks such as managing the household (Jacobsen 2003). On the other hand, according to Cassity and Gow (2005), refugee youth often see their transition to a new country as a new start to their life. They argue, the biggest challenge for refugee youth within their new country is finding a community to which they can belong. Therefore, in order to counteract the chance of exclusions of refugee youth, it is essential for them to have strong connections with the community and social institutions (Fazel et al. 2012). As Wyn and White (1996) point out, schools are a social institution that play a significant role in fostering ties between refugees and the local community. It is thus that schools in general and integrated schools, in particular, are found to be helpful in connecting refugee youth with the refugee host-society. They provide an environment in which refugee youth are being looked after, and a successful adaptation of refugee youth to the local community is supported (Wyn and White 1996; Ehntholt and Yule 2006). Moreover, they get to experience the feeling of belonging to a society on the level of an everyday life (Cassity and Gow 2005). In the next paragraph, we will take a closer look at the role of integrated education in processes of identification and integration of refugee youth and local youth.

Integrated Education and its Influence on Identification

| by Merel Harrijvan

Education, in general, plays a significant role in the identification process of youth (Mavroudi and Holt 2015). This role expresses itself in the ability of schools to shape individuals' perspectives and behaviour and can be divided into two parts (Bush and Saltarelli 2000). First, schools, in general, form a setting in which specific ideas about diversity are taught, implemented and complied (Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Mavroudi and Holt 2015; Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007). Second, the so-called integrated schools function as a site of social interaction in which different people congregate.

Integrated schools are characterised by the approach of a realistic reflection of society's population, in which minority groups such as refugees, physically disabled and religious minorities, are included in the schools (Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007; Mavroudi and Holt 2015; UNRWA 2012). Moreover, there is a great emphasis on the appreciation of diversity

within these integrated schools (UNRWA 2012). Due to an increased flow of global migration nowadays, populations are characterised by a great diversity of ethnicities and nationalities (Mavroudi and Holt 2015). This multicultural setting brings forward many challenges, including the integration of these different groups in a peaceful society (McGlynn et al. 2004). Grown as a response to this challenge is the increased development of these integrated schools (Mavroudi and Holt 2015; Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007).

However, a dual nature lays in the influence of integrated education on the process of identification. On the one hand, within a society in which a lot of different groups live together, integrated schools often have the role of promoting tolerance and acceptance towards difference (Mavroudi and Holt 2015). On the other hand, schools, in general, form the “mediator of the dominant culture” which makes schools one of the contributors to feelings of nationalism (Mavroudi and Holt 2015, 181). The difficult role of the integrated education system, therefore, lies in balancing between these two counterparts, with tolerance and acceptance towards difference on one side and ideas about nationalism and the dominant culture on the other side.

The following two paragraphs will focus on the two ways in which the integrated education system can possibly influence the identification process of youth and the expression of this in the diverse and mixed setting of the school.

The Integrated Policy: Influencing Attitudes and Increasing Respect

| by Merel Harrijvan

This paragraph will shed light on the three different parts of a school’s integrated policy that contribute to the implementation and formation of perspectives and ideas about diversity and difference as distinguished in this study. The first indicator of an integrated school’s policy is language. Language plays an important role in the identification process since it has a strong influence on social interaction and the transmission of cultural values (Bekerman and Shhadi 2003). According to Bekerman and Shhadi (2003), who did research on the role of language in an integrated school in Israel, language can, therefore, be considered as both a separator and unifier of different ethnic and national groups in a society. By implementing bilingual education in which mother-tongue languages are incorporated, minority students are given the opportunity to strengthen their culture by positively influencing their self-esteem (Bekerman and Shhadi 2003; Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Genesee and Gándara 1999). On the other hand, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue in their research on the role of education in ethnic conflict, that learning the dominant language and culture helps the minority students grow into participating citizens.

This could strengthen the identification of minority groups with the dominant society. Moreover, bilingual education is not only beneficial to minority groups but also to majority groups. This because it creates an environment in which cultural and social values can be exchanged, which can reduce inter-group prejudices. In the research of Bekerman and Shhadi (2003), bilingual education revealed to foster intellectual and social enrichment among all students. Thus, a bilingual policy in an integrated school possibly influences identification processes in such a way that it fosters positive intergroup contact and in addition to that, integration between groups.

The second indicator of an integrated school's policy that possibly fosters integration is the religious ethos as promoted by the integrated school. The religious ethos of an integrated school has the difficult task of both reflecting on the dominant religion of the society in which they exist and also establishing an inclusive environment when concerning other religious faiths or no faiths (Smith 2001). According to Smith whose research highlighted the religious policy of integrated schools in Northern Ireland, an integrated school is therefore supposed to be "neither denominational nor secular" (Smith 2001, 573). The fact that an integrated school includes students with different religious backgrounds can increase mutual understanding among these groups. This integration positively influences perspectives and ideas towards the other group. However, the study of McGlynn et al. (2004) on integrated education in Northern-Ireland showed that these positively influenced perspectives and ideas do not necessarily change religious identification among students. However, it does influence integration by increasing tolerance and acceptance towards differences in terms of culture, race and class (McGlynn et al. 2004). Therefore, even though a religious ethos does not necessarily influence processes of religious identification, it can foster positive inter-group interaction by altering other forms of identification, related to for example culture.

The final indicator of the policy of integrated education which possibly plays a role in the integration is the approach of the teachers. The teacher defines the rules and accepted behaviour within the classroom and therefore imposes values and perspectives to the students (Donnelly 2004). By focusing on the understanding of differences between students, minority groups are supposed to feel less threatened by the cultural and religious presence of the dominant group and vice-versa (Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007). Offering a welcoming setting in which students can talk about their experiences, perspectives and conflicts is a crucial part of creating a sense of belonging and understanding among the different groups as part of the identification process (Hek 2005). Even though the little amount of literature on integrated education we have found is positive in character, Donnelly's study on teachers' experiences in

integrated schools in Northern Ireland proves teachers also tend to avoid conflict underpinned issues (Donnelly 2004). The result of undermining these issues and sensitive topics is that they neglect rather than decrease intolerance and non-acceptance that can be deeply rooted in a divided society (Donnelly 2004). This possibly negatively influence the identification process of students with the ‘Other’ group.

These three important indicators of a school’s integrated policy illustrate the relationship between integrated education and the identification of students. This identification process as influenced by the approach towards language, religion and teaching, positively affects processes of identification with the ‘Other’ group(s), resulting in increased feelings of belonging. Where this paragraph focused on the influence of schools’ integrated policies on processes of identification, the following paragraph sheds light on schools as a site of social interaction in which a great variety of different people congregate.

The Integrated School: ‘A Site of Social Interaction’ | by Carine van Slageren

The previous part of this paragraph focussed on the contribution of integrated education to ideas of difference and diversity within integrated education influencing processes of identification. In the following part, we will turn to the second way in which integrated education influences processes of identification by looking at social relationships within integrated schools. We will, therefore, take in the perspective of integrated schools as a ‘site of social interaction’.

To start with, education, in general, is often seen as a way to achieve social change among youth (Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007). This belief is commonly held because schools function as a location where contact between different social groups takes places. This inter-group contact helps to create acceptance towards racial and ethnic diversity and various social groups, and reduces prejudices towards other groups (Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007). Based on a study carried out on integrated schools in Northern Ireland, McGlynn (2003) states that the intercultural approach of integrated schools fosters exchange of cultures in which students teach each other about different cultural backgrounds (McGlynn 2003). She thereafter continues arguing that friendships among students from various backgrounds increase as a result of intergroup contact, which is one of the characteristics of integrated schools (McGlynn et al. 2004).

With regard to this study, it would be beneficial to look at past research of refugees as a specific group within the field of integrated education. Unfortunately, we have found little

research focussing on the relationships between local students and refugee students in integrated education. Nevertheless, a study by Cassity and Gow (2005) carried out among South-Sudanese refugees in Australia showed interesting insights regarding the possible benefit of relationships between refugees and locals in integrated schools. First of all, the refugees from South-Sudan explained to feel the need to find local classmates who they could interact with through language. This, they argued, could help them to get around in the school. It moreover gave them the chance to establish relationships with locals. This helped the South-Sudanese refugees to get more concerned with the Australian way of life. In line, the local students shared stories and information with the refugee students and vice-versa which helped the refugee students to develop social ties with the local community (Cassity and Gow 2005). Moreover, the study showed these social ties arise informally and naturally without imposed guidance coming from the school (Cassity and Gow 2005). Although the study did not provide any insights into identification, it does set an example of the mediating position local students could take in within integrated schools, especially when it comes to helping refugee students to integrate into a new social environment. As little literature has been found focussing on this particular area of integrated education, this study could provide new insights into the field of integration of refugee students and local students within the setting of integrated education. In order to get a more profound understanding of how this study will add to this, we will in the next chapter provide insights into the context in which this research has been carried out.

To conclude, this chapter provided a theoretical background to this study by looking at processes of mutual identification, the academic debate of refugees and integrated education. Ongoing processes of identification of the ‘Self’ in relation to shifting social contexts with the presence of the ‘Other’, are particularly interesting to look at from the perspective of integration between refugees and locals. The context of an integrated school places together different groups with various backgrounds which can challenge processes of identification. Schools take in an important role in the identification process of youth and in constructing social ties between refugee students and the local community. In the next chapter, we will turn to the context of this study which is an integrated high school in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya.

Context

Internal Conflict and Refugee Hosting in Kenya | by Carine van Slageren

Since this study will be conducted among refugee youth and local youth in Kenya, we will now take a closer look at Kenya, as the context of this study. Kenya has been hosting refugees for several decades, starting off in large numbers in 1988 when many refugees from Uganda fled to Kenya's capital Nairobi (Campbell and Turpin 2010). With the rise of the political crisis in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia and later on also in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, the number of people seeking refuge in Kenya rose to 374.000 by the end of 2010 (Campbell and Turpin 2010; Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello 2010). Although the exact number is unclear, official figures estimated the number of refugees living in the city of Nairobi in 2010 to be around 46.000 (UNHCR 2016). According to Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello (2010), many refugees hope to find safety and economic independence by moving to the city. While many refugees coming from neighbouring countries seek refuge in Kenya, the country also has refugees coming from within the country. Kenya is characterised by a population with 42 different tribes (Modiba and Odhiambo 2009). Internal conflict related to tribalism, corruption and politicians who seek support from ethnic groups has led to the creation of refugees within the country (Orvis 2001). This internal conflict translates in violence mainly initiated by the ruling regime, which has become a largely accepted part of the campaign season (Orvis 2001). Under the regime of President Daniel Arap Moi (1979–2002) post-colonial Kenya has continued to be characterised by ethnic clashes between the country's biggest tribes the Kikuyu and the Luo (Klopp 2002; Kagwanja 2003). Post-election violence has divided the country as major conflicts took place after presidential elections in 1992, 1997 and most recently in 2007 (Bratton and Kimenyi 2008). As a result, more than 10.000 refugees and internally displaced people between 1997 and 2001 came from the country itself. This has led to division within the Kenyan society which could negatively influence processes of integration of refugees.

