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Erasmus

**Transactional sex or Sexual Exploitation? Congolese refugee
girls seeking schooling in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp,
Tanzania**

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

DFID	Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
MEMKWA	Mpango wa Elimu ya Msingi Kwa Waliokosa (plan to deliver education to street children)
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
SLE	Social Emotional Learning
UN GSEA	United Nations Glossary on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WRC	Women Refugee Commission

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Abstract

This study seeks to examine/investigate study is about Congolese refugee Adolescent girls in Nyarugusu Camp in Tanzania who are negotiating successful completion of their schooling. The study looks at how they exercise their agency, facing exploitation, in relation to sexual bribery with older men or teachers in particular. Working on this sensitive topic in the environment of the refugee camp was not straightforward. To investigated whether their relations are closer to transactions sex or exploitative sexual abuse, around 16 interviews were conducted, including 5 with NGO workers, and 4 with teachers, 4 self-organisers and 3 with adolescent refugee girls out of school. Further, 14 adolescent refugee Congolese girls were involved in two focus group discussions. In total they make a number of 30 respondents. The main finding of the study was the access to educational facilities were free for the refugee teenage girls, they faced a big risk of sexual exploitation. The study found that the girls were often obliged to engage in transactional sex, arose when it came to passing exams and being able to progress through school towards graduation. Overall, the study found that the line between transactional sex and exploitative sexual abuse is not as clear as the concepts of agency and exploitation would imply.

Relevance to Development Studies

Sustainable development cannot be achieved in any community if the society will not prepare a conducive environment for development. Education is among the basic factors for development. Consequently, it is important for learners to have a conducive educational environment from childhood to adulthood. As we have seen and testified, women are the most important contributors to development. Nevertheless, their access to education has been difficult and challenging mainly due to patriarchy and extreme poverty at the family level. In addition, women live in an environment that cause their failures in class, childhood pregnancy and eventually fail to continue studies. The question is how can we achieve the so-called global sustainable development in the future if women remain poor and uneducated? This underscores a need for both government, community, and other internal and external stakeholder to collaborat in addressing the existing problem. It is against this background, that this study explored the hindrance of access to education among adolescent girls particularly in the emergency situation. This is important in ensuring that the girl's lives are not ruined by the exceptional circumstances that surround their lives.

Keywords

Congolese; refugee girls; education; Tanzania; sexual exploitation; transactional sex.

Chapter 1: Overview of Research Topic

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the foundation for the subject under study by stating the objective of the study which examines the way Congolese adolescent refugee girls negotiate access to schooling in the Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania, through either transactional or exploitation sex. It also highlights the Sexual Vulnerability of Adolescent girls in their efforts to for pursuing education due to life challenges associated with poverty, harmful traditional practices as well as conflict and displacement situation in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The problem statement also indicates how insufficient attention has been taken to solve the problem and the way adolescent girls' vulnerability in an emergency situation that for a long period of time has been caused by lack of resources and programming prepared for these overlooked group. The chapter also give the overview of the Nyarugusu Refugee camp in Tanzania.

1.1 Background of the study

The study is informed by a number of literature that adolescent girls face serious problems that affects their education opportunities in fragile countries and situations such as in the refugee camps in Sub Saharan Africa. According to the UNESCO Education Strategy of 2014-2025,

Conflict and uprooting severely affects education opportunities. Some 40% of out-of-school children live in conflict-affected countries, and armed conflict is a major barrier to the realization of EFA goals (Tang, 2014: 14)

Reports indicate that the girls are at higher risk of dropping out of school than boys. Further, it is reported that those from needy families notably lack in the agency and capacity to negotiate the terms of their education. As a result, they are often unable to complete their secondary schooling, due to poverty, violence, fragility and cultural norms that under-value girls' education compared to boys' (Mazoyer, 2014; Noble and Ward et al., 2017; UNICEF 2015). In particular, the refugee girls suffer from the lack of resources and programming for teenage girls in the camps (ibid)

The study explored either transactional or exploitative sexual relations as a means to negotiate in accessing education at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. The particular case study is of adolescent Congolese girls inside Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania. It is therefore crucial to define these terms to enable readers to follow arguments and presentation in the rest of the study.

To begin with the the term "transactional sex" is defined as engagement in sex or sexual favours in exchange for material goods, cash, gifts or privileges in meeting the needs or wants of the more needy party in the transaction (Formson

and Hilhorst, 2016; Mwapu et al., 2016; Walker, Pereznieto, et al., 2014; Stoebenau, Nixon, Rubincam, et al. 2011). The United Nations Glossary on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (2016: 5) defines “sexual exploitation” as:

Any actual or attempted abuse of position of vulnerability, differential power or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another (UNGSEA, 2016: 6; Gerassi, 2015:591).

In relation with the given definitions, the study highlights the vulnerability of Congolese refugee girls at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in Tanzania. The study paper asks whether there is a practical difference between transactional and exploitative sexual relations for Congolese refugee girls when it comes to managing to negotiate their access to education in the camp. The study explores the themes of both agency and vulnerability in relation to the distinction between sexual abuse and transactional sexual practices. As they pursue their education in a fragile situation within the camp, the study also explores the relevance of their background in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as the backdrop of war and violence. As explained further in the problem statement, insufficient attention has been paid to the problems of how adolescent girls negotiate their sexual relations, and try to overcome their vulnerability in an emergency situation.

1.2 Sexual vulnerability of adolescent girls

Adolescence is a transition between childhood and adulthood. It is a critical period in the lives and development of both girls and boys. Adolescence is the period of life between 10 or 11 years old up to 17 or 19 (UNICEF 2011).

Adolescent girls can be termed as vulnerable since they are not fully mature, either physically or mentally. In many countries, the law regard them as children – because they are below 18 years old. Adolescents are seen as having more limited abilities than adults since adolescents often still look to adults to provide economic, emotional and social support for their well-being, psychological and material (Iyakaremye and Mukagatare, 2016:263). UNICEF (2011:3) describes adolescent period as:

...the years of transition from childhood to adulthood; yet for several reasons, it is hard to define in precise terms. It is widely acknowledged that each individual experience adolescence differently, depending on her or his physical, emotional and cognitive maturation. The onset of puberty, which might be seen as a clear line of demarcation between childhood and adolescence, cannot resolve the problems of definition. Puberty occurs at significantly different points for girls and boys, as well as for individuals of the same sex (UNICEF, 2011:3).

During this period of life, a girl can be at high risk of sexual abuse, compared to boys, even though boys can also be sexually abused. This owes to the fact that women are generally expected to behave in ways that show

submissiveness to men in many African societies (Amadiume,1987). When it comes to sexual relations women and girls are of course not entirely powerless but are at a relative disadvantage. Compared with other groups, adolescent girls tend to be at higher risk of rape, exploitative sex, abduction, and unwanted pregnancy than other groups (Robles, 2014:8). It is also reported that there are more than fourteen million unintentional pregnancies in Sub Saharan Africa yearly. Almost a half of all these cases involve adolescent girls and women of less than 24 years of age (Kharsany and Karim, 2016: 34; WHO, 2017). Reports on child marriages suggest that more than 39% of girls especially those from low-income families in sub-Saharan Africa are married at the age of adolescence, a situation that increases their school dropout rates (Girls not the Brides Organization, 2016).

Data indicates that six thousand new HIV/AIDS infections occur every day all over the world, and that adolescent girls and young women between 15 and 24 years have more than twice the rate of HIV/AIDS infection, as compared to their male peers (Kharsany and Karim, 2016:34-35; Stoebenau et al., 2016:186). Statistics shows that almost 74% of adolescent girls are vulnerable to child marriage in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Mpilambo et al. 2017) while the school dropout estimated to reach 63.8% of adolescent group where most of them are girls from poor families in DRC (Famba 2013). Adolescent girls also have sensitive needs related to their biological sex which boys do not have, such as sanitary items. Paik (2012) observes that poverty is even humiliating girls, especially the girls in emergency situation. She reports:

“One 12-year-old girl, when asked why she dropped out of school said, “I was chased out of school by my teacher because my uniform was too dirty. I didn’t have soap to wash my clothes” (Paik, 2012:6).

This study reflects on how poverty, can worsen the harassment and choices for transactional sex of adolescent girls. Although this can also affect boys, the pressures to engage in sexual relations with teachers tends to be worse for girls, given their greater family responsibilities from an early age. According to IRC (2016) a family and the community responses to crisis and violent conflict tend to increase harmful traditional practices which can hinder adolescent girls from utilizing their individual potential to improve their own well-being, for example by completing secondary schooling (IRC website, 2016).

In general, girls from low-income are at a high risk of exploitative sex. Sex might be demanded by their teachers, in some cases, as a bribe to achieve high scores in examination or to retain their studentship. Girls who resist sexual exploitation can eventually be driven out of school. Contrarily, they can also drop out when they develop infections or become pregnant, poor exam results, can even lead to their exclusion from school, and in this light transactional sex can look like a means to enable girls to pass their exams, or progress in school.

Even more, conflict and displacement significantly increase vulnerability of adolescent girls to different kinds of exploitation, including sexual

exploitation. The long-term nature of the crisis in the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) means, in this case, means that many refugees have lived in the camps since the late 1990s. This is because the DRC situation remains a complex emergency, defined by World Health Organization as follows:

...a humanitarian crisis in a country, region or society where there is total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires an international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single and/or ongoing UN country programme (i.e., violence, political instability, security risks) (WHO website, 2017).

Especially in humanitarian settings, and in situations of displacement as in Nyarugusu refugee camp, adolescence is a time when girls in particular begin taking on adult roles. They may even be head of households and be responsible for looking after other members of their households, look after children and the elderly and sick. In poorer families, in particular, they may take on these responsibilities without having some of the key capabilities and skills required to cope with their various tasks as well as pursue their education (Robles 2014:8). However, there has always been inadequate attention to adolescent girls' vulnerability in an emergency situation for an extended period, likely, due to the lack of resources and programming prepared for these marginalized groups (Noble and Ward et al., 2017).

