

**MITIGATING RISK THROUGH EDUCATIONAL
PROVISION FOR SOMALI REFUGEES: THE
ROLE OF FUGEE SCHOOL IN GOMBAK,
SELANGOR, MALAYSIA**

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SELANGOR, MALAYSIA**

by

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for the Degree of
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nation High Commissioner for Refugee
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
CRSR	Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
WHO	World Health Organization
WFP	World Food Programme

**PENGURANGAN RISIKO AKTIVITI PENGGANAS MELALUI
PEMBEKALAN PENDIDIKAN UNTUK PELARIAN SOMALIA: PERANAN
FUGEE SCHOOL DI GOMBAK, SELANGOR, MALAYSIA**

ABSTRAK

Malapetaka yang berlaku dalam kehidupan manusia datang dalam pelbagai bentuk daripada alam sekitar, ekonomi, kesihatan dan keselamatan. Idea masyarakat risiko dunia memandang malapetaka yang berlaku sebagai risiko dan mengancam keseimbangan dunia. Perang saudara di Somalia telah membawa kepada kemunculan aktiviti pengganas serta menimbulkan ketakutan dengan menyerang institusi pendidikan. Hal ini mengganggu proses pendidikan kanak-kanak dan remaja serta memaksa mereka untuk memohon status pelarian di negara transisi. Namun, Malaysia tidak mempunyai kewajipan terhadap pelarian kerana kerajaan tidak menandatangani Konvensyen dan Protokol berkaitan dengan Status Pelarian Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu. Golongan pelarian mengalami diskriminasi dan eksploitasi oleh pihak berkuasa dan majikan tidak sah serta tidak ada akses kepada peluang pekerjaan dan pendidikan. Dalam idea masyarakat risiko dunia, sub-politik merupakan golongan yang berfungsi di luar kerangka politik formal demi mencapai objektif untuk menyelesaikan masalah yang diabaikan oleh kerajaan. Pendidikan kanak-kanak dan remaja pelarian terhenti akibat daripada akses ke sekolah awam tidak dibenarkan atas alasan dokumentasi, maka penyelidikan menyiasat Fugee School sebagai sub-politik yang menumpukan kepada pendidikan kepada pelarian daripada Somalia. Maklumat dikumpul melalui temubual mendalam dan temubual kumpulan berfokus dengan pengasas, penyelaras, guru besar serta kanak-kanak dan remaja di sekolah tersebut. Laporan rasmi dan berita serta kajian dahulu turut digunakan untuk membuktikan

pendapat yang terkumpul adalah konsisten melalui proses penyegitigaan. Corong bersebab dan pendekatan biografikal membimbing analisis penyelidikan ini. Penemuan penyelidikan ini menunjukkan bahawa aktiviti penganas telah mengganggu perkembangan kognitif kanak-kanak dan remaja pelarian. Namun temubual telah menunjukkan bahawa norma-norma budaya memberi kesan kepada perolehan pendidikan antara jantina. Ketakutan muncul dan menolak rakyat negara bergolak untuk mencari kawasan perlindungan. Meskipun kerajaan mendiskriminasi dan mengabaikan kebajikan golongan pelarian, Fugee School terjelma sebagai sub-politik dan pengaturan refleksif dengan ciri-cirinya melalui perkhidmatan yang diberikan serta berkerjasama dengan pemegang amanah yang lain sehingga berjaya mengubah dasar pendidikan institusi pengajian tinggi swasta untuk menganugerahkan sijil kepada remaja pelarian. Penyelidikan ini membuktikan bahawa tugas normatif kerajaan tidak kerap bertemu pada titik empirikal yang secara relatifnya membawa kepada kewujudan sub-politik untuk mengambil tindakan untuk berkerjasama dengan pemegang amanah untuk menyelesaikan masalah sosial yang berkait dengan risiko.