Although it must be made clear that the relation between urban refugees and the local Nairobi community differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, Elhawary, Pantuliano and

Pavanello (2010) state that the life of refugees living in Nairobi is often characterised by poverty, harassment and physical assault (Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello 2010). These living conditions are partly the result of limited access for refugees to basic services, employment, health and education (Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello 2010). Because the Government of Kenya (GoK) does not actively support the living conditions of refugees in Nairobi, and refugees are, among other things, often seen as an economic burden to the city, refugees are largely forbidden to live and work in the city (Campbell 2006) (Kibreab 2000). As a result, refugees get embedded into informal economy businesses, such as unofficial banking and money transfer systems (Campbell 2006; Jacobsen 2003). More specifically, Jacobsen (2003) states groups of Somali and Sudanese refugees use radio call transmitters and satellite dishes connected to mobile phones to establish these illegal banking and money transfer systems. Apart from ideas of Somali refugees being related to participating in illegal banking systems, they are often seen as terrorist, making them a particularly vulnerable group of refugees in Kenya (Campbell and Turpin 2010). Several terrorist attacks in Kenya in the past were claimed by al-Shabab members, a militant group with headquarters in Somalia. As a result, the media often portrays Somali refugees as terrorists, armed smugglers and pirates (Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello 2010). Campbell (2006) argues this leads to extreme forms of xenophobia among the local population, leading to division between Somali refugees and the local community in Nairobi (Campbell 2006).

A second factor contributing to the poor relationship between the local Nairobi community and urban refugees is the mirroring of common problems between both groups (Aukot 2003). Local community groups often experience poor living conditions that are similar to the living conditions of urban refugees. In contrast to urban refugees, the local community cannot benefit from refugee aid coming from refugee organisations such as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This lies in the fact that someone must be outside his or her country of origin and without the protection of the state in order to receive refugee aid (Aukot 2003). As a result, refugees can receive humanitarian assistance and free services including healthcare, food and shelter from systems such as UNHCR (Aukot 2003). Hence, it would appear to be self-destructive for the local community to encourage the integration of refugees when they experience similar problems themselves such as limited access to health and education (Aukot 2003). In general, urban refugees living in Nairobi experience trouble with integrating into the society due to several causes such as marginalisation and discrimination. As a consequence of discrimination, many urban refugees choose to hide their identity (Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello 2010). Over the next paragraph, we will take a

closer look at the system of integrated education in Nairobi in order to see how the marginalised position of refugees in the society influences their position within the school.

The System of Education in Nairobi, Kenya | by Merel Harrijvan

As is mentioned in the previous paragraph, Kenya is a country with 42 different tribes of which the tribalism causes a deeply divided society. Moreover, Nairobi is a city that hosts many refugees from neighbouring countries. The fact that the population has a very multiplex character challenges the integration of all these different groups in society (Modiba and Odhiambo 2009). Even though schools' play a significant role in the way in which these groups identify themselves and the social world around them, little research has been done in the field of integrated education and its influence on the integration of these groups in the Kenyan society. To provide an understanding of the situation in Kenya, this paragraph sheds light on the general education system in the country.

In the past couple of years, the Free Primary Education (FPE) and Education For All (EFA) have been introduced in several East-African countries, including Kenya (Oketch and Rolleston 2007). These policies encourage the support of integrated education and were all agreed on by GoK (Wangechi 2013). However, this still proves to be different in practice, especially for marginalised minority groups such as refugees. According to Karanja (2010), the denying of access to public schooling for refugees is not an exception. Moreover, even though primary education is free to refugees, Sturge (2014) argues refugees often do not have the resources to pay for secondary education. This resulted in 7500 refugee children attending secondary schooling in Nairobi in 2014, which was in that year 59 percent of the gross enrolment (Sturge 2014).

However, even if the refugees and the other different groups have access to education in Kenya, this does not mean the education will suit their needs. There are different actors included in the system of integrated education, such as teachers, that might face challenges in the implementation of this system (Wangechi 2013). An example of this could be the lack of knowledge on how to handle students with different educational needs. According to Wangechi (2013) this is particularly the case with refugees since it is likely that they are traumatised and that they speak another language. Moreover, even though integrated education can offer a site

of social interaction in which different groups congregate, the division rooted in the Kenyan society as a result of tribalism, can be found within the classroom (Modiba and Odhiambo 2009). To foster integration between the different groups, teachers should promote the inclusiveness within the school by creating an open environment in which the different tribes and minority groups, such as refugees, can critically reflect on themselves in relation to the 'Other' to "identify the interests and notions of this inclusiveness" (Modiba and Odhiambo 2009, 482).

Thus, despite the little research we have found on the integrated schools in Kenya, we can assume a country with such a great variety of different groups faces challenges regarding the integration of these groups in a peaceful society. An organisation that is concerned with the education of one of these groups, namely refugees in both Kenya and Uganda, is Xavier Project. Xavier Project was founded in 2008 and believes in education as the best way to help refugees getting equal opportunities. Their aim is "to increase access to relevant and good formal education delivered in a safe environment for refugee children" (Xavier Project 2014). They are currently supporting 816 refugee children in Kenya to get access to education in general, ranging from early childhood development to secondary school. Even though these schools accept refugee students, this does not necessarily mean they all have an integrated policy. Xavier Project is the organisation that facilitated and hosted our fieldwork.

Empirical Data

Integration through Education: Setting of an Integrated School

This section shows the results of our findings in Aquinas High School in Kenya. We will start with a first chapter exploring the integrated policy in the school and experiences of teachers regarding this policy. The second and third chapter both shed light on processes of identification among refugee students and local students in Aquinas High School. Here, the second chapter turns to processes of identification within an environment of equality, and the third chapter emphasises processes of identification as influenced by the diverse setting of the integrated school.

The Policy of Integrated Education in Aquinas High School | by Carine van Slageren

Aquinas High School is an integrated boarding high school for boys located in the centre of Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. The school is founded upon Christian beliefs and therefore named after the Catholic Priest Saint Thomas Aquinas. Moreover, the school is funded by the Kenyan government. The Kenyan government demands Aquinas High School to imply an integrated policy focussing on the integration of various groups that belong to the Kenyan society within the school. As a result, the school provides a mixed setting of students ranging from local Kenyan students with various tribal backgrounds to visually impaired students, physically handicapped students, students from different social classes, and refugees coming from East-African countries. The latter group of students and the group of local Kenyan students are of specific interest for the purpose of this study and will therefore be paid specific attention to.

In an interview with the principal of Aquinas High School, Mr. Okorie explains the meaning of integrated education according to him:

“Integrated Education in Aquinas and in Kenya means putting together students with challenges. So for example, visually impaired and physically disabled students together with other normal

students for purposes of learning. By doing so, all of them are able to appreciate each other.”
(Interview Mr. Okorie, Principal)

This is in line with the description of integrated education as is pointed out previously in the theoretical chapter of this study. As stated here, integrated schools are characterised by the approach of a realistic reflection of the population in a society. This realistic reflection includes groups such as physically disabled, religious minorities and refugees (Hayes, McAllister and Dowds 2007; Mavroudi and Holt 2015; UNRWA 2012). As the United Nations Relief and Work Agency furthermore states, integrated education puts great emphasis on the appreciation of different groups within schools (UNRWA 2012). Both the definitions of integrated education according to academics and Mr. Okorie emphasise the necessity for each child to have access to education, independent of their majority or marginalised position within society. In addition, integrated education according to Mr. Okorie moreover stresses the value of integrated education in creating mutual appreciation among students.

Taking a closer look at the policy of integrated education in Aquinas High School, we find an important factor underlying the school’s policy, which is the Christian faith. As a Catholic school, Aquinas High School aims to integrate its students through practising the tenets of the Catholic faith. This becomes evident when entering the school where a large sign displaying the ‘core values’ of the school is placed next to the entrance. The core values are based on the tenets of the Bible and consist of ‘discipline’, ‘god fearing’, ‘humility’, ‘respect’, ‘honesty’, ‘teamwork’, ‘diligence’ and ‘integrity’. Although not displayed among the core values of the school, conversations with informants, specifically teachers, and observations in the classroom and around the school show one specific notion that seems to be of particular importance to the integration of students in Aquinas High School. We are here speaking of the notion of ‘brotherhood’ which is also deriving the Catholic faith and seen as part of the school’s policy. During multiple interviews and casual conversations, students and teachers explain how specifically the notion of brotherhood allows everyone in the school to be seen as part of one large family and how the idea, therefore, acts as a unifying, integrating factor. For the purpose of this study, we will therefore now take a closer look at brotherhood as an integrating factor underlying the integrated policy of Aquinas High School.

In order to understand what entails the notion of brotherhood, I asked Gavin for an interview. Gavin is twenty-three years old and started interning as a mathematics teacher in Aquinas High School two years ago, where he has profited as an official mathematics teacher now. He explains what brotherhood in Aquinas High School means to him:

“Brotherhood is how we relate and stand for each other in case of trouble, such as lack of basic needs. There is a culture as of a real family. A brother can’t suffer when we are around regardless of the issue. We are all together in it.” (Interview Gavin, mathematics teacher)

Throughout our interview, Gavin kept referring to brotherhood as ‘being part of a family’. Later on, it became apparent through interviews and casual conversations that many students and teachers simply use the words ‘family’ or ‘brother’ to refer to brotherhood. This idea of ‘being part of a family’ is transmitted within the school:

“The students are told we are a family. So when you come here in form one, the first thing you were told is you are a family. And when they are in form two, and the form ones come, they will tell them.” (Interview Gavin, mathematics teacher)

What we can conclude out of this, is that brotherhood is proliferated by teachers and is subsequently passed on from student to student and from higher levels onto lower levels. Apart from propagating and transmitting the notion, we need to point out four factors contributing to the expression of brotherhood to which we will turn to now.

Firstly, Aquinas High School follows a strict integration policy through the use of language. In order to avoid exclusion and to encourage integration, students and staff are required to solely use the languages English and Kiswahili, which are the two national languages of Kenya. This comes forth out of tribalism in Kenya. As pointed out earlier, Kenya is characterised by forty-two tribes of which the largest ones are the Kikuyu and the Luo (Modiba and Odhiambo 2009). These tribes are represented in Kenyan politics through political leaders who strongly identify with one of these tribes and moreover favour their tribe over other tribes when it comes to political decision making. This has in the past led to political violence, of which the heaviest cases took place during post-election 2007 (Orvis 2001; Klopp 2002; Kagwanja 2003). During an interview with Gavin about brotherhood, we came to understand how the use of mother tongue languages (tribal languages) within the school could cause separation among the students. Gavin explains:

“If we allow that, the fact that some can speak another language automatically attaches. People get on the same side [and others get excluded]. So, out of that, we try to bring unity among all students

by removing the language. We use a common language, so you are related as one.” (Interview Gavin, mathematics teacher)

Thus, in order to encourage the integration of students, the only languages used in the school are English and Kiswahili, both national and majority languages, whereas minority, tribal languages are prohibited. This policy is different from an argument made by Bekerman and Shaddi (2003) based on a study carried out among students in integrated bilingual Palestinian-Jewish schools and students in standard segregated Palestinian-Jewish schools in Israel. Here, they state that incorporating minority mother-tongue languages in a school leads to exchange of cultural and social values and reduces prejudices between different groups (Bekerman and Shhadi 2003). Meanwhile, Aquinas High School uses two common languages that are spoken by everyone to make it possible to relate to each other as one, which subsequently encourages brotherhood among students.