1.2 The Problem of adolescent girls' agency

Theoretically, empowerment is the increasing ability of an individual to make choices particularly for those previously deprived of such choices (Kabeer 2013:18-19). Naila Kabeer has explained how individuals can fail to make meaningful choices or reach desired outcomes due to their scarcity of resources. She shows how poverty is associated with the disempowerment of women. The focus of this theory is on women's agency and is mainly on women who already have families. The Kabeer study does not explicitly pay attention to young females under the age of 18 years, but in line with international law, tends to see those under 18 (and especially under 16) as children who do not fully exercise their own agency. My research asks how adolescent girls' situation can be understood in relation to this theory, since by viewing adolescent refugee girls as exploited, this leads to the construction of a narrative that only views these girls from one perspective – as helpless victims in need of saving from sexual exploitation, and not as agents engaged in negotiation around transactional sex (Mutua 2000).

Kabeer linked poverty and disempowerment by arguing that those from poor living standard are in a situation with limited means of meeting their basic needs which in turn the situation limits their individual capacity to exercise agency (Kabeer 2001:19). In Kabeer's approach, little attention is given to the girl's capacity/agency to engage in sexual relations with their teachers or adult

male members of the community. From this perspective, these girls lack not only material resources they also face duties and entitlements of adults. Because of these problems, the girls I planned to interview or work with, may consider themselves able to make serious choices, even if from some points of view, they have few options. If they can find solutions that enable them to solve their problems on their own, perhaps one can speak of them taking initiatives, and exercising agency.

As mentioned in this study, the term agency needs to be used with care, given the ethical difficulties of speaking of sexual choices for the Congolese refugee girls, who are mostly between the ages of 13 and 17 years old, and are therefore. Transactional sex can include sexual favours and other forms of humiliating, degrading or exploitative behaviour. Mwapu et al., (2016:5) insist that transactional sex should not be equated with the agency, but involves what he calls “survival sex.” Interestingly, this same term ‘survival sex’ was commonly used by International Rescue Committee staff in interviews, to refer to exploitative or transactional sex between girls and older men, for example in school (Education and Protection manager, IRC, 28th Aug 2017; Adolescent and Youth protection officer, IRC 4th Sept 2017).

Adolescent girls in fragile countries are at higher risk of dropping out of school than boys, both in conflict and in post-conflict situations. Research indicates that in Sub-Saharan Africa, girls from low-income families have a high possibility of either not reaching or not completing secondary schooling, due to poverty, violence, fragility and cultural norms (UNESCO 2015). Statistics indicate that girls are 2.5 times more likely to be out of school than boys in emergency situations as defined by UN agencies like the WHO and UNICEF (UNICEF, 2015; ODI Report, 2016; UNHCR, 2016; WHO, 2017). Adolescent girls are more vulnerable to exploitative and transactional sex, early marriage, teenage pregnancy and also to sexual abuse and violence, because of the lack of choices open to them and their obligations to take care of their relatives (Noble and Ward et al., 2017).

Extreme poverty within Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) refugee families exposes adolescent girls to transactional sex and sexual exploitation. There have been some studies on conditions in the IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) camps inside DRC (IRC, 2014:4 and Paik 2012:7). However, there are very few studies on how adolescent girls manage their lives in these IDP camps in DRC. One such study looked at teenage girls engaged in sexual relations with older men, and concluded that this was in part transactional sex rather than exploitative sex, since the girls involved in these sexual relations in response to pressures to meet material needs like food items and other goods not provided by the humanitarian agencies but needed within the camp (Mwapu, Hilhorst, Mashanda, et al., 2016:3).

When I read this article, I became interested to know whether Congolese refugee girls in Nyarugusu Camp in Tanzania were also exercising some (hard)

choices and engaging in such unequal sexual relations in exchange for educational services, or for exam results. This was something that I had been informed about previously, informally. Yet there was no study on this issue in the literature that I could find since there is at present insufficient research on power relations and transactional sex with regard to refugee girls' access to education in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp or other similar camps in Tanzania. Research conducted by WRC in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp had the aim of gaining a better understanding of Congolese adolescent refugee girls' protection and empowerment needs in the camp. The study showed that adolescent girls in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp were victims of violent forms of abuse and exploitation, including sexual abuse, and were sometimes so neglected that it hindered even their physical development (Paik 2012:1-5). The findings mentioned some information shared by adolescent girls with the WRC researcher in the camp to the effect that teachers had been requesting them (i.e., girl pupils) sexual favors in exchange for passing grades (ibid). The issue is sometimes also mentioned in passing in some reports but is not researched in any depth. As mentioned by International Rescue Committee staff in camps in Burundi and Tanzania:

The sexual exploitation of young and adolescent girls is an area of concern noted by IRC staff in camps in Burundi and Tanzania. Girls are forced to engage in transactional sex in exchange for basic goods that are not readily available in the camps, such as clothing and sanitary products. Furthermore, schools are also a source of concern for young girls, where it is reported that teachers frequently expect sex from their girl students in exchange grades or money (IRC 2014:4).

This study contradicted the view of Mwapu et al. (2016) that teenage girls in refugee camps could be viewed as exercising their agency when having sexual relations with their (male) teachers or other adult men. However, when one considers the scarcity of resources some of them suffer from, this could be noted as pushing them to engage in transactional sex in a way that is exploitative. After the above brief comment in the IRC study, no further mention is made of the issue of teachers exploiting their students or 'exchanging' sex for passing marks.

These reports caused me to become interested and concerned about the topic, and to consider conducting fieldwork in the camp, to find out if there was substance to these claims. The report only briefly mentioned sexual exploitation and abuse of schoolgirls and school drop-out rates, and no mention was made of how the girls themselves were affected by this. The study suggested the girls were victims of unequal power relations, unable to negotiate their sexual relations with older, dominant men. I wondered, given the study of IDP girls in DRC, whether their agency or ability to negotiate with teachers and other responsible male adults, was being neglected in the Paik study. I also wondered how all of this influenced the girls' access to schooling and their success in school within Nyarugusu Camp.

1.3 Research objectives and questions

The main objective of this research paper is to find out how Congolese adolescent refugee girls negotiate success in education at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in Tanzania.

1.3.1 Main Question

How do Congolese adolescent refugee girls negotiate access in education at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in Tanzania?

1.3.2 Sub-Questions

1. How relevant are concepts of agency and exploitation in understanding the Congolese adolescent girls at Nyarugusu Camp in relation to sexual relations with men in positions of power, in the school setting?
2. How do intersectional power relations influence and determine the type(s) of sexual relations that exist between teachers and refugee girl pupils, between transactional sex and sexual exploitation?
3. What initiatives have been taken to address the adolescent girls' agency and empowerment at Nyarugusu Camp?

Concerning the above questions, the findings are quite sensitive, since they reveal that sometimes adolescent girls are victims of teachers, and at other times it is the teenage girls who decide to seduce their teachers to gain good grade in exchange for sexual favours. The sensitivity of the topic sometimes makes it hard to address the question of teenage sexuality. Moreover, most of the Tanzanian society is patriarchal and men are main perpetrators, women mostly victims of sexual abuse. There is a great deal of political sensitivity around women's issues especially in relation to Gender-Based Violence (GBV) where most of the external fund is directed in line with some Western donors' focus on preventing gender and sexual violence.

However, since teachers sometimes do exploit adolescent girls and use threats and intimidation, telling them they are going to fail unless they provide them – the teachers - sexual favour in exchange for a passing grade. Sometimes teachers also lure adolescent girls with money and gifts, and this may not always work to the girl's advantage, especially in situations where she is poor, and there are scarce educational resources.

1.4 Study Area

Nyarugusu is among the most significant refugee camp in Africa in the 21st century. It is 67 kilometers from Kasulu town in the Western Province of Kigoma, Tanzania and it lies 150 kilometers from Lake Tanganyika (Mweneake, February 3, 2016).

Map 1: Location of Nyarugusu Camp



Source: www.google.com.

The camp was established in 1996 to accommodate refugees who fled from Congo due to political and ethnic conflict. Iyakaremye and Mukagatara explain that:

Congolese people have been migrating for decades, primarily due to the interethnic clashes in Katanga and North Kivu provinces between 1992 and 1996, the 1996-1997 war that brought Laurent-Désiré Kabila to power and other wars that followed... (Iyakaremye and Mukagatara, 2016: 262).

Currently Nyarugusu Refugee Camp has a vast area of 1,199.8 hectares, and it is divided into 12 zones and 142 villages with a total number of 280,000 refugees from DRC and Burundi (Hemfrey, May 04, 2017; UNHCR 2017). Through direct observation, I realised that it is a home to people of different economic status in various economic activities within the camp (including handcrafts tailoring, men and women salon, small business).

1.5 Structure of the paper

The study comprises of five chapters. The introduction presents the contextual background to the topic under study and has identified that there is a lack of attention given to adolescent girls in fragile post-conflict situations, such as

refugee camps. This makes them vulnerable to transactional or exploitation sex in seeking education. The focus is on those adolescent girls who reside at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in Tanzania. It also provides the research objectives and research questions. Chapter two methodology of how fieldwork was conducted, and how the data were analyzed. Chapter three reviews existing literature about the topic, and the theoretical framework used in this study. Chapter four consists of a discussion of findings. Finally, Chapter five presents a conclusion and some recommendations.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological procedures that undertaken during the process of data collection and analysis. The chapter elaborate the research method used, various sampling procedures taken to obtain qualified respondents of the study, different data collection methods of the study as well as analysis procedure. It also highlights various ethical procedures that considered during the process as well as scope and limitations of the study and finally the conclusion of the chapter.

2.1 Research Method

Since this research is based on examination of the daily life of adolescent girl refugees in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, I used qualitative research methods. This is because qualitative approach uses a small sample size to achieve a wide-ranging of understanding and detailed information needed for the research goal (Hesse-Biber 2017:54). Qualitative approach helped me to look at the meanings that people ascribe to their specified social situations (Hesse-Biber 2017:54). The objective was to find out how Congolese adolescent refugee girls negotiate their success in education at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, through the twin lens of transactional sex and sexual exploitation, agency and vulnerability to victimisation. The qualitative research assisted me to examine and present the patterns of meanings that emerged from the data gathered and also to contextualize the findings.