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ABSTRACT

Catastrophic event occurred across a wide spectrum of human lives from environment, economics, health and security. World Risk Society thesis viewed the occurrence of the events as risk and threaten the balance of the world. The occurrence of civil war in Somalia have subsequently led to the rise of terrorist activities inciting fear within the state by attacking educational institution which subsequently disrupted the education of school-going children and young adolescent where they eventually leave the state and seek refugee status in transitional countries. However, in Malaysia, the government have no obligation towards refugees as they are not the signatories of the United Nation Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Refugees are discriminated and exploited by the authorities and illegal employer whilst being denied access to job and education opportunities. Within the world risk society thesis, the sub-politics are those who work beyond the formal political process to achieve their objectives by handling issues neglected by the government. Refugee children and young adolescent educations are stunned as they are not allowed entrance to public school due to lack of documentation, the research examined the Fugee School as sub-politics on educational provision for Somali refugee. The information was collected through in-depth interview and focus group interview with the founder, coordinator, principal, children and young adolescent of the school. Official and news reports along with past literature served as triangulation tools to proof consistencies of the information from interviews. The funnel of causality and biographical approach

guides the analysis for this research. The findings for the research shows that terrorism disrupted refugee children and young adolescent cognitive development. Interviews also yielded results that showed cultural norm effected educational attainment between genders. Fear manifest itself and pushes citizen to seek refuge elsewhere. Despite the government negligence and discrimination, Fugee School embodied the essence of sub-politics and reflexive regulation by providing services through variety of networking and cooperation with other stakeholders to the extent of attaining certified learning through educational policies shift of private educational institution. The research proofs the facts that the normative duties of a government were seldom met empirically thus causing the sub-politics emergence to take action and cooperate with other stakeholder in solving risk related social issue

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Studies

Chernobyl, global warming, mad cow disease, severe acute respiratory system (SARS), Asian financial crisis, the September 11th Terrorist attack that evolves into more terrorist group emergence and attacks are different dimensions and dynamics of World Risk Society (Beck, 2002). The analysis of risk and security studies do not often communicate with one another as each encompassed of a different field. Risk analysis relates itself to the field of sociology, economic and of the natural sciences whereby security studies are related to the field of international relation. However, with the rise of policies focusing on terrorism, climate change and other transnational threats, it allows both fields to communicate with each other. Catastrophic events resulted from the miscalculation and deliberate action of certain individual or organization have allowed the field of security studies and risk analysis to have a common research agenda with similar empirical theme (Petersen, 2008). Although both fields have tackled the field of risk effectively in its own research agenda but the effects of terrorism towards people such as education disturbance, refugee and internally displacement issues, government instability were not addressed in the research agenda.

Khalifa Umar Mansoor, Taliban commander clearly stated that all forms of educational institutions (schools, colleges and universities) in Pakistan will continuously be attacked as the terrorist believed that it provides a space to produce apostates (Hussain, 2016). Hussain (2016) cited Erin Miller from the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism of the University of Maryland where she highlighted the fact that educational institution have less security and is easily a target for terrorist activities to

take place as the space are open and accessible to the public. Knoope (2016) in Hussain (2016) commented that Islamic extremist attacks are motivated by the ideology of the terrorist group which could be categorise into two (1) the widespread of western education and (2) the potential of education as threat to terrorist obscurantist and regressive ideology. He also mentioned the approach to attacks on western education is because they (terrorist group) viewed it as rival and against the Quranic or Islamic religious education delivered in the olden Somalia. The mindset presents a dangerous situation where Islamic extremist dominates the mind of the younger generation.

Beyond the conflict situations that occur in war torn and terrorist active countries which contribute to the movement of people, government institution also faces the crisis of public distrust and it steadily rises to be a global phenomenon (Norris, 1999). Public opinion derived from diverse sources has established the fact that public confidence towards government has deteriorated and remain low (Park & Bae, 2012). The Malaysian government policies and reaction towards refugees are ad hoc, inconsistent and subjective because of its non-signatory status to the United Nation Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of refugees (Wake & Cheung, 2016). This research examined the lives of refugee within the duration they fled their origin to transitional country. The first stage of the research identify the causality of refugee's movement which present the occurrence of conflict and extent of terrorism activities in Somalia. This process is employed to identify the roots of risk and establish the connection which deteriorates the basic essentials of a human. Upon establishing the connection, the second stage examined the causes of shortcoming within international agencies and the non-obligatory action from Malaysia government in handling refugee crisis. This stage is important to establish the understanding of political process which is flawed and requires the need of an alternatives. The final stage examine the sub-

politics as an alternative that function beyond the walls of formal political process in attempt to restore educational provision for refugees.