A second factor contributing to the notion of brotherhood is the use of school uniforms in the school. Although school uniforms are a common occurrence in high schools, including segregated schools, Aquinas High School provides a special, diverse environment for students. Mr. Okorie tells me in an interview how obliging students to wear the same clothes is seen as an important part of brotherhood, as it makes it possible to almost eliminate factors such as tribal backgrounds and national backgrounds next to poverty and richness. Observations and casual conversations with students do point out differences in skin colour tones among all students with Sudanese students generally darker toned than others. Oliver, a fifteen-year-old boy, born and raised in Nairobi, explains that differences in skin colour tones are common in Kenya itself and that the slightly darker skin colour of Sudanese is not seen as very different in comparison to others:

“The Sudan, usually you see them as dark people. Like most of them are dark. So you know he is a Sudan. But others, even though they are much darker they can be Kenyans too.” (Interview Oliver, 15 years old, Kenya).

Aquinas High School aims to simplify the process of acceptance of different groups in the school by making the students background as non-recognizable as possible by setting guidelines on how students should dress.

Thirdly, the school makes use of the idea called ‘Kitty for Needy’ in order to fade out financial positions of students that could cause separation within the school. ‘Kitty for Needy’

is a financial tool that can be used for any student in need of money or supplies. ‘Kitty for Needy’ consists of money collected from parents and former students during open days (such as Parents Day) in order to help students in school that come from financially challenging situations. This money is used to pay for school fees, uniforms, toiletries, pocket money, and money to go home during school breaks for students coming from poor backgrounds in which their parents cannot afford to cater for these needs. Due to the idea of ‘Kitty for Needy’, all students get to have the same essential possessions and get an equal chance to education. Although ‘Kitty for Needy’ is an initiative coming from the school staff and relies on money coming from parents and former students, a similar practice exists among the students and teachers. Nevertheless, this practice does not have a particular name and is simply referred to by students and teachers as part of brotherhood. Mrs. Danette, English teacher and head of class 2S and the English department, tells me during an interview how the practice of looking after each other in the school is part of ‘being a family’. She does so by giving an example of how students and teachers acted when a student lost everything in a slum fire about a year ago:

“We are his family as a school. We don’t let him go through this alone, we contribute, make sure they rebuild their mud structure. We have bought a uniform for him and everything.” (Interview Mrs. Danette, English teacher)

Helping each other from the perspective that everyone is seen as family illustrates the notion of brotherhood and shows ideas like ‘Kitty for Needy’ encourage integration and involvement within the school. This is, moreover, in line with the definition of brotherhood according to Gavin, which as previously stated, emphasises the meaning of brotherhood as “standing for each other in case of trouble such as in lack of basic needs” (Interview Gavin, mathematics teacher).

Fourthly, in order to foster the expression of brotherhood, Aquinas High School has come up with a way to integrate the different cultural backgrounds of the students through a yearly event called Cultural Day. The aim of this day is to integrate students with each other on a cultural level by giving them the chance to teach each other about their cultural backgrounds and to let students experience different cultures. During casual conversations and interviews, several teachers explain that all students, and in specific refugee students, get enthusiastic about Cultural Day as it gives them the opportunity to introduce their culture to their fellow Kenyan classmates, cultures most Kenyans are often not very familiar with. Teachers explain how

understanding the various cultural backgrounds of the students, fosters acceptance and makes it easier to act together as a family.

In conclusion, the integrated policy of Aquinas High School is based on the Christian faith and uses the notion of brotherhood to integrate students from various backgrounds, among which refugee students and Kenyan students. The aim is to educate students to become interconnected and part of a whole by providing an environment which broadens their minds and which makes it possible to appreciate each other. This then could provide as an example that is in line with a statement made by Mavroudi and Holt (2015) saying that schools often have the role of promoting tolerance and acceptance towards ethnic differences in societies in which a lot of different ethnic groups live together. In Aquinas High School, propagation of brotherhood unites students through language, uniforms, financial help and cultural exchange, and creates perspectives and feelings of ‘being part of a family’. In the next paragraph, we will turn to the experiences of teachers regarding the here discussed policy of integrated education.

Teacher’s Experiences of Integrated Education in Aquinas High School

| by Merel Harrijvan

“Teachers do not merely deliver the curriculum: they are the ultimate key to educational change and school improvement” (Vlachou in Donnelly 2004). In line with this quote of Vlachou, this study addresses the importance of teachers in inculcating a school’s integrated ethos. To understand the policy of integrated education and its effect thoroughly, the following paragraph will shed light on the experiences of teachers in the setting of Aquinas High School.

To start with, our findings reveal many teachers in Aquinas High School find it hard to distinguish refugee students from local students. They explain a refugee student can only be identified by a birth certificate, non-Kenyan name, a certain accent and level regarding language or ironically, better performances than local students. Mrs. Gojongi, who is the class teacher of the class we participated most in, explains the following:

“Sometimes it depends on the age when they come around. Like...you know some of them came when they were very small. So they started developing the language skills...they learn Kiswahili in primary school, so by the time they reach secondary school you can’t tell the difference.”
(Interview Mrs. Gojongi, class teacher 2C)

This quote shows that differences between local students and refugee students in terms of language are perceived to be dependent on the duration of stay in the host-country. As in line with our other data, there, indeed, seems to be a positive relationship between the stay of a refugee student in Kenya and his English language skills. An example of this is Mounir, a sixteen-year-old refugee student from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) who has only been in Kenya for three years now. From his level of Kiswahili and English it is easily distinguishable that he has different roots. Regarding performance, most teachers experience a positive difference in the performances of refugee students in comparison to local students. The teachers argue the challenges refugee students have faced in the past increase their motivation to work hard, since the refugees perceive education in Kenya as a new chance for a better future:

“Even in fact when it comes to performance, it is the foreigners that do better than our own students here. I think...you know like when refugees...the...the type of problem they have encountered back home, like we have refugees from Rwanda, Burundi, and uhm...Southern Sudan. It makes them work hard, and they don't want to be cut in any mess.” (Interview Mr. Kwayera, Head of Sport Department)

Refugee students turn out to be very focused in class and they show a higher level of discipline in comparison to local students. This difference is particularly noticeable in cases of absence of teachers when students are supposed to do ‘self-study’. We observed that after class-hours, in the midst of the bustle of the other boys who were happy school hours were over, there were always some refugee informants still studying in their classrooms in preparation of the following midterms. Moreover, the participant teachers state many refugee students are prefects and class representatives because of their excellent performance. Five out of the eleven refugee informants in this research have been chosen to fulfil these tasks out of classes of around fifty boys. Mounir, from DRC and Alex, from Rwanda, tells me that having these tasks makes them feel very respected by their classmates within the school. Important to mention here is that the naming of refugee students as prefects and class representatives is not part of the school's official integrated policy. Therefore, it is entirely a result of the hard work of the refugee students as observed by the teachers. Apart from language and outstanding performances, the teachers find it impossible to distinguish between local students and refugee students. Once, when I told Mrs. Gojongi, class teacher of class 2C, what our research is about, she looked confused. She told me that she did not know there were refugees in her class. That teachers find it impossible to distinguish refugee students based on their appearance is proven to be

experienced differently by the students themselves. Two examples of physical differences between students are given by the informants Kasib and Abir. Kasib, a Somali student, is characterised by his light skin and "Arab look" while Abir, a student from South Sudan has a darker skin and different height than most of the local students. These characteristics are linked to their countries of origin by other student informants as well. However, we, therefore, assume the unnoticed differences between refugee students and local students can be related to the fact that most teachers are not aware of a student's background as refugee.

From the interviews with teachers it becomes clear that they perceive integrated education as something beneficial to the relationship between refugee students and local students. The diversity within the classroom gives the students the opportunity to be exposed to different backgrounds, nationalities and people which would contribute to mutual understanding and respect towards each other. The teachers explain this increased understanding contributes to the development of empathy among them and respect towards diversity:

"The all-inclusive schools are the perfect school. Because they make you realise that a student...that life needs you to interact with almost everybody. In fact, those students who come from all-inclusive schools understand better life than students who are just in high school. They don't understand the challenges of the physical handicapped, the visually handicapped, the refugees." (Interview Mr. Kwayera, Head of Sport Department)

This quote shows that teachers experience the relationships between refugee students and local students as something that positively influences respect towards diversity. This is in line with the findings of a study by McGlynn et al. (2004) in Ireland showing that integrated education has a positive influence on the respect of diversity among Protestants and Catholics students. In our research, teachers even indicate their own attitudes towards, and perspectives on diversity are influenced by the setting of the integrated school as well. Since we were living quite far away from school and Mrs. Karen was living close to us, she regularly offered us a ride back home after school hours. One time during one of these rides, Mrs. Karen explained that teaching in an integrated school makes her understand the situation of refugees better. Moreover, Mr. Kwayera claims that his attitude towards different groups of people has changed since he has been teaching in an integrated school:

"Like now, if you understand my culture and I understand your culture, that's better for both of us. Because like when I was...I started teaching, there was a community in Kenya, the Samburu. I

never believed that...you know...we were always looking down upon them. But when I went to work with them, my mentality about them changed. I realised that these are serious Kenyans and they are very respectful. So, that perspective changed completely!” (Interview Mr. Kwayera, Head of Sport Department)

As cited in Donnelly’s research (2004) on the role of teachers in integrated schools, the experience of being exposed to different groups of people encourages teachers to reassess and reflect on their own inter-group attitudes, which is in line with our findings. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, a term continuously used by teachers to describe the relationships between refugee students and local students, is brotherhood. They define brotherhood as a relation built on mutual respect and support towards others. During one of the casual conversations I had with Mrs. Gojongi, she told me that the support among the students is so strong that before the teachers even realise there is a problem, “the others have already come to assist” (Interview Mrs. Gojongi, class teacher 2C). Thus, we assume that the relationships between refugee students and local students are perceived to be based on brotherhood by the informant teachers.