In the process of going to Nyarugusu Refugee Camp for data collection, I followed all the bureaucratic procedures required in a research. I first asked permission from the Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs in Dar es Salaam, as this would be needed for me to enter the camp. I also visited IRC head office in Mikocheni Dar es Salaam to request an attachment and assistance for when I would be in Nyarugusu for data collection. IRC is an International humanitarian NGO working in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. I was successfully accepted and directed to the Human Resources office in Kasulu District in Kigoma region. This was how the process of data collection started in the field; quite a complex process.

2.1 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

This research focuses on Congolese adolescent girls in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp Tanzania. Congolese refugee adolescent girls face a lot of challenges which hinder their empowerment process toward their emancipation. To make sure that, the specific objectives are addressed and are matching the research strategy, the research involved 14 adolescent girls from four secondary school, 4 teachers, 5 employees from three NGOs, 4 self-organizers and 3 out of school girls within the camp. Prior to going into the field, I planned to interview fifty participants. O'Leary state that:

Because we want to preserve powerful text and rich narrative, we tend to target answers that are held by the 'few' rather than the 'many'. Answers may still sit with a broad sector of society or within a population, but they might also be held by experts and insider or even within the experience of a particular individuals (O'Leary 2014:181)

Therefore, I realized that 30 respondents were enough and could reasonably answer my research questions, so long as I selected them based on the criterion and qualifications I wanted to use in my study.

These respondents were selected through snowball, purposive, random and saturation sampling techniques. During the time of data collection, all secondary schools were closed for a holiday. Therefore we traced these girls in their families with the help from IRC staff and self –organizers. Next, we asked the girls' parents to give us initial consent to ask their children to participate in the study. Once these parents granted permission, we askedfor the girls' consent to participate in the study. In sync with purposive approach, only those who have a qualified criterion were randomly selected. Adolescent Congolese girls were selected according to the required criteria including school, class and age using a random procedure.

2.2 Data Collection

Data collection refers to all techniques or tools that a researcher uses to gather information (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 10). The present study collected primary data using unstructured interview, participant observation, and focus group discussion. Unstructured interviews was conducted within the camp with 4 Teachers, 3 out of school adolescent girls, 5 NGOs employees, 4 self-organizers. The interview conducted depending on the participant's availability, time, and places where face to face and telephone discussion was included. Moreover, direct observation was done in the schools within the Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. Here the researcher focused on observing various group activities which were taking place during the field work.

FGDs were held with 14 adolescent refugee girls aged from 13 to 18 years. During the FGDs, I divided the respondents into two groups to ensure that every individual can fully participate in the discussion. Focus group discussion with adolescent girls were conducted in the Women Empowerment Centre building which is under IRC. All the discussions I had with the research participants were conducted in Swahili language and transcribed and translated into English by the researcher. During the discussion, started explaining to them the meaning of transactional sex, exploitative sex, power relation and empowerment in the introduction. Focus group discussion gave space to the participants to create productive and ongoing conversations (O’Leary, 2014: 218). I selected these methods because they can provide detailed intuitions.

To enhance validity and reliability of these instruments, I conducted a pilot study prior to the main primary data collection process. In this pilot, I interviewed my friend who is working as a teacher at Tazara secondary school Dar es Salaam. I also interviewed three adolescent girls in a group (FGD). Further, I also used online materials such as documents, report and fact sheets, from different humanitarian organizations and research as secondary data in order to triangulate my findings.

2.3 Data Analysis

This research mostly relied on qualitative data derived from in-depth interviews and focus group discussion. The study used qualitative data analysis and interpretation to provide a clear understanding of the research topic. Creswell (2009:183) relate qualitative data analysis as a process of “peeling back layers of an onion,” where it involves the process of preparation of findings, analyzing them, creating an in-depth understanding of findings, representing, and finally interpreting the meaning of the findings. Qualitative data are often analyzed thematically (Braun and Clarke 2006; Creswell 2009). In this study, the responses transcripts were coded and classified according to key concepts. The concepts were next connected, classified, and combined to form the initial themes. The emergent themes were further reviewed, and the related themes were combined in broader categories. This main category derived from the process are presented in chapter four.

2.4 Ethical Consideration

Collecting the data in the camp was not easy. That is, teachers considered me a government investigator and were thus very cautious with giving the information I needed at first. I had therefore to work hard to build friendship with them and prove them that I was a student by showing them my student identity card. This made them less suspicious and they eventually cooperated.

The second dilemma owed to the fact that one of my respondents were children. That is, adolescent girls of up to 18 are classified as children, a group considered relatively powerless in society. Morrow (2008: 52, 54) in his article on ethical dilemmas in research with children and young people about their social environments argued that the researcher should apply the same ethical considerations applied to researching adult respondents to examining children. Nonetheless, Punch (2002:328) argues that most research environments are quite adult-oriented. When it comes to interviewing children, this can be more difficult in a mainly adult-oriented environment, since they may not feel free or comfortable and this might affect their responses.

Based on this argument, during interviews and FGDs with adolescent girls, I carefully considered the interview environment. I thought about where they would be most comfortable to participate and answer questions. Selection of a place was given to them where they decided the discussion to be held in the Girls and Women empowerment building which is a building of the IRC. The informants did not choose the school environment since they said the teacher(s) might pass and hear the discussion, which would be risky and might constrain relations with them.

During the time of data collection, all secondary schools were closed for a holiday. Therefore we traced these girls in their families with the help of IRC staff and self-organizers. Next, we asked the girls' parents to give us initial consent to ask their children to participate in the study. Once these parents granted permission, we asked for the girls' consent to participate in the study.

Comfortability of respondents during data collection is crucial for the best possible findings, but trust can also be affected by the context and setting of the field research. Punch (2002:328) argued that most research environments are quite adult-oriented. When it comes to interviewing children, this can be more difficult in a mainly adult-oriented environment, since they may not feel free or comfortable and this might affect their responses. Based on this argument, during interviews and FGDs with adolescent girls I carefully considered the interview environment. I thought about where they would be most comfortable to participate and answer questions. Selection of a place was given to them where they decided the discussion to be held in the Girls and Women empowerment building which is a building of the IRC. The informants did not choose the school environment since they said the teacher(s) might pass through and hear the discussion, which would be risky and might put relations with their teachers under strain, or threat.

The next step was by acknowledging the power I exercise in writing about Congolese Adolescent girls and consequently developing a deeper sense of responsibility to challenge my personal assumptions about the topic and present the views of respondents in the best way possible. . This research made me go through an emotional and intellectual process of understanding what it means to be a refugee particularly at the adolescence age. I tried to take this

effect of the research process as a tool to better understand and contextualize the experiences of the participants.

Further, the researcher must consider that all respondents are protected by ensuring their confidentiality and anonymity (Morrow 2008:58; O’Leary 2014: 63). To consider my respondent's confidentiality and protection, I asked their consent before recording them and assured them that I would destroy the recordings as soon as I finished using them. That is, I assured them that I would not use the recordings for the purposes rather than this research. Further, I confirmed them that names of all participants in this research would be replaced and their identity would not be revealed for the sake of confidentiality and anonymity. Therefore, all names appended in this report are not respondents’ real names

2.5 Scope and Limitations of this Research

I am a young Tanzanian, single female and highly motivated to work and help those who are in need, especially the refugees. Throughout this research work, I have had a challenging task of becoming fully aware of my subjectivity as a female (who has experienced adolescence age and its challenges). Further, my previous experience as a student at secondary and undergraduate levels made me feel that I deserved to bear respondent of the research irrespective that I am not a refugee. Awareness of my position however helped me to understand the experiences of Congolese adolescent girls better and to realize the uniqueness of each of these experiences. Having a conscious awareness was the first step for me in attempt to manage the effects of my own position on the knowledge produced in this paper.

Currently in Tanzania democracy is in decline; people have no right to criticize the government. The government is hostile to feminist ideas and women’s movement or human rights. Therefore, it was not easy in this situation to ask a lot of questions about sexual relations, power abuses and agency of teenage girls. The authorities would tend to be suspicious, and indeed responsible staff in the ministry started to question me about my topic. They expressed concern that the findings I would collect would give the country a bad image. Further, the government is strictly prohibiting the issue of sexuality because of a fear of discussing issues of homosexuality. So to get the permit, I had to prove to them and clearly explain my topic and its purpose. Finally, I successfully got the permit though it took several days and process and being aware of the power of politics around my subject. At this point, I started to fear to do this research topic. A lot of questions came to my mind especially: what if participants will not trust me and refuse to respond?

Dickson-Swift, et al. (2007:331-332) suggests that reciprocity and self-disclosure are useful to the researcher as it helps in establishing rapport with

individuals involved in the study. However, establishing a researcher-participant relationship is a challenge. During the data collection in Nyarugusu refugee camp, I faced a serious lack of trust from my respondents including teachers and two adolescent girls who had dropped out of school because of unwanted pregnancy.

Moreover, faced insecurity challenges on the way to Nyarugusu – several armed robberies occurred at around that time. The situation made me feel unsafe but I told myself that so long as there were people working and living in and around the camp area, I would accomplish my task despite of the perceived dangers. Sluka (2015) wrote an interesting article on *Managing Danger in Fieldwork with Perpetrators of Political Violence and State Terror*. This highlights different strategies to consider during data collection to protect one's own safety, including reading a range of different literature conducted on the topic, or related topics, to help evaluate the degree of danger. Another strategy is to focus on how to manage dangers that arise unexpectedly once in the field. I was glad that I managed to get in touch with IRC staff who helped me during the weeks spent in Nyarugusu. Their support to me helped to create a sense of trust from my respondents, since IRC as an organization has long experience of working with refugee in Nyarugusu Camp.

In addition, I anticipated a number of ethical dilemma that could arise in my study. This owes to the fact that I planned to collect primary data by interacting with people. The first anticipated challenge was the mistrust that could deny me the information I was seeking. Because, I was aware of this to happen, I disclosed my identity as a researcher and initiated a rapport-building process from my first meeting with a participant through sharing of narratives with participants to reduce feelings of mistrust and lessen the hierarchical nature of the research process. This helped me to build a research relationship that enabled me as a researcher to access respondents' individual stories as it created a togetherness sense of life.