As the problems of refugees are immense, this research addresses the effort and limitation in terms of education provision for refugee from both the government and sub-politics group.

1.2 Conflict, Terrorism and Education

This part is dedicated to give an overview on the three themes mentioned above in relationship to provide and understand the background of this research. The details of each sub topics are as follow: The Somalia conflict dynamic and refugees, Terrorism and educational opportunities, Al- Shabaab and attack on education in Somalia, Terrorism and refugee, and the Obligations towards Refugee.

The intertwining relationship of conflict, terrorism and education sets the tone for this research by understanding the situation of political unrest and instability in Somalia which subsequently creates terrorism related risk. The risk related situation connects to the thesis of world risk society which examined the effects and reaction of the contemporary society on refugee issues particularly on the obligation and shortcomings of the government and international agencies. This section is divided into six topics which traces the relationship of conflict, terrorism and education that subsequently contributes to refugee crises. The Malaysian government and international agencies shortcomings in handling refugee issues forms the basis to discuss sub-politics group within world risk society.

1.2.1 The Somalia Conflict Dynamics and Refugees

The post-cold war era has caused awareness among peoples but it also affected many countries and Somalia is not excluded on the list. The dynamics of conflict in Somalia

reveals a series of different factors that drives them – the divide of Somalis through clannism and clan cleavage contributed to conflict over resources and power. In Somaliland, civil war broke out in 1988 which paved the way to end the state of governance in Somalia. Somalia witness a coup d' état that crushes the regime of Dictator Siad Barre thus emerge a land of statelessness. Factions' rivalries in the country are fighting to control and establish power where a situation of anarchy replaced the government. For two year, Somali “warlords” pronounced war with others to solidify their bases of strength and among the famous warlords are General Hussein Aideed and Ali Mohamed from Mogadishu and Mahdi respectively. Drought landed itself on the country in turmoil causing famine in its aftermath. The United Nation (UN) fall short in establishing authority, stability and order in the country despite their effort to manage conflicts and relieve sufferings of the peoples (Leeson, 2007). However, upon the evacuation of UN from Somalia, the Somali economy actually improved instead of deteriorating (Little, 2003).

The mid 1990s witnessed some fighting but slowed down since 1991. Somalia conflicts since 1991 are fought with the name of clan which sparks from the use of militia and making reconciliation almost impossible. The ouster of former dictator is not replaced by a new government but instead replace with a period of violent anarchy and warfare. Clan based militia fight with one another to claimed control over town, seaports and neighbourhoods. The conflicts that occur way before the 1991 downfall of the dictator regimes have caused an outflow of refugee where 400, 000 Somalis cross the Ethiopian borders as refugees as a result of the civil war between the Somali military and the Somali National Movement (SNM) where the rivalry sparks as a control over northwest Somalia (Africa Watch, 1990).

Drought as mentioned previously causes natural resources scarcity which later contributed to the massive famine in the late 1991 and early 1992 contributed towards conflict. As there is an imbalance of supply and demand of natural resources due to the fact that there are limited rainfalls and scarcity of water sources have caused clashes between pastoral groups over an access to limited rich pastureland (Puntland Development Research Center, 2004; Center for Creative Solution, 2004). It was believed that at least 30,000 Somalis and many humanitarian workers were sacrificed due to war and famine (Del Boca, 1993).

Somalia is always pictured as a landscape with endless violence and displacement since the ouster of Siyad Barre in 1991. However, it is important to note that the dynamics of conflict in Somalia have gone through different phases, configurations and evolution in terms of human displacement. Before conflict break out in Somalia, the country was a major refugee hosting country for an estimated 650,000 Ethiopian Somali as the 1977-1978 border war ignited in Ethiopia (Hammond, 2014). Peace found again its place in most parts of Somalia in the late 1990s. But once again, peace was threaten with the attempted reestablishment of central government where a new violence and conflict emerged and triggers small scale rivalry in few areas (Menkhaus, 1998, 2004; Nenova, 2004).