Even though most teachers explain to experience the system of integrated education in Aquinas High School as something beneficial to the respect towards diversity, they also indicate it raises challenges regarding teaching. First, as is mentioned before, refugee students can experience difficulties in language adaption. Since the students are equally treated and taught and the school does not offer a special curriculum for refugee students, the teachers feel the obligation to give them personal attention and counselling in their free time. One day after school hours, I was waiting in the staff room for an interview with Mrs. Karen. After waiting more than the usual thirty minutes, she came in. She was very stressed and told me there was this refugee student that really needed some additional personal teaching before his English exam. She asked me if we could reschedule the interview to another day. I told her this was fine and she explained to me that she felt the obligation to help this student in her free time. This example illustrates that teachers sacrifice their free time to help refugee students in need. Second, teachers experience the difficulty in coping with traumatised students. Where the curriculum in Aquinas High School is the same for all the students, topics such as war can be highly sensitive to students who experienced related issues in their past. Teachers argue they sometimes find it hard to deal with these traumas within the classroom. In the following quote, Mrs. Danette explains that she sometimes avoids sensitive topics:

“Well eh, sometimes when I feel the topic is a little too sensitive, I skip it. [laughs] Like if it’s about war and stuff like that. Like last year, war broke out towards, I think in second term, it was in South-Sudan. And I could see the students in my class and the candidate class they were worried about their parents back home. So, around that time is when, according to the syllabus comprehension should have read at war.” (Interview Mrs. Danette, English teacher)

Recent studies in integrated schools have shown that many teachers adopt a ‘culture of avoidance’ (Donnelly 2004; Modiba and Odhiambo 2009). In Aquinas High School this avoidance emerges from two different ways among the teachers. First, sensitive topics are perceived as a threat to the experienced unity created within the school. Second, it is possible that sensitive topics evoke traumatised feelings among students who have been exposed to a situation related to these sensitive topics; such as war. Not only Mrs. Danette admits to sometimes avoid certain topics, but other teachers address this issue as well. Mrs. Karen told me once that there was a boy who started crying when the topic genocide came forward. On my question how she dealt with this, she answered that she let the refugee student cry until he stopped and then continued with her class. Thus, since teachers find it difficult to pay attention to sensitive, conflict-related topics, it seems like there is an environment of avoidance in terms of sensitive topics within Aquinas High School. During an interview with Mrs. Danette, she addresses to miss the support she needs for teaching in an integrated school. This could help her and other teachers improving teaching these sensitive topics. We, therefore, claim this ‘culture of avoidance’ partly seems the result of a lack of knowledge among the teachers on how to teach in such a diverse environment characterised by a great variety of students with different backgrounds.

To conclude, teachers in Aquinas High school experience the diversity among the students as something positive to the relationships between the students. The role of teachers promoting diversity and fostering feelings of tolerance towards differences is an important role of the integrated schooling system as cited by Mavroudi and Holt (Mavroudi and Holt 2015). However, the ‘culture of avoidance’ within Aquinas High School that is carried out by the teachers makes the policy of equality among the students one that is assigned from above. Possible stereotypes and prejudices are neglected rather than decreased. With this, we mean that the underlying, sensitive topics that could cause separation and conflict between and among the diverse groups of students, are not dealt with in the school.

Brotherhood: Working Towards an Environment of Equality | by Carine van Slageren

As discussed in the first chapter of this study, the integrated policy of Aquinas High School is characterised by the notion of brotherhood. Already pointed out is that brotherhood expresses itself on different levels within the school and has a strong influence on the integration of local students and refugee students in Aquinas High School. This paragraph sheds light on the influence of brotherhood on the mutual identification to determine the effect of the integrated policy of Aquinas High School on the integration between refugee students and local students. We will start this chapter with the perspective of refugee students and will thereafter continue with the perspective of local students on brotherhood.

Refugee Perspective | by Merel Harrijvan

To understand the effect of integrated schooling on the identification of refugees, we have taken a closer look at both the influence of the integrated policy and the influence of the social interaction between the different students. First, the components of the integrated policy that reveal to have a significant influence on the identification process of the refugee youth are the uniforms and language. To start with, the uniforms create an environment of equality in which it is almost impossible to distinguish based on background. During the interviews I carried out among my refugee informants, they all explain to like the uniforms since it makes them feel equal to their classmates:

“The thing that makes us equal here is the uniform of the school. That’s the reason why you put on a uniform because you cannot think beyond, you all look equal. That’s why you put on uniform. So, I think that’s the main reason why I can say that the uniform is good because you are all equal.”
(Interview Abir, 19 years old, South Sudan)

“Cause we are a mass by our uniforms. No one is defined...you can never know who is who. So even the teachers don’t know, unless they come personal and ask you.” (Omar, 15 years old, Uganda)

As Omar and Abir explain in these quotes, the school's uniform creates uniformity within the school. Even though the students claim there are physical differences depending on the students' backgrounds, these differences are partly neglected due to the unity as raised by the uniforms. This unity makes them feel equal to their local classmates and positively influences identification of refugee students with local students. This is in line with the anthropological approach of identification: as being influenced by the social context with the presence of the 'Other' (Sökefeld 1999; Van Meijl 2008). The 'Other(s)' refers here to local classmates who refugee students perceive to be equal to themselves. The identification with local classmates expresses in the increased feelings of belonging towards them. Mounir, a sixteen-year-old refugee student from DRC who always has a big smile on his face and chitchats with everyone, one day explained to me he was not feeling this happy two years ago. When he first arrived in Kenya in 2015, he found it hard to adapt and make friends. The first time he entered the Aquinas High School gates, everyone looked the same. Mounir smiled at me and said when he got to wear the uniform, he felt just like the others. Finally, he had the feeling that after a long time, he belonged to something somewhere; the brothers in Aquinas High School. Moreover, even though both the teachers and the students claim there are differences in accents between the students, language turns out to be one of the connecting elements between the different groups. Where the study of Bekerman and Shhadi (2003) reveals that a bilingual language policy in which the minority language is implemented in a school, has a positive influence on the decrease of prejudice between groups and the social distance between them, the situation in Aquinas High School is more complicated. The argument of Bekerman and Shhadi is based on a bilingual policy in which both the dominant language and the minority language is represented, while Aquinas High School carries out a bilingual policy limited to the two national languages English and Swahili. However, our observations show that strictly allowing students to only speak the two dominant languages, decreases feelings of difference between the refugee students and the local students. On a sunny afternoon just right after the last class finished, I sat down with Mounir. He told me he is proud of how he has improved his language skills in only two years' time. Even though he still needs to catch up with other students in terms of language, the observations I made during after-school hours show that Mounir blends into the crowd when it comes to social interaction.

“They mean more than friends to me. They helped me...so as I told you, I know much by now... I am like the other Kenyans. You can't see any differences. So they helped me so much. They taught

me Swahili very well. English. I couldn't even speak to people more than five minutes in English. By now I have adapted..." (Interview Mounir, 16 years old, DRC)

In fact, Mounir explains his local classmates are the ones who helped him in adapting to the two languages used in the school. Therefore, we assume the language policy works as a way to bring local students and refugee students closer together. From the perspectives of refugee students, this increases identification with their local classmates resulting in increased feelings of belonging. Regarding feelings of belonging and the extent to which refugee students feel accepted within the Kenyan society, the refugee students explain tribalism plays an important role too. From their perspective, Kenyans do not view refugees as a threat because they see them as politically uninvolved since they do not have the ability to vote. Thus, most refugee informants feel partly more accepted by the local community, because they are not perceived as a political threat that could influence the political situation of the country by voting. However, refugee informants also point out that this perceived acceptance in Kenya, is different for refugees from Somalia. They relate this to the attacks of terrorist group Al-Shabaab, which is active in Kenya and operates from Somalia. The students claim this non-acceptance and marginalisation manifest itself in the deportation of refugees from Somalia out of Kenya. One day, I walked with Kasib, a sixteen-year-old boy from Somalia, through the fields behind the school. Kasib has been in Kenya since 2008, and I asked him how he perceives the situation with Al-Shabaab. Calm as always, he quietly explained he feels sad about this, because in his eyes people do not understand that not all refugees are part of Al-Shabaab. Kasib, therefore, clarified he feels less accepted outside of the school's gates. Kibreab's research (2000) on the identification of Eritrean refugees in Sudan revealed that perceived threat to society by the local community could develop a bigger distance between the host-society and the refugee minority. In the case of Kasib, this perceived threat by the local community is related to the nationality of the refugee. However, Kasib specifically points out that this feeling of non-acceptance is not how he feels in the equalising environment of the school.

The second way in which the identification process of refugee students is influenced is through the social interaction between refugee students and local students. As is in agreement with the perspective of teachers, all my refugee informants perceive the relationships between them and their classmates in terms of brotherhood.

"We are all Aquarians like I have said. And that Aquinerians spirit is like a family. And I have never seen people discussing a certain person because of their background. Let's say maybe if you

have done something that is outrageous and people feel like they need to correct you, that's when they tell you that what you have done is completely unacceptable. And us as Aquinerians, we have the feeling that you have let us down. Not because you are Rwandan, or a Burundian or South Sudanese, or Kikuyu or Luo, but because you are part of us. And in the end we expect you to live according to a certain way that we have chosen to live.” (Interview Alex, 17 years old, Rwanda)

Alex, a seventeen-year-old informant from Rwanda, has been in Kenya for fifteen years now. In this quote, he explains how he perceives brotherhood within the school. It illustrates the influence of the equalising policy on the identification of refugee students; it overarches the different backgrounds of the students within the school and makes them identify themselves as Aquinerians. When I ask my informants to explain how they would describe brotherhood, there are three terms mentioned by all of them: Support, respect and trust. During the focus-group we carried out, three local informants and three refugee informants were asked to make a theatre play. They helped each other with describing the roles and the social interaction between the different informants was very respectful. Mohammed, one of my refugee informants from Ethiopia, has, just like Mounir, a backlog in terms of language. However, the other students regularly put an arm around his shoulder to include him in the process of the theatre play. As McGlynn et al. (2004) conclude in their research on integrated schools in Ireland, integrated education is positively associated with the perceived quality of outgroup contact. This is confirmed by our findings, where the integrated setting in which the different groups of students congregate, results in friendships transcending ethnic group boundaries. Many of my informants told me to feel closest to a classmate who is Kenyan. Moreover, these relationships seem to be built on a notion of one ‘African Identity’ undermining ethnic differences between the students. When I was taking some notes in the quiet field behind the school one day, Alex sat down next to me. Alex, who I gave the nickname Philosopher because of his creative brain and great mind, had a paper in his hand. He explained it was one of his poems he was writing together with his local classmate who is sitting next to him in class. They are both into poetry and have started the poetry duo ‘the Outspoken’ together, with which they are busy during both school days and holidays. I asked him to make me listen to the one he was working on now, and he started reading it out loud:

“Dear Society, I dream of a time when Blacks will walk amongst Whites. I dream of a time when Black constitution will actually have rights. I dream of a time when no race would be superior, but a man will be judged by his soul interior. A time when a Black nation cries for help and the White world can afford to hear her. Society, we have talked and talked and talked again, walked this road

from way back when. The time has come now we demand change, ARISE BLACK MEN....now is that so strange?" (Alex; for entire poem see attachment 1)

In this poem on racism, they put the 'Whites' against the 'Blacks'. This is of particular interest for this research, because of the reference they make to discrimination and racism as something that occurs towards the 'Black', 'African Society'. This 'African Identity', which seems to be based on 'black consciousness', is strengthened by the school's policy in which the relationships based on brotherhood discloses differences between the students. This poem is, therefore, an illustration of the way in which refugee students identify themselves with the local students; identification that is expressed in increased feelings of equality and belonging based on the notion of one 'African Identity'. To enhance the understanding of the identification of refugee students with local students we propose the term the 'Umbrella of Black Consciousness'. This term refers to the belief of one shared 'African Identity' as is based on 'being black'.