What is more, transport was also a great challenge during my field work. This owes to the fact that I was living at Kasulu District headquarters, which is 67 kilometers from the Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. This meant I would travel through a rough road from Kasulu to Nyarugusu almost every day. Likewise, I depended on IRD's transport which implied that I had to follow their work schedule to benefit from this support. Because of this transport arrangement, I once, I got late for a focus group discussion. That is, FGD had to take place on 29th August at 11:00 am whereas the car we relied on started its journey to the camp at 10:30. I therefore arrived very late for the appointment. Be that as it may, I apologize to all my participants and in the end, I reschedule the focus group discussion for another day.

I disclosed my identity as a researcher and initiated a rapport-building process from my first meeting with a participant through sharing of narratives with participants to reduce feelings of mistrust and lessen the hierarchical nature

of the research process. This helped me to build a research relationship that enabled me as a researcher to access respondents' individual stories as it created a togetherness sense of life.

Further, I sometimes missed my respondents at the time and place of appointment. The time I visited Nyarugusu Refugee Camp students were on a holiday all school were closed, so it was a bit difficult to find these adolescent girls and teachers as well as respondents who are victims of transactional sex especially those dropped out due to pregnancy, but I am thankful that through the assistance from IRC I was able to find few of them who enriched my research with required data. Sometimes it was not easy to meet some respondents at a given time while others withdraw. In solving these challenges, I had to reschedule the time for meeting as well as looking for other respondents with required criteria of my sample which was time-consuming.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the methodological procedures including the research method where qualitative is a research method used in the study. The study involved total number of 30 respondents who were selected through snowball, purposive and randomly based on the specific criterion considered during the process. Focus group discussion and unstructured interview were the methods used for primary data collections. Thematic analysis is a method used to analyse qualitative data obtained from the field. The chapter reviewed different ethical procedures that I followed during the research process as well as various limitations that I encountered during the time of data collection.

Chapter 3. Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework

3.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights and analyzes the existing theories and concepts of social sciences in relation to the socio-political liberation of marginalized communities' 'Empowerment Theory' as discussed by Martinez-Soliman (2012), Porter, (2014) and Kabeer (2001). Likewise, the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies; and the outcomes of those interactions in terms of power relations is analysed, with reference to intersectionality theory, as found in the work of Davis (2008), Crenshaw (1989) and Krekula (2007) in particular. The aim of this chapter is simply to raise awareness of the most relevant theories and concepts that will then later be used to develop strategies for addressing the specific susceptibilities that developed as a result of relationships between racial and gender-based oppressive social practices.

The chapter also presents the evidence contained in the key empirical and theoretical literature on the topic at hand. First from Mwapu, Hilhorst, Mashanda et al. (2016), from Formson and Hilhorst (2016), Jewkes et al. (2002), Iyakaremye and Mukagatare (2016), McLean and Modi (2016) and Muhanguzi (2011) in particular. This literature shows that there is some evidence of the existence of both transactional and exploitative sexual relations between adolescent girls and older men, including in refugee camps in general, and also in Nyarugusu Camp in Tanzania. All this literature is concerned with post-conflict situations in places like Uganda, and in Kivu, DRC, all delicate cases due to political conflicts, economic adversity, poverty and displacement problems that mean adolescent girls' specific needs and priorities are more likely to remain unaddressed and disregarded.

3.1 Feminist and other Empowerment Theories

In discussing empowerment, some theorists emphasize the perception of power, the ability to act toward positive changes. Empowerment, as theorized by various scholars from different perspectives including the legal perspective, the social development perspective, the political perspective and the feminist perspectives, among others, is always viewed as something 'positive.'

Legal empowerment (LEP) for the poor, as conceptualized by Golub, is a series of steps or a system of change, through which poor people in particular gradually gain the ability to use the law, the legal system, and legal services to

safeguard and improve their situation within the marginalized community, or to bring about progress in respect for their right and interests as legally recognized subjects (Golub 2010:3). Martinez-Soliman (2012: 27) argued that LEP is about focusing on ensuring that the most vulnerable groups and the most vulnerable among the poor, such as women and adolescent girls, for example, are protected legally and empowered to make the most of their latent social and economic qualities for bringing about positive change, by means of securing the necessities of life as well as identifying the potential usefulness of the informal sector.

Legal disempowerment led to vulnerability and corruptions. The United Nations Development Programme(UNDP) has partnered with UN Women and the Huairou Commission to build the knowledge based on the impact of corruption on women, the strategy adopted by them to combat corruption and to increase the accountability and transparency of the government (Martinez-Soliman 2012: 27)

Lack of legal power exposes vulnerable people including adolescent girls and women to corruption in accessing essential services particularly health and education services.

There are two primary approaches. The first is to view legal empowerment as a process, second is to view legal empowerment as an outcome The process approach focuses on there being adequate opportunity and possibility for the individuals in question to use the law to improve their lives, while the outcome approach looks for legal empowerment to provide ‘... security and mobility for the poor and disadvantaged to enable them to climb the economic ladder. Central theme of efforts to reduce inequalities among disadvantaged groups and the poor (Porter 2014:213).

Accessing legal services and its process is a challenge. Corruption, lack of resources such as professional lawyers or money to hire lawyers are apparently too expensive for the poor especially refugee families. So sometimes it is not easy for them to access legal service hence they settle these issues traditionally.

Most cases of violence, including intimate partner violence, are addressed instead through traditional community-based justice mechanisms, which are strongly embedded in social and cultural norms and prioritize family and community harmony. Traditional justice mechanisms are often led by respected family members, community elders known as baraza, or religious leaders. Although it is illegal to manage cases of rape through the traditional justice system, this still takes place in many communities. (IRC 2014:4).

Based on this context, Congolese adolescent girls raised from needy families, as refugees, living in the camp with no freedom of movement and employment, at the same time living under patriarchal society with a harmful cultural practice that undermines women it is difficult to use legal services to fully exercise their potentials. The issue of transactional sex or sexual exploitation is very complicated to address as it interlinks with family and culture of a given community here most cases have been ended at a family level and traditional system of settling a family dispute. IRC noted that:

Achieving a judgment is difficult because the process is lengthy, there is corruption in the judicial system, and costs, such as transportation to the location of the court and paying a lawyer, are prohibitive. When a judgment is reached in favour of a survivor, survivors often do not receive the damages that are stipulated. Most cases of violence, including intimate partner violence, are addressed instead through traditional community-based justice mechanisms, which are strongly embedded in social and cultural norms and prioritize family and community harmony. Traditional justice mechanisms are often led by respected family members, community elders known as *baraza*, or religious leaders (IRC 2014:4).

Based on Congolese cultural systems of settling disputes related to injustice against women particularly in a family context, it is difficult to impose due to legal process. Many cases of sexual abuse are resolved within the family or at the community level. The theory provides an overview of seeing these disempowered group as victims who need the use legal services to strengthen their human agency and utilize their potential for positive change of their livelihood which I found it not relevant to this study as it need money to access legal services as well as deprived cultural practices still attaches Congolese community. Also, legal processes need tangible evidence to achieve judgments and access justice while the issue of transactional and or exploitative sex is conducting between two people. It is difficult to collect evidence and corruption covers it.

Based on the above argument I realized that Naila Kabeer's theoretical perspective on empowerment would be particularly useful and relevant because she linked the empowerment to the individual possibility for making life-changing choices through the exercise of agency. Although Kabeer refers to women rather than girls, she states, "An insufficiency of the means for meeting one's basic needs often rules out the ability to exercise meaningful choice" (Kabeer 2001:19). Her theorizing is vital for this research. It can help find out whether these girls make choices for transactional sex or are victims of sexual exploitation, including through violence and threat. How can we view their vulnerability or empowerment, even as girls isolated from others, with little freedom of movement, growing up in families with high poverty levels within the camp, hindered in easy access to quality education and with little hope for their future?

Agency involves a process of decision-making, some negotiation, and can include some exposure to deception and manipulation as well, and the ability to deal with this. Kabeer (2010:107) conceptualized agency in relation to women's ability to either pull out or withhold their consent in negotiating under unfavorable circumstances. The ability to withhold consent or pull out, however, is in turn likely to be influenced by the women's (or girls') access to resources. This is to say, the marginalized group including adolescent girls in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp are not able to exercise agency in the sense of freely applying choices in their lives, but this does not imply that they are wholly victims, and lack agency altogether.

Kabeer further argued that agency and resources lead to the so-called achievement or wellbeing outcome. The two elements make a human being capable of acting upon choices and achieve the best ways of acting and living which are acceptable and appreciated by the whole society Achievements or well-being outcomes (Kabeer 2001:23). The imbalance of resources and agency will lead to the failure to achieve the best and acceptable result that can be considered as an indicator of disempowerment.

3.2. Theorizing intersectionality & power inequalities

Intersectionality theory is used in this study to explain the multiplied impact of different identities that women of color may have which influence their experiences of inequalities. Classical 'white' feminism could not address the anti-racism position of feminists of colour, since it could not address the specific vulnerabilities that developed as a result of linkages between racial and gender-based oppressive social practices (Davis 2008: 68). Crenshaw's (1989) theory of intersectionality will be important in analyzing how gender, age, sexuality, poverty, and refugee status all combine to affect the position of the girls who are the focus of this study. For the purposes of this study, therefore:

Intersectionality' refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Davis 2008: 68).

In relation to education, refugee girls can be exposed to sexual exploitation, or sexuality can even become a means for them to take more control over their lives. It is not enough to look at gender only in addressing Congolese adolescent girls' lives, but other social relations of power should also be included in the study. Thus, intersectionality as an approach can help to better understanding when and how refugee girls become involved in social relations that may work either to reinforce inequalities or to challenge the girls' empowerment process and rectify injustices.

A crucial element that creates inequalities within the society is unequal power relations (Krekula 2007: 163). It is essential to understand the intersectionality between the different identities we have such as gender, age, and class, ethnicity, etc. to comprehend power relations existing in a group of people. Krekula also proposed that intersectionality assists us to understand the dynamic interactions between different power relations that are attached to a certain group of people (Krekula 2007: 163). Davis sees that these differences interact with the various social institutions and practices, cultural ideologies, and practices of people producing different and dynamic power relations (2008: 68). Davis explained how intersectionality discloses the way different power relations experience by women and how it produces inequality in their everyday social life.