The threats was later identified as an ouster of the Union of Islamic Courts by Ethiopian troops and support from its partners despite the effort to position administration in Mogadishu and supports from many parts of Somalia. The invasion of the foreign militia marks the emergence of Al-Shabaab movement. Violence spiraled into the lives of Somalis again in early 2017 where the terrorist movement attacked people indiscriminately in and around Mogadishu causing civilians to flee from the capital of the country as it witness the new violent period since the collapse

of the state (Hammond, 2014). Peoples seek refuge with their rural relatives and moved out of the country eventually towards Kenya and Ethiopia (Lindley, 2010). The United Nation Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Malaysia have reported 154, 140 refugees and asylum seekers were registered by the end of April 2016 and 1,510 of them are from Somalia.

1.2.2 Terrorism and Decline of Education

The major catalyst for children and families decided to migrate is educational opportunity however refugee children and young adolescent often stumbled upon road block in beginning or continuing their education which was largely contributed by a countries restrictive migration policies (United Nations Children's Fund, 2016). Policy Paper 22 or Fact Sheet 31 which was jointly released by the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Education for All Global Monitoring Report (2015) have reported that school year ending in 2013 have 124 million children and young adolescent between the ages of 6 and 15 years have never started school or dropped out and the amount increased from 2011 with 122 million.

Jones and Naylor (2014) took upon the literature of schools, colleges, students and staff that were attacked. The series titled Education under Attacks were reports that span across a duration of four years from 2009 to 2012 where it records a staggering amount of over one thousand schools, universities, student and staff in six countries experienced attacks. Jones and Naylor (2014) however mentioned that the process to quantify all the institution being attacked and the affected human is hard, the belief that thousands of educational institution were attacked is enough to know that hundreds of young minds were interrupted from being nurtured and might leave a permanent mark on them.

Iraq, between 2003 and 2004 conflicts have caused at least 85% of damages to schools in the country. Rwanda, more than two-thirds of primary and secondary school teachers were killed or displaced from the genocide. This is sufficient to illustrate the situation that war on education do not only harm school going children's and adolescent but those dedicated to teaching and provide education. Armed conflicts frequently lead to forced migration which in turn interfere the learning process for millions of children. The UNHCR (2014) have reported that the Syria conflict has caused 900,000 school going age children to live as refugees and more than half of them were not able to attend schools.

Conflict and Political Violence in the Middle East made school going children and teacher faced the line of fire. A staggering 13 million children are unable to attend schools due to conflicts in the region. Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya received a devastating impact where an estimated more than 8,850 schools that previously provide shelter for displaced families were attacked and cannot longer be used for it is damaged and destroyed (UNICEF, 2009). It was a harsh reality to accept the fact that school that once offered knowledge is turned into a battle field by combatant groups in conflict countries endangering the civilians.

The motives of terrorist attacks on educational institution and people in it were outlined in a report by the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (2014:12) and they are as follow:

1. Anti-government group attempts to destroy symbol of government control and to demonstrate control over an area.

2. Girls education and alien (western) type of education that teaches religious or cultural value, history and languages that were not familiar by indigenous are suspended.
3. Teachers trade union activities and academic freedom are limited.
4. Abduction of school going children as combatants, sex slaves and military operational purposes.
5. Educational institutions were seized by terrorist group and utilised as barrack and bases to attack opposing forces.

The above motives clearly outlined the attack on education bring effects to children's and teachers be it psychologically and physically. The attacks mentioned above clearly focus on three themes: power, ideology and extremism.

Terrorism group like the Taliban and Boko Haram have different view on educational attainment and the syllabus of certain subjects. Taliban with only two percent of overall attack were on schools and educational institutions however their ideology of teachings and education was that girls are not to be educated and when they seized power, girls' age eight and above were deprived of education for they were banned from attending schools. Seven attacks were conducted in the year 2013 that targets girls attending schools in the northern region of Afghanistan causing over 160 casualties. The Pakistani Taliban also similar with those in Afghanistan opposed westernized and girls' education where they targets schools that advocate's equal education. The issue of terrorism on education gained world recognition with the shooting of Malala Yousafzai who was then a 15 year old school girl and advocate of female education. Although the news brought attention to the world but it do not halt

violence attack with over 100 attacks on educational institution and 150 casualties on 2013 in Pakistan (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2014).