To conclude, the policy of brotherhood influences processes of identification among refugee students in such a way that they strongly identify themselves with their local classmates. This results in positive relationships based on brotherhood and built on support, respect and trust. Moreover, this identification seems to be defined by one 'African Identity' as unifying factor. Hence, brotherhood has the power to overarch ethnic boundaries between different students and create an 'African Identity' among them. We believe the unifying factor of this 'African Identity' is the 'Umbrella of Black Consciousness'. The next paragraph builds further on the influence of the environment of equality and this 'African Identity' from the perspective of the local students in the setting of the integrated policy of Aquinas High School.

Local Perspective | by Carine van Slageren

The notion of brotherhood not only influences identification processes of refugees, it also influences identification processes of local students in Aquinas High School. In this paragraph, we will, therefore, look at processes of identification among local students within the setting of integrated education in Aquinas high School.

First of all, as we will see in this paragraph, local students in Aquinas High School explain to experience two kinds of identities: A Kenyan identity and a shared 'African Identity'. This idea of multiple identities is in line with a statement made by Van Meijl (2008). Van Meijl argues different identities are constructed in relation to the social context. If we look at the social contexts in which local students construct different identities, we see a strong connection

with Kenya and with Africa as a continent. Hence, during various interviews, casual conversations and mind-map exercises, local students identify as Kenyans actively and moreover explain to have one ‘African Identity’ which they share with refugee students. This shared ‘African Identity’ influences identification of local students with refugee students and is therefore in line with the previous paragraph. Before we take a look at the experience among local students of a shared ‘African Identity’, we will look at identification among local students as Kenyans.

The first form of identification among local students is identification as Kenyan. Local students explain to be proud of their country, they say mostly because there is peace in Kenya. This is an interesting statement since Orvis (2001) and Bratton and Kimenyi (2008) point out that the country has been characterised by internal conflict coming forth out of tribal issues related to politics since 1992. Kay, a fourteen-year-old boy who grew up with his grandmother in the countryside of Kenya as his mother had no money to raise him and his sister, explains to me in an interview how the political situation in Kenya does not provide for the people of lower economic classes:

“Many of the poor are treated very badly. We are treated as if we are not part of the society. The only thing they [politicians] want from us are votes. Only votes. And after votes you don’t find them there.” (Interview Kay, 14 years old, Kenya)

Kay is very aware of the politically unstable situation and often got frustrated during the interview, raising his voice and shrugging his shoulders, when we spoke about politics and tribalism in Kenya. Nevertheless, other local students point out that as Kenyans they are better off than surrounding East-African countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Somalia that are in ongoing conflict. This consciousness of living in a relatively peaceful country translates to national pride towards Kenya. This became clear to me in an interview with Lesley as he explained to me with a smile on a face:

“We are... We live as brothers. Although sometimes also we might have something negativity, but mostly we live like brothers. And we really, we just have that unity in Kenya. And I really love that, to be a Kenyan.” (Interview Lesley, 16 years old, Kenya)

National pride towards Kenya is moreover visible in small bracelets worn by many of the boys in the school. The bracelets are made of red, black and green beads and symbolise the Kenyan

flag. One of the boys wearing a Kenyan bracelet is Ramon. As we hung out after school watching a football training I noticed his bracelet, and when I asked him why he was wearing it, he told me:

“When I look at it I see a change. A change in Kenya. I just see where we have come from and where we are still going. And I see that each and every day we are striving as Kenyans to achieve more. Each and every day we listen to the news and there has been a new thing which has been made. Although we have many problems, I just see that we are ever achieving. You see, it’s like we are just ever increasing in each and everything we do.” (Casual conversation Ramon, 16 years old, Kenya)

Interestingly, not only Kenyan students wear the bracelets. When I walked around the school, I saw various refugee students wearing the bracelets too. In the conversation Ramon points out that the developments in the country on political and economic level make him feel proud to be a Kenyan, and by wearing the bracelet he wants to share this pride with people around him. Sabir, a sixteen-year-old student, also points out that the country experiences some difficulties, but that despite this, Kenya in a position is to help other countries in Africa who face internal conflict:

“Kenya is, although we have some internal conflict, Kenya is a little bit more peaceful and hospitalised. It can take in people and actually help them. And actually, Kenya also... In Africa, Kenya has the biggest refugee camp. It is the Dadaab refugee camp in North-Eastern. So it accommodates a lot of people.” (Interview Sabir, 16 years old, Kenya)

This clearly illustrates how national pride towards Kenya is being strengthened by the fact that Kenya is a host-country for refugees. Several local students explain to be proud of the fact that they originate from a country hosting large numbers of refugees and feel a personal responsibility to take care of refugees in the school as well. We can link these feelings of responsibility to the notion of brotherhood as it encourages unity among the students. To find out what brotherhood means according to local students, I asked Bruce, a sixteen-year-old student originally from Mombasa, to sit down with me. As we sat down under a tree overlooking the soccer field behind the school where hawks were circling in the sky, he explained what brotherhood means to him:

“Brotherhood is something that we can say as living together, and taking one another as your brother. Not only the person you live with or the person you are born with, but any person who is near you despite the religion or community they come from. You just take him or her as your brother and we live together as brothers. You don’t despise anyone.” (Interview Bruce, 16 years old, Kenya)

Brotherhood expresses in feelings of responsibility towards refugee students in two ways: the need to offer mental support and the need to offer material support to refugee students, while at the same time approaching refugee students as their Kenyan brothers when they are in Kenya.

“Actually when they come into Aquinas, you don’t take them as refugees. We take them as our fellow Kenyans, and they also take Kenya as their home.” (Interview Colin, 15 years old, Kenya)

As discussed in the first chapter of this study, the integrated policy of Aquinas High School uses the notion of brotherhood to integrate various groups with each other and to create unity within the school. The social act of perceiving everyone as family then is an explanation why local students perceive refugee students as Kenyans for as long as they are in Kenya, but at the same time feel the responsibility to support them as a group. This has to do with the fact that refugee students often have engaged in traumatic experiences or find themselves in uncertain situations concerning their family situations. Many local students explain in interviews how listening to and sharing stories with refugee students helps them to understand each other and to have empathy for each other. Although observation has not shown any examples of local students walking up to refugee students to have a conversation about traumatic events, Kay explains how he walks up to someone when he sees a person sitting by himself looking sad. This behaviour is reflected in an interview with Bruce in which he tells me about a former classmate from Sudan who was experiencing some trouble settling in the school while being far away from his family:

“So we used to play with him all day, every night before he’d go to sleep. We used to play. Because he told us that his brother was in army, but you don’t know about him. Whether he died or what. And he’s the one taking care of the family. They don’t know, anytime he can die. So it’s really hard. Also when we are with him, we show him that unity. And we live with him together as a family. Because when he’s here, he’s like our brother. So we must be together and support each other.” (Interview Bruce, 16 years old, Kenya)

A second example of how local students look after refugee students out of the notion of brotherhood comes from an interview with Ramon:

“I can remember last year. We had a classmate he was called Richard and he was from South-Sudan. And actually, you know last year about August or September, there was a fight which broke out in South-Sudan. And where the fight was going on, was actually their place. And his uncle was there, his mother was there, his other siblings were there. So, we actually had to pray for them. And we had to make like a group just to give him that courage that it is not over. So, we just told him to concentrate on his education first because his education is the key to resolving that violence.”

(Interview Ramon, 16 years old, Kenya).

Although this might all sound too good to be true and no actual situation of a local student cheering up a refugee student has been observed in the field, local students show a lot of compassion to, and interest in their refugee classmates. As pointed out in the previous paragraph, refugee students too show empathy to their local classmates. This is, for example, visible during classes as local students and refugee students share books and chairs with each other and friendly wrap arms around each other's shoulders. Observed behaviour like this adds to the validation of the examples given by the local students. The second form of feelings of responsibility towards refugee students are expressed through material support. Material support is given through the collection of small things such as soap, toothpaste or snacks when someone comes to school after a break without shopping or any personal amenities. In line with the notion of brotherhood, this person does not necessarily have to be a refugee student, but can be any student seeking help from others. A situation of material support occurred in the field during Sports Day. During this day, two students walked around the school with a bag of lollipops, which they were selling to students and teachers. They walked into the classroom where Merel and I were hanging out with Ramon, Colin and Alex. When I asked the two boys why they were selling lollipops, they told me they were raising money for a classmate who could not afford to buy a bus ticket home during semester break, for which they decided to help him. As we observed the two boys, it was interesting to see how they did not seem to proclaim the selling of the lollipops to the other students. Instead, classmates approached them almost naturally and without asking what was going on, would take a lollipop out of the bag and hand them money in return. This made it look like it was an everyday act around the school to raise funds by selling something. As we have just seen how local students identify as Kenyans, we will now turn to a second form of identification among local students based on a shared 'African Identity' with refugee students.

Alongside a strong identification with Kenya, we also see strong feelings of identification among local students with other African countries: to which we will refer as one ‘African Identity’. This ‘African Identity’ helps local students to see themselves and refugee students as origination from the same African ethnicity. In line with the previous paragraph, almost all local students explain how their ‘African Identity’ is the result of a view that the Western World has of the African people. This is what we previously referred to as ‘the Umbrella of Black Consciousness’. ‘Black consciousness’ leads to a strong sense of solidarity among people from different African countries, and contributes to the feeling of brotherhood among local students and refugee students in the school. Students explain how African people will always be seen as coming from a third world country, and therefore never have equal access to jobs, education and travel opportunities in comparison to people from Western countries. Just as it leads to identification of refugee students with local students, the ‘Umbrella of Black Consciousness’ also leads to identification among local students with refugee students. When I ask Sabir where the connection that he feels with his refugee classmates comes from he explains:

“There is that boundary that the other countries have set for us. You cannot go to a high university as a student from Kenya. You cannot go to the University of Oxford, you know. And Oxford is known as one of the best universities in the world. So, when you miss that opportunity to go to such universities and study and become even much better, you find that Africa is down there among the Third World. But in terms of unity, compassion for each other, we are very good at that. We really love each other. We view ourselves as one, not as Nigerian, not as South-African, someone from Somalia. We view each other as one. Even during the crisis over xenophobia in South-Africa, the Africans came together and contributed money to help the South-Africans. The same thing happens with those in Somalia: we send our soldiers there to protect them. We are all brothers.” (Interview Sabir, 16 years old, Kenya)

To emphasise the unifying ‘Umbrella of Black Consciousness’ among local and refugee students, Mrs. Danette points out that they once had an Asian student in school who was being looked at weirdly in the beginning, and needed a lot more time than refugee students to get integrated into the school. Kay explains in a casual conversation:

“The African refugees, if a person from let’s say Sudan, comes here, the Kenyans will not concentrate much on him. They will just look at the way he is tall, all that but not much else. But let’s say a person from Europe comes, someone from outside Africa, people will favour him.