3.3 Operationalising the Theoretical Framework

I will investigate how gender and other social power relations including patriarchy play a role in undermine the accessibility to schooling of Congolese adolescent girls within the camp. The assortment of these concepts was a procedure that started prior to the research work. My research work confirmed their relevance and enthused me to use as a part of my analytical framework.

There is a correlation between transactional or survival sex in humanitarian settings and food insecurity and poverty which lead to absence of essential requirement and services within refugee families (Mwapu, Hilhorst, Mashanda et al., 2016:5-6) where adults with position in the authority such as teachers, employers, aid workers and others need sexual favor in exchange for this requirement and services.

Fromson and Hilhorst (2016) paper based on the many faces of transactional sex: Women's agency, livelihoods and risk factors in humanitarian contexts. The study was seeking to investigate health outcomes of women engage in transactional sex in particularly in the struggle to HIV prevention policy programming, the reason they engage and the various kinds of transactional sex practiced (Formson and Hilhorst 2016) which is different from the purpose of this study. Research found that women engage in transactional sex as a means for their survival. This has been contended by Fromson and Hilhorst that:

Women in humanitarian crisis adopt various adverse coping mechanisms in response to the multiple risks and vulnerabilities that they face. One such coping mechanism is to engage in transactional sex as a survival mechanism. (Fromson and Hilhorst 2016:4).

Methodologically, the study based on secondary data that make it unique to this and it was focused on women while this look on adolescent girls. Jewkes' study on post-conflict situations in Sub-Saharan Africa, economic, social and security constraints after conflicts force a large number of women and girls to engage in trafficking, prostitution as well as transaction sex for their survival (Jewkes et al. 2002). This is explained as being due to the fact that the burden of caring for the family falls almost entirely on women who are responsible for their younger siblings, and for disabled or elderly relatives and parents.

Another interesting study was conducted on forced migration and sexual abuse: the experience of Congolese adolescent girls in Kigeme refugee camp, (Iyakaremye and Mukagatare 2016). The study was intended to point out how forced migration is related to sexual abuse done to the adolescent girls. Findings revealed that these girls are exposed to incidents of sexual harassment including sexual exploitation and commercial sex. These incidents tended only to emerge openly when conflicts arose between the girls and their 'clients', due to disagreements during their negotiations over price and sexual services. Reasons for engaging in such practices are said to be means of earning a life i.e. acquisition of needs to take care of themselves and their families. This study is interesting,

but we differ in a context where Iyakaremye studied Congolese adolescent girls in Kigeme refugee camp in Rwanda while the focus of this paper is in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in Tanzania context.

The UK DFID also funded a study in 2015 in Kinshasa with the aim of finding out the perceptions and aspirations of adolescent girls and young women (aged 11-24) in relation to their economic and social empowerment (McLean and Modi, 2016). Most of the subjects researched revealed that they too had to engage in transactional sex to earn additional income, and revealed that a lack of family or any other forms of support was the main reason behind such engagement, which was therefore not strictly voluntary but forced on these young women by economic necessity. It is noted that:

The majority of the adolescent girls and young women interviewed had someone who provided for them, usually giving them shelter and food, sometimes paying school fees or giving them 'pocket money.' In most cases, this was their parents (or step-parents); in some cases, other family members; and, occasionally, community members or boyfriends. A minority of girls had no-one to support them economically and said that they had to manage themselves (McLean and Modi 2016:4832).

Apart from the fact that they have migrated alone in the city, being orphaned, or rejected by family members, these displaced people mentioned that they are vested with a provider role in their families, as sometimes their parents expect them to bring home some contributions to cover for household costs. Hence venturing into transactional sex as means of survival becomes unavoidable. The research also found out that these revelations by girls and young women are underreported as compared to the ones by adult interviewees due to the stigma attached to it (McLean and Modi 2016:4832-483).

The 2015 study by Mwapu et al., mentioned in Chapter 1 and conducted in the province of South Kivu in Eastern DRC had the objective of exploring to what extent transactional sex was an element in women's and adolescent girls' survival strategies. The study aimed to understand the women's motivations and their sense of agency in engaging in transactional sex. In their report, these authors argued that:

Overall, transactional sex as a phenomenon takes place in diverse contexts and is motivated by various factors. It is influenced by gendered socioeconomic and cultural factors and often takes place in a context in which choice and opportunities for women are limited (Mwapu et al. 2016:3).

In other words, transactional sex is not to be equated with exercising agency but with constrained and limited choices that (generally poor) women have. Everchanging gendered labor situations are among the factors that cause the pervasiveness of transactional sex as well as gendered power relations in Sub-Saharan Africa. In transactional sexual relations, women have limited power to bargain and negotiate on the choice of cohorts and the terms of the relationship but also can be in a disadvantageous position with limited decision power over the real sexual action (Mwapu et al. 2016:6). In this study, the findings, based on

the data collected through four focus group discussions, revealed that most girls started having sex (voluntarily or not) for the first time between the ages of 10 and 15. Several had more than one sexual relationship at one time, and transactional sex was common (Mwapu, Hilhorst, et al. 2016:24).

Within the institution, this concerns relations with other students, administrative staff or even teachers. Participants in one of the focus groups emphasized that in the latter case, there is often love involved, at least on the side of the girl who has a crush on the teacher. Outside of the institution, this can concern a variety of men, including civil servants, NGO staff, taxi drivers or military personnel (Mwapu, Hilhorst et al. 2016:24).

In rare cases, the participants of group discussion mentioned that love is involved, especially in student and teacher relations. Participants indicated that the value of transactional sex comes in many forms such as free transport to present or a reduction of school fees depending on a partner. In the DRC, for example, students are made to perform or pass well in their exams by their teachers in exchange for sexual favors. Sometimes students themselves take initiatives to seduce and bribe teachers with sex to cheat in exams or even pass with flying colors (Mwapu, Hilhorst, et al. 2016). The study looks similar to this research but differs in context.

Muhanguzi, in his article *'Gender and sexual vulnerability of young women in Africa: experiences of young girls in secondary schools in Uganda Culture, Health and Sexuality'*, stated that there are harassment and substantial sexual abuse towards girls in Ugandan communities that go unaddressed. The abuse and harassment which is mostly done by boys and male teachers are related to hostile reactions that girls have to face from the same after they (girls) have rejected their sexual invitations. The patriarchal political struggles embedded in gendered construction, unequal power relations between males and females, as well as preserved gender hierarchy are all said to have contributed to girl's sexual vulnerability of young women in schools (Muhanguzi 2011: 713-725).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed and analyzed theories and concepts of social sciences and numerous literatures in relation to gender-based oppressive social practices, in particular the problem of transactional sex and sex exploitation facing adolescence girls, which makes them extremely vulnerable to sexual and physical abuse and harmful traditional practices with the intention of levitation alertness of the concepts. The discussed concepts provide an in-depth insight into various ideas that will be reflected in the findings and discussion of this investigation in chapter four and five. Nonetheless, I believe that these concepts are significant in studying and analyzing the problem of transactional sex and sexual exploitation that threatening adolescence girls in seeking education in refugees' camps. It was revealed in this chapter that girls are exposed to the incidents of

sexual abuse including sexual exploitation and commercial sex; and a large number of women and girls engage in trafficking, prostitution as well as transaction sex for their survival especially after conflicts in their country to mention the few.

However, the chapter draws attention to challenge these problems by addressing the issue of legal empowerment, which is lacking to provide security and mobility for the poor and disadvantaged to enable them to climb the economic ladder and enabled to fully exploit their social and economic potentials and improve their livelihoods. Likewise, access to resources and agency is mentioned to be vital for solving the problem, as resources include access as well as future claims to both material and human; and social resources. As well agency involves the process of making decisions, negotiating, as well as exposure to deception and manipulation as stated by Kabeer (2010:107) as the ability to either pull out or withhold in the negotiation to unfavourable circumstances where accessibility of resources can influence the ability. These strategies can be reflected and be used to advocate the marginalized group including adolescent girls in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp who are less powerful to free exercise their agencies than any other group in the society. The following chapter presents the methodology used for conducting this study.

|Chapter 4: Data analysis and Discussion of Findings

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and the discussion of findings where the discussion divided in sub sections that answer research questions. Section 4.1 present the discussion of findings that address the main research question on how the Congolese adolescent girls negotiate the access to education in Nyarugusu refugee camp. The second part of the chapter, section 4.2 findins analyse the relevance of agency and exploitation as concepts in understanding the Congolese adolescent girls at Nyarugusu Camp in relation to sexual relations with men in positions of power, in the school setting. Also, the 4.3 sub chapter analyse the intersectional power relations that influence and determine the type(s) of sexual relations that exist between Congolese adolescent girls' pupils and adult males including teachers in Nyarugusu refugee camps. Finally, 4.4 sub chapters shows various initiatives have been taken to address the adolescent girls' agency and empowerment at Nyarugusu Camp.

In Nyarugusu Refugee Camp adolescent girls are victims of the problem within the camp due to extreme poverty and power relation that intersect within than boys, women, and men (Paik 2012). Their poor life status that led unevenly total of household responsibilities provision which put them in a situation with no option to meet their life needs and leads to failure to attend a school where other engage in transactional or exploitation sex (ibid). Paik further argued that out of school girls face a lot of challenges including exclusion and lack to access services in the camp with rare adviser support where they end up engaging in Transactional sex with male adults who can provide for them.

For us who are out of school, it is difficult to get sanitary wear as those who are at school because the distribution of sanitary materials is done by teachers in schools

(interview with out of school adolescent girl, 2017).

Out of school respondents claimed to have the same challenges of being excluded to some services which are provided in school as reported by Paik. Being out of school the lack even advisor and material support because they do not being considered as students.