Because they feel like this person can help them. They want to get their resources.” (Casual conversation Kay, 14 years old, Kenya)

‘The Umbrella of Black Consciousness’ then stimulates the acceptance of refugee students since local students are aware of the fact that their country is likely to be in need of support from neighbouring countries in the future if Kenya gets into prolonged conflict. Moreover, it creates a climate of equality within the school in which everyone is seen as equal.

In conclusion, local students identify themselves on two levels: as Kenyans and as Africans. Kenyan identification is shown through pride to be originating from a country with a relatively stable political situation giving Kenya the opportunity to host refugees. Local students feel responsible to look after refugee students in school, and can empathise with and understand them through a shared ‘African Identity’ based on ‘black consciousness’. This shared ‘African Identity’ was also seen from the perspective of refugee students in the previous paragraph and can, therefore, be seen as fostering identification with the ‘Other’ group. Despite the integrated character of the school, there are also differences between local students and refugee students in Aquinas High School, on which we will focus in the next chapter.

Dealing with Diversity

Even though the school carries out the equalising policy of brotherhood, it is still characterised by its diverse character in terms of students. To be able to understand the effect of integrated education in Aquinas High School, this paragraph sheds light on the mutual identification process of the refugee students and local students to get insight into how they deal on a personal level with the great diversity within the school.

Refugee Perspective | by Merel Harrijvan

The integrated policy in Aquinas High School shifts away the focus on the differences between the students and instead emphasises the equality among them. However, the equalising effect on the perspectives of the students and teachers, also seems to influence processes of identification among refugee students.

“Other schools came and I was talking to this other girl and she told me you don’t look like a not Kenyan. To me you look like a Kikuyu [Kenyan tribe]. So, I was shocked. I didn’t know if I should be heartbroken or happy. Cause it will mean that in a way that people might treat me... take me to be a Kenyan... So in a way, my voice might be heard. But what about my people? The way they are standing out? The way I am presenting them? I can mix in the crowd and someone you know... Okay you look like a Kenyan to me. There is nothing about you that stands out. It was heartbreaking for me. But I didn’t know to be happy or sad about it.” (Interview Alex, 17 years old, Rwanda)

Where Cohen explains identification as “a way in which a person is, or wishes to be known by certain others” (Cohen 1994, 49), the previous quote by Alex shows how he, on the one hand, wants to be seen as a Kenyan. On the other hand, it explains the feeling of wanting to be seen as a Rwandan. When Alex told me this, I clearly felt the struggle he was going through of not knowing what he wants to be and who he is. Where the feeling of being ‘Kenyan’ is positively influenced by the integrated environment of the school, Alex, but also other refugee informants explain they experience little space for the differences between the students. One day I saw Abir, a nineteen-year-old boy from South Sudan, sitting on a bench outside in the fields behind the school. Abir lost his parents and sister in the chaos of the war when he fled from South-Sudan in 2008. He has been alone ever since, and found a family in Aquinas High School. Happy as always to see me, he gave me a big hug. We started talking and I asked him if he can be what he wants to be in Aquinas High School. He answered that as soon as you enter the

school's gates, you are supposed to leave that part of your culture behind that might draw a difference between you and your classmates. Therefore, he has the feeling the South-Sudanese in him is not very present within the school's environment. My informants explain that on the one hand, they like that the focus on equality makes them perceived as Kenyans. On the other hand, they emphasise that they see their country of origin as an important part of who they are. This challenging identification process, which is therefore strongly related to their country of origin, expresses itself in three ways in the context of integrated education.

To start with, even though the students claim they leave a significant part of their culture at the school's gate, they also explain their background, expressed in for example religion, a different accent or physical appearance, will always be part of them. Despite that the policy in Aquinas High School does not allow a distinction based on background, there are background related jokes made by the local students:

“Okay, sometimes those jokes are made to prove that you are not a Kenyan. So, at some point you feel like: Yeah, I am not a Kenyan.” (Mind-Map Exercise Abir, 19 years old, South-Sudan)

As this quote illustrates, these jokes emphasise the differences between local students and refugee students. While one-on-one interviews did not give any insights into this topic, the carried out mapping-exercise with Abir, Alex and Jean Claude did. During the subsequent discussion, they explained to me they do not perceive these jokes as unpleasant. Since the jokes are focused on the differences between them and their local classmates, Abir, Alex and Jean Claude said it reminded them of ‘being different’ than the Kenyans. This emphasises that their culture, will always be part of them. Important here is that they do not perceive the jokes as a way of bullying, but just as mutual teasing with jokes towards their local classmates in return.

“Okay let me give an example. [laughing] Of a friend of mine who told me today that ‘this is Kenya’. I said something and he told me ‘this is Kenya’. [laughing]. It’s like they are reminding you, you are not in Rwanda.” (Mapping Exercise Alex, 17 years old, Rwanda)

“The jokes are not to annoy you. They are just teasing you. Not for annoying you. Here we are just like brothers.” (Mind-Map Exercise Mohammed, 17 years old, Ethiopia)

As is in line with these two quotes, we, therefore, assume these jokes function as a recognition of the refugee students background, which strengthen the identification with their country of origin.

The second way in which the difficult identification process of refugee students expresses itself is through the perspectives on 'home' and the 'future'. Where the study of Mak and Nesdale (2000) on the identification of immigrant-groups in host-countries reveals that perceived feelings of acceptance should instigate identification with the host-society, this turns out to be different for refugee students in Aquinas High School. Future perspectives of refugee informants generally indicate a temporary stay in Nairobi:

"Nairobi is not my home. My home is Sudan and I have to go there and find my people again. Nairobi is not a long term home. It's home for a time. For me, I always say: I was born in South Sudan, I live in Kenya. And I think I will die in South Sudan. That's home. I would never call myself a Kenyan. I call myself a Sudanese." (Interview Abir, 19 years old, South-Sudan)

"For me, I would always say I am a Rwandan. Cause no matter how hospitable Kenya becomes, I know that...though I live in Kenya, I am not a Kenyan per se. I get the Kenyan citizenship and registration by everything, but the blood that flows in my veins will always be Rwandan." (Interview Alex, 17 years old, Rwanda)

These two quotes show refugee students identify themselves first and foremost as someone from their country of origin. Regardless of the duration of their stay in Kenya, which sometimes is over ten years, they do not perceive themselves as Kenyan. As is in line with the findings of Mak and Nesdale (2000), this can be explained by the fact that their identification with the host-country depends on how much they want to be part of their new country. Thus, since refugees have fled their country of origin, they have never experienced this to be a free choice. This is confirmed by the way they speak about their 'home', which always refers to their country of origin. The carried-out mind-map exercises likewise highlight these perceptions of 'home'. Where I asked the refugee students to draw a mind-map on 'home', there were only two out of the eleven refugee informants that included both Kenya and their country of origin in the mind-map. None of the informants drew their mind-map on solely Kenya.

"They say east or west, home is the best. But in different places, you adapt but you don't feel home. You don't feel like it is home. You miss home. But you get to adapt and hopeful in this country. But I really miss my home." (Interview Mounir, 16 years old, DRC)

As illustrated by this quote, Mounir really misses home; in his case Congo. During one of the many casual conversations we had on the way to the sports fields, he told me adapting to life in

Kenya is important. It helps him to live in the present and work on the future. Where adaption to the host-country should supposedly be a determinant for national identification with the host-society as cited by Mak and Nesdale (2000), this is not confirmed in this research. If we take a closer look at the answers given by informants when asked if they want to stay in Nairobi, we found a pattern in that they all see Nairobi as a temporary place to stay. This is in line with their future perspectives, in which they see themselves living in their country of origin, practising a profession to help ‘their people’ to improve the situation there. Thus, where brotherhood influences feelings of belonging and acceptance and making refugee students adapt to life in Kenya, it does not seem to possess the ability to change students’ perceptions of home and the future. Therefore, we could argue that integrated education in Aquinas High School forms a temporary solution to improve the integration of refugee students and local students. In this, the notion of brotherhood is related to the present; life in Aquinas High School.

The last way in which the influenced identification process of the refugee students is expressed is through religious and cultural activities. Even though all students are obliged to attend the Catholic services, they also get the freedom to practice their own religion. This idea of freedom of worship is a value that is widely shared within the school and part of the integrated policy since it fosters acceptance towards the diversity among the students.

“Aquinas accepts everyone for who they are. The Muslims are appreciated and that’s why they created a mosque where they can pray.” (Interview Mohammed, 17 years old, Ethiopia)

Not only has the school created the opportunity for the students to practice their religion in the school; this practice has also been proven to be shared among the students themselves. On our last day of school, we organised a party for our informants. Together with the principal, Mrs. Karen and about seventy boys, we enjoyed some snacks and performances in the classroom of class 2C. By the time the principal and Mrs. Karen had already left, the boys wanted to pray one final time, to thank God for the fact that He had given us the chance to get to know each other. First, one of the local classmates started the prayer in English after which Kasib, continued in Arabic. After they had finished I asked Alex who was standing next to me, what just happened. He told me they always pray both in English and Arabic, for the Catholics and the Muslims. This shows that even without the formal school structures in which the students are supposed to act and think through the perspective of equality based on the Catholic values of Aquinas High School, they are themselves focusing on the acceptance and respect towards the differences among each other; in this case religion. This increasing acceptance towards

diversity among the students is in line with the findings of McGlynn's (2003) study, stating that integrated education is a successful strategy in promoting respect for diversity. Moreover, after Carine and I had left Kenya and were back in Utrecht, I was going through my timeline on Facebook. Alex posted a status update, which said:

“Thanks Sana to all of the crew who struggle every day to keep our culture alive in this foreign land...#ProudOfBeingRwandan.” (Facebook Alex, 17 years old, Rwanda)

His post included some pictures of the previously mentioned, annual Cultural Day which was held that week. In the pictures, Alex and Jean Claude, who are both from Rwanda, were dressed up in traditional Rwandese clothes. As illustrated by the quote and the other interviews I carried out, the refugee students experience a strong desire to participate actively in this day. They share the belief that this gives them the opportunity to express their culture. Where refugee students, therefore, on the one hand, have feelings of belonging towards Kenya, they at the same time have the wish to be identified as someone from their country of origin. This is consistent with the statement of Mak and Nesdale (2000) that people can at the same time take pride in being a member of the country of origin and endorse the importance of adapting to the host-country's way of life. Cultural Day can, therefore, be considered as a way of celebrating difference in an environment of equality.

“Aquinas does not criticise whether or not its students are the same, as long as they are all equal.”
(Mapping Exercise Alex, 17 years old, Rwanda)

The integrated policy, therefore, offers a setting in which refugee students' identification is a process of a constant interplay between the feeling of wanting to be different on the one hand and the emphasis on equality and brotherhood on the other hand. It forms a policy with a positive influence on the present integration of the students in terms of feelings of belonging and respect towards diversity. However, the integration as effect of the integrated policy, does not seem to influence the extent to which the refugee students identify themselves with Kenya. Therefore, we have reasons to believe that integration is limited to the present and not capable of changing future perspectives of refugee students. The next paragraph focuses on processes of identification among local students in the diverse environment of the integrated school.

Local Perspective | by Carine van Slageren

Building forward on the previous part of this chapter, we will now turn to feelings and expressions of diversity among local students and to the way local students deal with differences within the integrated setting of Aquinas High School.

To start with, several local students point out during interviews how refugee students are sometimes treated differently to local students. Oliver explains in an interview how refugee students sometimes get punished less when doing something wrong because a teacher is aware of the violent experiences a refugee student has had in the past:

“For me, the teacher knows I am from Kenya. I have not experienced any difficulties. But the one from other countries who have come here to Kenya because of some difficulties, you know the teacher will treat him with much respect. because he or she does not want to affect his life.”

(Interview Oliver, 15 years old, Kenya)

Oliver’s statement is verified by an interview with mathematics teacher Gavin in which he tells me:

“When they go off, we choose not to punish them as the other students. Because, like, maybe let’s say if a person is just fourteen and he is just making noise, beating up the student will be enough. There is nothing from internal that is driving. But this person doesn’t want to be punished. This person is not coordinating. They have their own issues. Like, maybe he is an orphan. He has family issues in his mind. In fact, he is switching off. Maybe that’s why they are not doing the assignment that they were told to do. So you just need to concentrate and know why didn’t he do the assignment? He promised to do the right thing, he agreed with it. So you call him aside and ask what happened.” (Interview Gavin, Mathematics teacher)

This is in line with previous arguments of teachers giving additional support to refugee students in their free time. Important to address, is that teachers and students are not always aware of the backgrounds of students as refugees. Therefore, these quotes illustrate how teachers turn a blind eye on behaviour of refugee students only when they are aware of the background of a student as refugee.

There are also cases outside the school in which refugee students are favoured over local students. This is for example, the case when it comes to job perspectives. During mapping-exercises and interviews, local students point out to take in a negative position in relation to refugee students when it comes to finding a job. To understand the origin of this favouritism

we need to look at the issue of tribalism. As pointed out before, tribalism in Kenya goes hand in hand with politics. On a Wednesday afternoon, I sat in the board room of the school with Michael and Sabir. As we discussed a mapping exercise we had just done, Michael stated that tribalism influences ethnic tribal preference of employees among employers. The fact that refugees do not belong to a Kenyan tribe and moreover do not have the right to vote (unless they are married to a Kenyan citizen and attain Kenyan citizenship), makes employers sometimes favour refugees over local people. Michael explains:

“When I go to a Kikuyu manager, I might not be given the job because I am a Luo. But when a refugee goes, he or she has no say during the election so he or she will be given the job.” (Mapping exercise Michael, 15 years old, Kenya)

This results in a situation in which the majority of refugee students would get positively discriminated over local students once they are not in school anymore and looking for a job. A second example of positive discrimination of refugee students in the Kenyan society comes from an interview with Colin and has to do with privileges related to a refugee status:

“If you are confirmed as a refugee by the government of Kenya, you are given all the privileges. You just have to get the license and your business and that’s all. But not the privilege of voting.” (Interview Colin, 15 years old, Kenya)

This is in contrast with the argument stated by Jacobsen (2003) that refugees are often unable to have access to resources that are available to the local community. As we are here speaking of situations that go beyond the situation within the school, we cannot prove these statements with observations and data.

Although the previous chapter argued that local students show a lot of compassion for refugee students, it is also important to point out cases in which refugee students are treated differently by local students. According to Kay, mainly Sudanese refugee students are likely to be discriminated within the school. This is because they form a relatively large group in Aquinas High School and are therefore easy to be seen as a danger towards the Kenyan ethnicity. In an interview Kay says:

“When a Sudanese and a Kenyan come to a fight and the Sudanese defeats the Kenyan, you find that the Kenyan tells him ‘[swahili sentence]’. You see know he discriminates you, he tells you like ‘You are a Sudanese, what can a Sudanese tell me?’.” (Interview Kay, 14 years old, Kenya)

Nevertheless, this behaviour is not observed. Apart from Sudanese refugee students, a second group that is relatively vulnerable among refugee students are Somali refugee students. In the Kenyan society, Somali refugees are sometimes taken for al-Shabab members, a militant group with headquarters in Somalia. Several terrorist attacks in Kenya in the past claimed by al-Shabab have created fear and danger among parts of the Kenyan population. One informant explains how some Kenyans believe that al-Shabab members get into Kenya by pretending to be refugees, resulting in perceptions of all Somali refugees being terrorists. In line with this, the previously discussed favoured position of refugee students on finding a job does not apply to Somali refugees. Kay explains in the same interview:

“From Somalia, you know the thing of Al-Shabaab. When I and a Somali go for a job interview, I will be favoured. Because they have that thought of a Somali is an Al-Shabaab. So, I think I will be more favoured.” (Interview Kay, 14 years old, Kenya)

Thus, the fact that refugees are politically neutral is beneficial for employers as the refugee students cannot be part of his opposing tribe, but this case is less likely when a refugee student comes from Somalia.

These perceptions of Somalis as terrorists can be seen as an example of an argument made by Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello (2010) that Somali refugees are found as a group that is particularly vulnerable due to media portraying Somalis as terrorists, armed smugglers and pirates (Elhawary, Pantuliano and Pavanello 2010). When I ask Colin about his opinion on the stereotyping of Somali refugees as al-Shabab members, he clarifies that the thoughts might cross his mind. Nonetheless, he clearly stresses he cannot see his Somali classmates as different from an ethical point of view and that he will, again, perceive them as brothers:

“It doesn't matter. You know you don't judge a book by its cover. So, if he is from Somalia, I cannot say that he is from the al-Shabab. So, you see him as a brother. And you see him as a Kenyan too. So, you just be friends with him.” (Interview Colin, 15 years old, Kenya)

This can be seen as a clear example of how to deal with diversity, and mainly comes down to acceptance and trust. Another way of dealing with the diversity is through Cultural Day. Almost

all informants explain to appreciate this day as it gives them the opportunity to learn more about the backgrounds of their refugee classmates regarding clothes, food and traditional dances. This counts as a valuable way of integration on top of the integration that takes places during the rest of the year. As Michael puts it:

“It is like travelling to the countries where your classmates come from for one day.” (Interview Michael, 15 years old, Kenya)

To conclude, local students perceive differences between themselves and their refugee classmates. These differences are mainly rooted in treatment of refugees by teachers and the favoured position of refugees regarding jobs in society. At the same time, brotherhood helps local students to see refugee students as Kenyans, for as long as they are in Kenya. Hence, it can be said that local students identify with refugee classmates as Kenyans but also identify refugee classmates as group that is different to them. This is in line with the previous paragraph, which emphasised the dual nature of identification among refugee students of on the one hand identification as Kenyan, and on the other hand identification with their country of origin.

Conclusion & Discussion

The Temporality of Brotherhood

This study aimed to explore the effect of integrated education on the integration between refugee students and local students by looking at processes of mutual identification in Aquinas High School in Nairobi, Kenya. The data of this study is based on ten weeks of ethnographic research among staff, refugee students and local students and is divided into three parts. Firstly, by looking at the integrated policy and experiences of teachers, we shed light on the integrated setting of this school. The second and third part focused on processes of identification among the students, divided in the influence of brotherhood and diversity within the integrated environment.

To start with, it turns out that the most fundamental part of the integrated policy in Aquinas High School seems to be the notion of brotherhood. This notion comes forth out of the Catholic faith the school adheres, and aims to equalise and unite all students within the school. To achieve an environment of equality, Aquinas High School uses different strategies. First of all, by only allowing students and teachers to speak English and Kiswahili, the school wants to prevent exclusion based on language. As opposed to the research of Bekerman and Shaddi (2003), this study reveals that carrying out a bilingual policy based on two dominant majority languages encourages inter-group relationships built on brotherhood. In fact, we argue that the bilingual policy of Aquinas High School contributes to the integration of students and promotes unity. It does so by requiring local students to support their refugee classmates in terms of language, which results in positive social interaction between them. Secondly, by making all students wear the same uniform, the school decreases differences among the students based on different ethnic backgrounds and social positions in society. Thirdly, Aquinas High School uses the idea of 'Kitty for Needy' as a financial tool that can be used for all students in the school. It offers support to students who financially lag behind their classmates. Lastly, Cultural Day is a yearly event organised by the school to encourage knowledge of, and interest in the ethnic backgrounds of students. By doing so, the school hopes to increase acceptance among the students towards each other. These four components of the policy of Aquinas High School together with the merging of the different students within the school positively influences the

identification of the refugee students with the local students and vice-versa. In relation to the teachers' experiences, they perceive the policy of integrated schooling as something positive when looking at the relationships between refugee students and local students. They describe these relationships in terms of brotherhood and explain the equality as raised in Aquinas High School creates unity among the different students. However, teachers also point out the difficulty of teaching in a diverse environment in which different topics, such as war and tribalism, are perceived to be sensitive by the students. This results in a culture of avoidance among the teachers, with little attention being paid to these sensitive topics. The following paragraphs show the mutual identification of the refugee students and local students and its influence on the integration in Aquinas High School.

This study reveals that the policy of brotherhood increases processes of identification of refugee students with their local classmates and vice-versa. Among the refugee students, this identification seems to be based on the feeling of being equal to local students. An equalising environment is created by the school's integrated policy, which seems to increase feelings of belonging based on brotherhood among refugee students towards their local classmates. When we look at local students, processes of identification with refugee students seem to be based on brotherhood too, and are expressed in feelings of responsibility towards refugee students. Subsequently, local students explain to be proud to be Kenyan citizens, as the country is one of the largest host-countries for refugees in East-Africa. Moreover, feelings of responsibility towards refugee students seem to come forth out of ideas of reciprocity. Local students stress that helping their refugee classmates makes them more likely to receive help from neighbouring African countries in return when they might need it in the future. When we compare identification among refugee students and local students, we have found that this identification seems to be built on the notion of one 'African Identity'. As is presented in this research, we believe that brotherhood has the power to shift away the focus from the ethnic boundaries between the refugee students and local students and instead emphasise the similarities between them; namely their African-ness. Thus, we believe that the equalising policy in Aquinas High School is capable of crossing ethnic boundaries. Therefore, the integrated policy of Aquinas High School offers a setting in which integration between students is based on the notion of a shared 'African Identity'. Hence, we argue this identification is based on the social context in which refugee students strongly relate to their local classmates and vice-versa. Therefore, the findings of this study are in line with the original anthropological view on identity, characterised

by a strong interplay between the 'Self' and shifting social contexts with presence of the 'Other' (Sökefeld 1999; Eriksen 1994; Van Meijl 2008; Cohen 1994).