4.1. Congolese refugee girls' negotiation of access in education

Access to education is a fundamental human right and is connected to poverty reduction, holding promises of stability, economic growth, and better lives for

children, families, and communities in both stable and fragile states. 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child and 1951 convention on the status of refugees placed education as a basic human right (UNHCR, 2016:1) because it is through education where children psychological need can be addressed and social cohesion can be fostered as well as safe and stable environment can be provided to children. Based on the importance of education as a basic human need the access to quality education among refugees still existing as a significant concern for almost 8,000,000 refugee's children under the authority of UNHCR (ibid).

“The Refugee Act (1998) grants refugees access to the mandatory national primary education system. However, the Refugee Policy (2003) mandates that refugees receive education using the curriculum of their country of origin” (UNHCR,2016:37).

Therefore, accessing to schooling in Nyarugusu is eligible to all refugee children under the UNHCR's mandate and Congolese children receive education using the curriculum of Congo.

According to their education system for a student to shift from one class to another, there are required grades that a student should reach. This is a place where a student should struggle in whatever way to accomplish her goal. It noted by International Rescue Committee that in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in school areas adolescent girls are victims of transaction and exploitation sex where it is reported that students are asked a sexual favour in exchange to passing grade or money (IRC, 2014). During FGDs with Congolese adolescent girls, in-depth interview with adolescent girls, teachers and NGO's employees, they claimed that both transactional sex and sexual exploitation had been used as a means of negotiations to acquire passing grades among Congolese adolescent girls.

In this camp education is eligible for every refugee child but in order for them to shift from one class to another they have to meet 50% of their passing grade which sometimes becomes a challenge to those who cannot reach it. There have been cases where some girls offer sex to pass their exams grade

(Interview, Nyarugusu Refugee camp,Tanzania, 2017)

4.2 Sexual Agency versus Sexual Exploitation?

Kabeer's approach to agency entails that resources, agency and well-being outcomes are all required, as three inter-connected elements to give an individual the power to make life choices. In circumstances of power imbalances, it is difficult of the three elements it is difficult for people to make valid decisions (2003:19-22). Raithelhuber (2010:94) defines agency as a capacity or potential of an individual to be the causal originator of action

In humanitarian context, refugee women and girls are in a vulnerable environment where it is difficult for them to make valid choices. Mwapu and others (2016:6) argued that in emergency and post-conflict situations women and girls are the victims who have the agency to make consensual choices. This is to say that they sometimes exercise their agencies or become victims of exploitation so as to meet their needs. Stoebenau and others argued that women who are in extreme scarce resources such as food, and other family necessities they engage in transactional sex due to the limits that hinder them from making real choices (Stoebenau et al. 2011:14).

In the research conducted in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mwapu and others find cases of teachers asking for a sexual favor in exchange for passing grade while the poor performing students seduce and bribe teachers to cheat the exams and obtain higher grades (Mwapu et al. 2016:25). The same claim was revealed during an interview at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp where Congolese adolescent girls engage in transactional sex and exploitative sex acquiring high grade mostly the failed pupils. Sara is a 17-year-old form six student, during focus group discussion, she mentioned about her best friend who was in a relationship with teacher, but now her friend got a resettlement in America.

When I was in form four my friend was asked by teacher for a sexual favour in exchange for grade. After being in relation with teacher she got pregnant and she aborted. But now she is in America. Sometimes it's difficult to refuse or report because you may end up fail, get punished; your parents will be called to school, and teacher tell that you misbehave, and all lies that bring quarrels and miss- understanding with teachers. So, we decide to keep quiet.

(Focus group, Sara-Adolescent girl pupil, 2017).

Teachers admitted that some teachers are asking a sexual favour to adolescent girls in exchange for passing grades. This has been done with teachers who are un-disciplined by threatening student that they will fail. Through an in-depth interview with teachers, four among five claimed that despite girls to be considered as vulnerable to an adult male, they also initiate these relationships by seducing their teachers. Mr. Juma, 50 years old is a Congolese who came since 1996, and he is working as a teacher in Nyarugusu for almost ten years. During our conversation, he said that nowadays it is very challenging to deal with adolescent girls especially in this world of globalization where they are aware of everything at a very young age.

2015 I remember I was in the class teaching, during the session one girl was untied three buttons of her shirt, so everything was seen. I called her knowing that she was not aware of her shirt and I told her to tie her buttons. I was surprised the way she responded to me. She said, no teacher, I am trying to beep.... which means she is trying to seduce men. She did not close her shirt. So, she was seducing all men in the class including me. I called her to my office and tried to advise to change her attitude

(Interview with Mr. Juma, 2017).

He argued that when it comes to grade, adolescent girls, particularly undisciplined ones, follow teachers to their houses to ask for additional grades

in exams. Sometimes students follow teachers to their home place to ask for extra grades.

As you see the camp situation it is difficult to notice if student follows teacher to his house and teachers are a human being, so others fail to resist the temptation then they become lovers. We do not know how they meet but sometimes we hear that they meet outside the camp where students start to go out of the camp secretly then teachers follow, and they meet in the neighbour villages or at Kasulu town.

(Interview with teacher, Mr. Masumbuka, 2017).

Through observation, I found that the camp has no fence, so it is not difficult for a refugee to get out without anyone noticing. Another incident is what another teacher explained that a student wrote words "I love you teacher" on the back side of her shirt and entered the class. After realizing teacher was not aware, she went outside, took off the shirt and through it to the teacher via the class window and run away. Sometimes students wear short skirts and sit improper in the front desks. All these are initiative adolescent girls take to seduce teachers.

During the group discussion girls contributed that some of the girls seduce teachers to get the favour of grades especially those with poor performance. They do that not only for education performance only but also as a way of acquiring money and other gifts like clothes, shoes, phones and food which humanitarian agencies cannot provide.

Exploitation sex is also existing in where teacher uses their power or position to exploit adolescent girls, especially in the grading issues. Distribution of scholastic materials within the schools are done by teachers where poor girls choose to provide sexual for favor and assurance of getting those materials as well as to get means of exchange to buy scholastic materials, clothes, and luxury materials which are scarce within the camp. Interview with an adolescent girl who had a child with teacher complained that it is done secretly to the extent that it is not easy to trace. Sometimes girls and their family know what is going on but because a teacher has money, and good life status, they keep it secret. It might be revealed only when a girl is pregnant, and teacher refuse to marry or take care of a pregnant girl.

It is well known as unethical and against rules and principal of employment as well as against child right for a teacher to have a sexual relationship with pupils. I was interested to know if these teachers are qualified teachers and their nationality. Findings from an interview with teachers show that all teachers are Congolese and they do not attend education colleges just after finishing advanced level of education they become teachers. They only learn pedagogy subject in their advanced level education that prepares them to be teachers. Other teachers are doing that because of their life experience of where they come. While support for the needs of adolescent girls is growing, less focus has been paid to adolescent girls living in emergency settings.

Conflict and disaster significantly increase a girl's exposure to exploitation and abuse and reduce her chances of reaching her full potential. For example, recent research conducted by the IRC found that 40% of girls in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia reported experiencing sexual violence. During the discussion, they argued that the intimate relationship between teacher and students exist but very secret and it is challenging to find evidence on this issue. They claimed that some of the teachers threatened them with statements like: "You just sit and enjoy; don't you know that years are counting? Make sure you see me." (Focus group respondent, 2017).

Those are words teacher give out to threaten adolescent girl pupils. So, weak and poor performing students will follow teacher in their private time to negotiate for the grade. After these threats everyone in her private time will find a way to talk to a teacher who gave those threat and its where she may fall in the trap of providing sexual favour. Girls claimed that when they provide sex, they end up pass their exams and the relationship will depend on how teacher decide whether to stay for an extended period or short-term relation.

4.3 Power relations: refugee adolescents and adult males

Davis (2009:70-71) explain that intersectionality gives a discourse on the differences among women by providing a wide range expression that aims to create noticeable the multiple positioning that establishes an everyday life and the power relations that are vital towards it and. Davis continues that intersectionality concept has been devoted to develop an understanding of the effects of power identities and the struggle for empowerment. In this study, the main point of intersectionality concept is to scrutinize how different power axes such as class, gender, age, patriarchy, and other identities intersect within and serve as oppressive measures towards Congolese adolescent girls' realization of their potentials in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp.

The class is among the leading factors that determine the form taken by sexual relations between teachers, other male adults, and adolescent refugees. Through observation and in-depth interviews, I realised that within Congolese refugees with different classes, there are class of those who have nothing only depending on humanitarian aids for their survival and the class of who have including those who engage in business activities including money landing, trades, bodaboda (motorcycle activities), bakery , tailoring, hair and beauty salons and mamantile (food sales)as well as employed group including teachers, and employees from the NGOs within the camp and others getting remittance from their relatives who have got resettlement in European countries and US. These groups differ in terms of their income level.

A girl from the wealthy family can access the essential needs including scholastic materials, food, clothes, and other necessities such as sanitary wear because it is easy for the family to provide and she will have enough time to concentrate on her studies. Adolescent girls from needy families with nothing more than humanitarian aids of which sometimes they have to sell food they have given by UNHCR to get money of buying other things like clothes, soap and scholastic material as well as selling their cheap labour to survive. It is easy for the girls to be bribed and attempted to engage in sexual relationships with teacher and other male as an easier way to get what the family cannot provide. Not all of those who lack family support will sell their cheap labour to farming activities because even if she goes to work at a farm, it will take more than three days to finish the job and get paid. Therefore, they find the more comfortable means of getting money which some time they opt on the sexual favour. Jennifer is 13 years girl studying form one, during focus group discussion she sometimes said they get tired of the food that they eat every day which is of one type.

As a human being, sometimes you get tired of the same kind of food. In the morning you get porridge, afternoon porridge so when a man calls you and buy you chips or give you money to buy anything to eat of different type you thank him. (Interview with Jenifer-adolescent girl, 2017).

Sometimes adolescent girls engage in sexual relationships with a male adult who is well off in terms of income so as to get different food which is not provided by UNHCR. UNICEF (2017) reported that due to the outcome of World Food Programme pipeline break and low funding levels, food ration for refugees and other supplies in Tanzania refugees' camps for a quite period of time in this year had been cut by 50%. This also reported in findings that in order for a student to attend and perform well in school enough food is required, shortage of food put these girls in a situation of opting on being in a sexual relationship with an adult male as a means to acquire money to buy food.