The equalising policy of the school positively influences feelings of belonging among the students towards the 'Other' group. This is in accordance with the findings of McGlynn et al. (2004) who conclude that integrated education positively influences intergroup contact. However, rather than offering a grounded form of integration transcending across different 'races', the 'African Identity' as previously mentioned, seems to be built on the shared 'black consciousness' among the students. In this, we find that 'being black' is linked by the students to an inferior position in comparison to 'Whites'. To enhance the understanding of the integration of the different groups in Aquinas High School, we propose the idea of the 'Umbrella of Black Consciousness'. This idea describes the uniting, cohesive power of the integrated policy in Aquinas High School, but also recognises the 'African Identity' as being defined by 'black consciousness' as widely shared characteristic overarching the ethnic differences between the students in the school. We, therefore, argue, that even though integrated education has a positive influence on the integration of refugee students and local students in Aquinas High School, this integration seems to be defined by the African 'race' that is shared among the students. Hence, the notion of brotherhood does not seem capable of exceeding race and is restricted to the 'Umbrella of Black Consciousness'.

The second aspect influencing processes of identification is the presence of diversity within Aquinas High School. Where the policy of brotherhood has a positive impact on the identification of refugee students with local students, it simultaneously seems to strengthen the identification of refugee students with their country of origin. We have found that refugee students find themselves balancing between, on the one hand, being the same as their local classmates, a feeling increased by the policy of brotherhood, and on the other hand, wanting to be different by not letting go of their background. This is in line with the findings of Mak and Nesdale (2000), stating that people can simultaneously take pride in being a member of the country of origin and endorse the importance of adapting to the host-country. The fear of losing identification with their country of origin, therefore, seems to be very present among the refugee students, who perceive their stay in Kenya as temporary. However, Aquinas High School also gives the students the opportunity to express part of their culture in certain social practices, such as Cultural Day and religious practices. We argue that these events function as a way of strengthening the refugee's identification with their country of origin since it gives them the

opportunity to express their culture and thus differences with their local classmates. The perspective of refugee students regarding their stay in Kenya as temporary is in line with how local students identify refugee students. Local students explain to perceive their refugee classmates as Kenyans, but stress that they will do so for as long as they are in Kenya. More importantly, almost all local students expect their refugee classmates to return to their country of origin in the future. In addition, local students experience refugee students to be favoured both within the school by the teachers and outside the school, by employers who prefer to hire a foreigner instead of someone from another tribe. So even though local students claim they identify refugee students as Kenyans within the school, the local students still perceive differences between them and their refugee classmates. We, therefore, argue that the influence of the notion of brotherhood does not seem to influence processes of identification among local students with their refugee classmates in a way that they stop identifying them as refugees completely. Thus, the identification of refugee students from the perspective of both refugee students and local students, balances between being a Kenyan and being a member of their country of origin.

Thus, even though both groups of students seem to identify with their classmates from the 'Other' group, the equalising integrated policy in Aquinas High School raises questions regarding the identification of the refugee students. The fear refugee students experience of losing identification with their country of origin also articulates in future perspectives of refugee students; which are almost all related to their country of origin. Moreover, as mentioned previously, this is in line with the perceptions local students have of the stay of their refugee classmates as temporary. Hence, the integration as a result of the integrated policy in Aquinas High School seems to have a temporary character: both refugee students and local students perceive the coexistence of themselves with the 'Other' as something of the present. We, therefore, question the duration of the integration and have reasons to believe that the positive intergroup relationships and increased respect towards diversity are restricted to the present; within life in Aquinas High School.

To finally conclude, the integrated policy of brotherhood in Aquinas High School seems to influence integration between refugee students and local students positively. It increases the identification of both groups with the 'Other' group based on a shared 'African Identity'. This seems to be expressed through inter-group relationships built on brotherhood and increased feelings of belonging and responsibility. Simultaneously, diversity between refugee students

and local students is present in the school. However, we have found that refugee students experience the policy of brotherhood not leaving enough space to express differences. In relation to the integration between refugee students and local students in Aquinas High School, we believe there are two limitations. First, it looks like the integration is built on the ‘Umbrella of Black Consciousness’ which seems to limit the notion of brotherhood to the African ‘race’. Second, we have reasons to argue that the integration is time constructive and based on present life in Aquinas High School. However, important to mention is that these limitations do not undermine the success of the integrated policy in Aquinas High School since it is never argued that the integration is meant to be long-lasting and capable of crossing different ‘races’.

Recommendations for Future Research

In this study, we have shown the effect of brotherhood in integrated education as an influence on the integration between refugee students and local students in Aquinas High School. Acknowledging the limitations of our research and hoping to develop a greater understanding in this field of study, we would like give three recommendations for future research on integrated schooling.

To start with, our research reveals the notion of brotherhood seeming to be limited to ‘black consciousness’. Where the findings of this research increased the understanding of brotherhood as unifying factor within the ‘Umbrella of Black Consciousness’ in Aquinas High School, our research data is limited to the setting of the integrated school. Regarding future research, we, therefore, highlight the importance of investigating the scope of this ‘black consciousness’ outside of the formal structures of the school. This will help developing a deeper understanding of the effect of integrated education on the integration of groups in society. We recommend it to be of particular interest to look at notions of brotherhood among students of an integrated school in Africa, towards people with African roots living in the Western world, e.g. Afro-Americans and non-Africans. Hence, we propose the use of processes of identification to explore these notions of brotherhood as reflecting perspectives of the ‘Self’ and the social context with the presence of the ‘Other’. Moreover, our research was limited to the extent that we could not verify brotherhood to be based on the ‘Umbrella of Black Consciousness’ by looking at observations. This is because all students within Aquinas High School were ‘black’. We, therefore, recommend future research to investigate the integration of students that fall

outside of this 'African Identity' to shed light on the effect of the equalising policy of integrated education.

Secondly, we have found that teachers in Aquinas High School experience difficulties in dealing with the great diversity of students. Teachers avoid sensitive topics that could evoke traumas and conflicts resulting in a 'culture of avoidance'. Therefore, factors such as tribalism or traumas, that could counteract integration between local students and refugee students outside of the school are not treated. However, our research data was not capable of exploring the link between the culture of avoidance among the teachers, and the limitations of the integration as we have discovered in our findings; namely integration limited in terms of 'race' and time. We would, therefore, propose future research focussing on the field of integration to shed light on the relationship between this culture of avoidance and the effect of integration. Thus, scientists can work towards a sustainable form of integration, which is developed from the fundamentals of a society and not limited to both 'race' and time.

Lastly, even though this study did not focus on the need of the teachers, we recommend future research focusing on difficulties among teachers in teaching in the diverse environment of an integrated school. By shedding light on the challenges experienced by teachers, there can be worked towards an efficient form of support and education that teachers in Aquinas High School explained to lack. We hope this will in the future lead to the breakdown of the 'culture of avoidance' as is now witnessed in integrated schools.

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Attachment 1: Poem by ‘The Outspoken’

Dear Society,

I dream of a time when Blacks will walk amongst Whites. I dream of a time when Black constitution will actually have rights. I dream of a time when no race will be superior, but a man will be judged by his souls interior. A time when all things are crystal or even clearer. A time when a Black nation cries for help and the White world can afford to hear her. I dream of a time when black schools provide quality education and black people considered equal in the population. I dream of a time when children are not a product of fornication but bring light and hope to nation. Society, we have talked and talked and talked again, walked this road from way back when. The time has come now we demand change...ARISE BLACK MAN! Is that so strange? Is it too much to ask that you no longer want to live in a cage? Is it too much to stand for good and this war be willing to change? I am not speaking out of rage but I think it's time we all move passed this stage. Haven't we had enough of using different washrooms just cause of the color of our skin? Haven't we had enough of walking past each other without even asking how have you been? Is it that you are too blind to see or is it just that you never want to be keen? But dear society, neglecting one another might just be the biggest sin. Okay don't get me wrong, I am not only talking about physical discrimination but also religion and personality as well. Yes, I know you think all this is prehistoric but those who witness this strong also feel the need to share and tell. Those who have seen victimization, lack of standard medication, food and water inflation, feel the need to also yell. Those who have witnessed a Black man's home become the modern police station. Seen children get abandoned because society sees them as an abomination. Always live this being the concern, now tell me how come that we have freedom when? The average Black men can't get a job, and feed home. Not because he is not qualified, just because this is indeed become the norm. Blacks are beneath the Whites, this is what is well known. Even after Barack Obama, finally sat on that throne. Ladies and Gentlemen, I am tired of you living as I survive. You leaving when I arrive. But like a bee fearless in its hide, the Black community will one day try. Maybe we're wasting our time, maybe we can do better in crime, maybe we're a couple of things with big dreams and high hopes but hopes is

what it seems. Maybe my search for a prison break will end up in a heartache. Maybe not. By the time I am through, all my words bring true. The Outspoken we show you who, like lightning we will strike you. I don't have to have an IQ like you, my dream is a mountain I want to hike. You? So society, you think you will ever realize when you go wrong? You think you will ever look at me and not see a tropical baboon or rather King Kong? Do you think that one day we will pull together and in our weaknesses emerge being strong or even set aside the different skin tone and sing together to the humanity song? Society do you sincerely see a future where all races can co-exist, a future where we find a solution to this disease so that hate does not persist? A future where a Black child cries and a White man is willing to assist. A future where a Black sees a White and offers them a place to sit. Ok lets take a second to process all this, see racism is not just about Whites against Blacks but also Blacks against Indians and Muslims against Christians. It's high time we realize that all this is a product of our own doing. It's time we realize that after this it's us who'll be ruined and if we don't change our ways this world we will be screwed. But what's really sad about all this is Blacks can afford to hate on their fellow blacks, Indians still use money to divide the population of different class, Africans sleep outside while others rest comfortably in their house of glass. We don't care about each other and think that this life exam we shall come to pass. I know sometimes being Black is a curse. Sometimes you'd wish your birth you could reverse. But believe you me if I could choose my name to the Black society I would still sign in. 27 Years served by Nelson Mandela, goodnight to his wife all those nights he couldn't tell her how do we continue to live like animals, live like savages nothing less of cannibals. Blacks and White form Yin and Yang but Black serves White we fight in gongs. I see my blood used daily on CNN, WE CAN STOP RACISM NOW, can I get an amen? Racism is a crime against humanity, racism drives people to insanity, racism draws the lines for war. To hell with racism. I have taken the last straw. Alex and Steve, we have written, hope you listened. Enlightened your mind, your dark thoughts, hope of glistened. Keep my words racism is a devil, racism puts humans and Lucifer on the same level. Brothers and sisters, we are one in the same society. It's time we destroy this source of propriety.

– Alex and Steve, 'The Outspoken', Kenya, 2017.