Findings show that humanitarian agencies and other NGOs such as UNHCR, UNICEF OXFAM and IRC provide these adolescent refugees with sanitary materials and scholastic materials, but the given amount is not enough. This have been claimed in various field reports by the humanitarian agencies including UNHCR and the UN in Tanzania that there is a scarcity of learning materials to both primary and secondary students in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp including school supplies, reference books, notebooks, and other scholastic materials (UN,2015; UNHCR Factsheet, 2016:4). Those from low-income families they have to find a way to get these materials where they can engage in providing cheap labour to the farms, fetching firewood, and sell in the camp. The process of providing cheap labour need time, energy, and tolerance of which not all of them can manage. Therefore, some choose to engage in transactional sex as a more accessible or shortcut way to meet their needs.

NGOs distribute to us sanitary wear, pants, exercise books, soap, and pen but we just get few of it and it takes time, in which we need to buy on our own. When you ask mother or father to buy for you when you need he or she tells

you that there is no money. So, when you get a boyfriend that can buy you what you need you decide to be with him (Interview with young girl pupil, 2017).

Respondents including NGOs employee admitted that despite the fact that they are responsible for distributing food, sanitary ware, scholastic materials, uniforms and soaps, these things are scarce because they always depend on donor's pipelines. Poverty and influence of consumerism intervene in the class power relation. Respondents claimed that sometimes rich people use the money to lure girls with gifts like clothes, shoes, mobile phones, airtime credits, soaps sanitary wears, lotions and oils, junk foods like chips and money in exchange to sex. Some girls fall into the trap due to extreme poverty within their families and desire for consumerism.

Unequal gender power relations intersect in this issue. Research conducted on framing of transactional sex and its implications for vulnerability to HIV in Lesotho, Madagascar and South Africa find that women engage in transactional sex with more than one partner due to inequalities of gender position within the community (Stoebenau et al. 2011:15). Through focus group, Stoebenau and others find that men have all the power over resources while women become powerless in the sense that in order for them to pull out of this unequal gendered power relations they sometimes engage in transactional sex as means to be self-reliant. As Kabeer argued that although Inequalities in basic functioning generally tend to occur in situations of extreme scarcity, it also takes place in other economic well of the community due to cultural norms and rules that practiced within the community (Kabeer 2001:23). IRC report (IRC,2014:4) revealed that Congolese family prefer boy children to girl children and it reach to the point that women are blamed if they do not give birth to boys. This is inherited from their cultural practice.

The same claim revealed during an interview from Nyarugusu Refugee Camp where Congolese adolescent girls' individual and education needs seem to have less or no consideration than boys needs within the family. Participants contended that girls are prepared to be someone wife so educating a girl is to waste time and resources while the boy is considered as a future head of the family who will take over the responsibilities, so all resources and time are directed to him/them. Therefore, it is assumed education is critical to boys than girls. All the scholastic materials provided by humanitarian Agencies or even by the family are directed to boys than girls. So, girls find themselves lack these scholastic materials hence engage in transactional sex as a means to acquire it.

All domestic roles including fetching of water and firewood are directed to girls than boys. During focus group interview girls claimed that sometimes they have to take responsibilities of collecting food ration from the UNHCR. This is because parents are likely to trust girls than boys. During focus group discussion, adolescent girls claimed that failure of the families to provide for them uniforms it reaches a time they go to school with ripped and dirty clothes.

Sometimes when teacher find your skirt ripped he or she ripped it more than how it was. It is disgraceful for us girls. As you know we are from needy families; we do not have the option, if a man comes and act like he wants to help you, you accept then at the end he will ask for a sexual relationship. Sometimes you decide to drop out rather than being humiliated in front of others (Interview with Juliet,13year, 2017).

To them, it is a shame and sometimes boys harassing them by laughing and touching them. Being a girl with poor clothing, it is much more disadvantageous compared to when boys wear the same kind of clothes. The same scenario mentioned in the year 2012 where Women Refugee commission researched gaining a better understanding of Congolese adolescent refugee girls' protection and empowerment needs in the camp. In Nyarugusu Refugee Camp where adolescent girls reported to the researcher that they face harassment when they attend school with dirty and ripped clothes(Paik,2012:6).

Congolese society based on patriarchy system of society, men are centered when it comes to the issue of sexuality while women are powerless. IRC (2014) argued that Congolese cultural practices consider family as a significant aspect and it is normal to get marriage at a young age mainly under the age of 18. IRC further argued that marrying at this age considered as will enable a woman to bear many children which are contemplated as a prestige in their culture (IRC2014:4). Based on this cultural practice of family and marriage, it is considered that adolescent girls are in a high risk of early marriages especially those from low-income families because of their gender and age as is a time where men are struggling to marry them at a very high price. Findings reveal that in Congolese tradition, 14 years is the age where the girl is considered as a woman and it is possible and acceptable to get married. It is a period when all the society particularly men start to identify girls at this age as an adult and they start to propose for marriage engagement from the age of fourteen years. The dowry price is getting higher when a woman gets married at a young age (teenage) and the price decrees when she gets older (twenty years and above).

Findings reveal that at the age of adolescence all the community view these girls as grown-up women, and they have to be self -sufficient and looking beautiful so as to attract men. Also, their identity as children under their adolescence age Congolese girls experiences sexual exploitation and harassment from adult male including teachers and other male within the camp.

NGO's employees claimed that fewer cases happen in primary schools where teachers use their power to exploit pupils by engaging them into sex in exchange for favours like additional marks. This is common in upper classes from standard six and above. They argued that previous assessments done in Nyarugusu indicated that in secondary school male teachers exploit girls sexually by promising them to grade them high especially in the tough subjects like mathematics and science. Other teachers take advantage of the inability of girls to meet their basic need by providing them with gifts in an exchange for sexual favour.

During the focus group discussion girls claimed that sometimes when girls refuse to engage in sexual relationship with a teacher, they get punished with no fault and as teachers trusted by the community as adults who are aware of their responsibility it becomes difficult for adolescent girls to report. Teachers have the power to punish girl and sometimes expel girls from school by disclosing, claiming or saying false accusation, and be trusted by parents and the whole community. This situation put adolescent girls at a disadvantage of being exploited by an adult only because they are an identity as children.

Power asymmetries shape theoretical constructions, and those with the least influential positions receive the least theoretical attention. Therefore, the extensive research on older women does not necessarily imply that they have also attained a position as the subject in theories. Older women can still be visualized against a male norm, or against a younger norm, and consequently maintain a position as deviant. (Krekula 2007:160).

Based on Krekula's argument on the intersection of age and gender power relation of old women also provide an understanding in this study that, despite of Congolese adolescent girls viewed as children who live in a social structure that they lack attention to their claims against adult, the patriarchy society but also as marginalized female adolescent girls from poor refugee family who fail to attend school because of limited resources including clothes and other education material which finally they fail to perform in their studies. They end up engaging in transactional sex and exploitative sex as an alternative way of accessing the limited resources to achieve their well- being.

Other respondents including teachers claimed that the United Nation Convention of Child Right (UNCCR) is contradicting to traditional Congolese way of disciplining children. They complained that these conventions protect children against punishments in such a way that student misbehaves because they do not scare of anything and anyone. Also, health education to adolescent girls to some extent contributing to missing behaviour and led to an engagement in a sexual relationship at very young age. This claim has not reported in any research related to this topic. This claim alarms the need for the international agencies to include the local community in their initial stage of any decision about the projects that involve the community.

4.4 Addressing adolescent girls' empowerment

Findings show that various actors are working together to address those challenges faces Congolese adolescent girls. The interview with NGOs employees reveals that the empowerment and protection measures are taken to emancipate adolescent girls through materials and moral support.

Through an interview with critical employees from International Rescue Committee who working with Adolescent girls particularly in education and protection, youth, and adolescent empowerment they explained about different

measures they take which including the SEL programme. SEL is a programme that working to minimize the impact of adolescent girls who drop out of school either because of early child pregnancy, those who failed and drop out or aged girls who did not get accessed education earlier since before reaching to Nyarugusu Refugee Camp by enabling them to access a quality education through the MEMKWA programs. IRC also provide capacity building to both teachers and adolescent girls.

As an organization we are struggling to make sure that adolescent girls who face challenge of Transactional or exploitative sex from adult males including teachers to the extent that they fail to achieve their future dreams by ending up drop out of school. Through SLE program we have been able to enrol drop out of school adolescent girls.

(Interview with Mr Juma in Nyarugusu camp, 2017)

In order to empower early child mother, humanitarian agencies within the camp managed to ensure pregnant girls have a chance to proceed with education during pregnancy period and after maternity as noted during interview. All these initiatives fall under what Kabeer term as resources that is human resources which serve to improve the quality of their agency further so that they will be able to improve individual skills, imagination and creativity among others (2003:20). There is a need for what Golub (2010:1) termed as paralegals and other legal services. There is a need of strict laws, legal education as well as accountability to responsible institutions that will ensure the protection of these victims against all oppressive power that is intersecting within as well as any kind of exploitation from teachers and other adult male within the camp.

NGOs take various measures to empower girls particularly in the creation of awareness on rights of adolescent girls to enforce all code of conducts that safeguard girls and protect them from both transactional sex and sexual exploitation. Actors are working to ensure that they empower girls through what Kabeer (2003) consider as enhancing the ability to exercise choice by learning to say NO to the practices which make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violation of their rights, among these practices include; engaging into intimate relationship with teachers or other men with power in exchange with either materials or marks.

As one among actors we are struggling to create awareness through dialogues, debates and other recreational activities in schools by teaching adolescent girls to say NO to the practices that might put a risk of them in engaging into sexual relationship with teachers or other men with power in exchange with either materials or marks.

(Interview with Rose, 2017)

Findings revealed that there is an inequality gap in participation on education-related issues between boys and girls. This was shown during the interview with Oxfam gender and protection manager in Kasulu where we met in her residence as well as with IRC Education and protection manager in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. They claimed that school attendance of Congolese

adolescent girls is poor than boys and this causes them to be left behind in participating in various meetings in school relating to reproductive education and self-awareness issues. This has been related to cultural practices and inherited structure of the society that produces unequal gender power relations such as patriarchy system and other abusive and suppressive practices that disempower Congolese adolescent girls. Their task is to ensure they minimise this inequality gap by enforcing legal measures and campaign to provide the protection of child right among refugee and create an equal chance in participation in decision making through school social clubs.

Despite humanitarian agencies struggling to ensure the provision of basic needs to this group, the services provided are insufficient that cannot meet their needs, for instance, sanitary materials and scholastic materials. Respondents particularly employees from NGOs explained that this is because most of these organizations depend on donor budget where sometimes it is constrained.

Findings reveal that most of the parents are not responsible to their children, and they believe that everything about their children education solved by humanitarian agencies hence ignores their roles as parents which in turn expose these girls to the risk of engaging in transactional sex and sexual exploitation. Therefore, their work is to join the community in discussing issues affecting their girls in regard to the children rights and responsibilities, parents' responsibilities. Strengthening the roles of parent's committees in protecting girl's education so as to make the community self-reliant to own their problems and come up with their own ways of solving them.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the analysis and the discussion of findings where the discussion divided in sub sections that answer research questions. Section 4.1 present the discussion of findings that address the main research question on how the Congolese adolescent girls negotiate the access to education where findings shows that the access to education is free to all children in Nyarugusu refugee camp. Finding revealed that transactional sex and or exploitative sex used as a means to negotiate in the issue of passing grades where it is obliged for a student to reach 50% of grade in each subject so as to pass to the next class. The second part of the chapter, findings shows the relevance of agency and exploitation as concepts in understanding the Congolese adolescent girls at Nyarugusu Camp in relation to sexual relations with men in positions of power, in the school setting. Also, the 4.3 sub chapter findings revealed the intersectional power relations including gender, age, class and patriarchy that influence and determine the type(s) of sexual relations that exist between Congolese adolescent girls' pupils and adult males including teachers in Nyarugusu refugee camps. Finally, 4.4 sub chapters shows various initiatives have been taken to address the adolescent girls' agency and empowerment at Nyarugusu Camp.

|Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

This study explored how Congolese adolescent girls negotiate using transaction sex in accessing schooling in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, the western part of Tanzania. It examined how transactional sex, exploitative sex as well as gender and other power relations become the hindrance to their access to quality education. The study was qualitative, which adopted women empowerment and intersectionality theoretical approach. Unstructured interviews with 16 participants, and focus group discussion with 14 adolescent girls in which they were divided into two groups each with seven participants (30 respondents in total, 21 female and 9 male).

The interview and focus group conducted in Nyarugusu as well as Kasulu district based on the preference of the participants. I used resources, agency, exploitation and Intersectionality as an analytical tool which prevailed to be relevant in the context of how transactional sex, exploitative sex and social power relation. The study explored how these adolescent refugee girls negotiate to access schooling. Looking on the relevance of Agency and exploitation in creating an understanding of how transactional sex and exploitative sex hinder the accessibility of quality education among Congolese adolescent refugee girls in Nyarugusu Camp. Analyzing how gender and other power relation exist between teachers and refugee girl pupils in the camp as well as looking on the usefulness of findings for future efforts to enable refugee girls to access quality education in the camp.

Also, findings revealed that the accessibility to quality education is eligible for all refugee children in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp. Based on the education system of Congolese schools in the camp there is a level of passing grade that every student must reach so as to pass from one class to another and if a student fails to achieve those passing grade will not be able to move to another class. Some of the adolescent girls who fail to meet the required grade they opt to engage in transactional sex where they provide sex to some teachers for a favor of the passing grades. At the same time, some teachers use force, gift, passing grade to luring and having a sexual relationship and sexually exploiting the failed adolescent girls through threatening them for failure (Kabeer, 2001: 19).

Findings revealed that based on the miserable family life of Congolese adolescent refugee girls which put them in to vulnerable life situation of failing to access education materials or fail to attend school in turn led to poor performance in school, sometimes out of their own agency or by force they engage sexual relationships with teachers knowing that by doing so it becomes easier for them to acquire those limited resources such as to get favors of passing

grades and money to buy scarce scholastic materials, sanitary materials as well as other school-related materials. In the issue of power relation, findings revealed that age, class gender and patriarchy are intersecting each other and make these adolescent girls vulnerable to transactional sex as well as exploitative sex in Nyarugusu Refugee Camps. Finally, the analysis was looking at the initiative taken by the various actor for future protection of these girls including both social and legal efforts.

The specific focus of the study is on how transactional sex or exploitative sex and social power relations hinder the access to education among adolescent refugee girls in Nyarugusu refugee camp Tanzania. After reviewing the meanings of Transactional sex and sexual exploitation, and seeing the reality on findings it is obvious that Adolescent refugee girls engage in transactional sex or exploitative sex in exchange to passing grade only but also to get money so that they can have access to limited material needs such as sanitary and scholastic materials.

5.2 Recommendations

Limited resources such as scholastic and sanitary materials has seen as a major issue that associate with engagement in transactional and or exploitative sex among Congolese adolescent girls in Nyarugusu refugee camp as some girls engage in such sexual relation to access what they cannot afford. Priorities should be increased and focused on adolescent girls needs in humanitarian settings so as to increase the accessibility to resources such as scholastics and sanitary materials that will reduce the struggle and free Congolese adolescent girls empower them to make meaningful life choices

The practice of transactional or exploitative sex is related to social relations that embedded within Congolese society from their country, during their escaping time as well as in their refuge. This is due to the post-conflict situation. In order to reinforce justice system capacity to respond to sexual violence against women and adolescent girls in Nyarugusu refugee camp, there must be an effective deliberation and joint- venture between international humanitarian organizations, local government from the country of refuge, civil society and other related sectors to combat all kind of cultural norms, practice, corruptions and all forms of injustice that hinder women and girls' emancipation

Most of the Congolese adolescent girls are raised from poor family within the camp and as women are the key responsible provider of the children in these family, engagement in transaction out of their choice as a way to survive has become an option. It has to reach a point that the UN and other responsible international humanitarian agencies, refugee host countries especially Tanzania to allows refugees who lived in for long time to be involved in the formal and informal work, strengthening and increasing promoting the resilient livelihood

so that they can be able to provide for their family easily rather than depending on humanitarian aids for everything.

For safe and friendly schooling environment, there is a need for increased effort and focus on teachers training on ethical issues as well as gender-sensitive pedagogy. This will enable teachers to help pupils to deal with their adolescence emotions positively. It will help teachers in addressing gender differences among girls and boys and build a positive relationship between teachers and adolescent girls pupils as well as increase their education performance.

International organizations, humanitarian agencies, the Tanzanian government, local NGOs and other stakeholders should encourage and support scholars to study on issues related to refugee adolescent girls' educational issues and challenges they face in refugee camps in Tanzania.

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Annexes

Appendix 1 List of Participants' Information

No.	Name	Sex M/F	Age /yrs	Origin	Work Experience
1.	NGO's employees	F		Tanzanian	Gender and Protection manager OXFAM
	Rose				
2.	Irene	F	32	Tanzanian	Education and protection manager-IRC
3.	George	M	38	Tanzanian	Education and protection officer-UNICEF
4.	Juma	M	35	Tanzanian	Women and girls' empowerment officer-IRC
5.	Fitmam	M	28	Tanzanian	Adolescent and Youth protection officer-IRC
6.	Self-organizer	M	21	Congolese	
	Oswald				
7.	Emmanuel	M	25	Congolese	Self-organizer
8.	Melano	F	34	Congolese	Self-organizer
9.	Penny	F	22	Congolese	Self-organizer
10.	Teachers	M	50	Congolese	Teacher
	Mr. Juma				
11.	Mr. Masumbuka	M	32	Congolese	Teacher
12.	Mr Bashir	M	25	Congolese	Teacher
13.	Johnson	M	27	Congolese	Teacher
14.	Out of school	F	17	Congolese	Out of school
	Pricilla				
15.	Deborah	F	15	Congolese	Out of school
16.	Blandina	F	18	Congolese	Out of school
17.	Adolescent girls	F	18	Congolese	Pupil
	Sara				
18.	Kilime	F	13	Congolese	Pupil
19.	Naetwe	F	16	Congolese	Pupil
20.	Lulensia	F	17	Congolese	Pupil

21.	Suzan	F	18	Congolese	Pupil
22.	Estephania	F	14	Congolese	Pupil
23.	Consolata	F	16	Congolese	Pupil
24.	Betha	F	18	Congolese	Pupil
25	Sijali	F	17	Congolese	Pupil
26.	Rose	F	14	Congolese	Pupil
27.	Aisha	F	15	Congolese	Pupil
28	Jenifer	F	15	Congolese	Pupil
29	Anna	f	16	Congolese	Pupil
30	Juliet	F	13	Congolese	Pupil

Appendix 2. FGD Guiding Questions

Main Question

How do Congolese adolescent refugee girls negotiate access to education in the Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania?

- i. How do you access education in this refugee camp?
- ii. Do you think there are some girls who have sex in exchange for good grades
- iii. Do you think some teachers ask for sex in exchange for good grades?
- iv. Do you think that some girls have sex in exchange for money for material needs?

Sub Questions

2. How relevant are concepts of agency and exploitation in understanding Congolese adolescent girls in the Nyarugusu Camp in relation to sexual relations with men in positions of power, in the school setting?

- i. Who do you think is the initiator of sexual relationship between teachers and pupils?
- ii. If pupil, Why? and How?
- iii. Is there any conditions teachers impose when they want to be in a sexual relationship with pupils?

Mention them

- iv. After being in such relation do you get what you want?

3. How do intersectional power relations influence and determine the type(s) of sexual relations that exist between teachers and refugee girl pupils, between transactional sex and sexual exploitation?

- i. Do you think being female makes you vulnerable to transactional or exploitative sex?
- ii. Is there any social difference that make you girls vulnerable to these kinds of sexual relations?

Mention them

- iii. How do they make you vulnerable to transactional or exploitative sex?

4. What initiatives have been taken to address adolescent girls' agency and empowerment in the Nyarugusu Camp?

- i. Do you think the NGO projects implemented meet your needs?
- ii. How?
- iii. Why?