The Boko Haram of Nigeria clearly spell out their “mission” in their terrorist group name which literally meant ‘western education is forbidden’. The group is similar with the Taliban where they are against anything Western and they attack educational institutions to emphasis their anti-western education sentiments (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2014). Thus it is clear that terrorism on education is related with the terrorist group ideologies and beyond the conflict that occur within the country. The following part illustrates the terrorism activities of Al-Shabaab that occurs in Somalia and their influence as a push factor of forced migration.

1.2.3 Al-Shabaab and Attack on Education

Al-Shabaab and schools have strong relationship in the most negative way possible where most of the terrorist group combat operation are featured in schools and through schools that they seized, they continued to find ways to be the “puppeteers” of Somalis’ daily lives. The school was turn into battlefields where they have bad intentions of putting students and teachers with risk after they fired the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and Transitional Federal Government (TFG) forces while awaiting for return fire from the forces. The school also serves as a ‘labour’ institution where the terrorist group recruits students and teachers as combatants while girls are abducted and subjected to rape and forced marriages. The militant terrorist group of Al-Shabaab pressured schools and teacher to enlist or release thousands of children to be given military training and to be recruited into their ranks.

The long history of Al-Shabaab interference in local education was familiar where within the area of their control, schools are gender segregated where girls are threaten

to not enroll in school otherwise they will be remove from the school eventually. The boys also were pulled out from their classes and learning institution to join the terrorist groups rank of peoples (Odhiambo, Wasike & Kimokoti, 2015). The attacks on Garissa University College have killed 148 civilians and dozens are wounded and the causes was recorded through an audio message by Al-Shabaab spokesperson, Ali Mohamoud Raghe:

“... the university had been targeted because it was educating many Christian students in a Muslim land under colony,”

It was clear that Al-Shabaab objective of ideological destruction were in play and their act of anti-western sentiments where the spokesperson claim that Kenya plan to spread Christianity and infidelity among peoples of the Somali ethnics in parts of Kenya that was not successfully claimed by the Somalia.

Al-Shabaab attacks on school students are not rare. The Ministry of Education in Somalia was terrorise on October 2011 where students and parents await the results of scholarship examination leading to 100 or more casualties. The Al-Shabaab claim responsibility upon the attack and condemned students of wanting to study abroad and the education systems that is deemed to be pro-Western. The terrorist group captured areas have forced schools to implement their interpretation of Islam and intimidate or murder teachers or school authorities that defy with their demands. The teaching of English, geography and history were restricted; students are exposed to extreme Islamist ideology and separation of boys and girls in school is implemented. The United States State Department also release an alarming issue where academic excellence is awarded with AK-47 rifles which might not only endanger other students, teacher and civilians but prolong the terrorist activities in the country through the younger generation.

The international humanitarian law has outlined several guides to protect civilians from attacks and prohibited from being attacked. Attacks towards civilian objects such as school are also prohibited. The utilization of students and teachers as ‘human shields’ could be categorized as a form of war crime and endanger civilians. However attacks on educational institution and its people still prolonged and continue to advance terrorist agenda and propaganda which is anti-western ideology.

1.2.4 Terrorism and Refugee

With the amount of refugees escalating to a new high from the occurrence of 32 armed conflicts in 26 countries globally (Themmer & Wallensten, 2013). The consequences brought about by armed conflicts have proven interrupted education and caused an increase of out of school children and adolescent. The age of terrorism (Laquer, 1987) and the age of migration (Castles & Millar, 2003) have come into the present day however we often think of migration as a term of that defined people that are crossing international border. But the dynamics of migration are immense; the contemporary human mobility could be free or forced, regular or irregular in their own ways. The amount of peoples flow is believed to increase as issues related to climate change that causes bad harvest and the rise of sea levels as well as the unstable political scene and insecurity in an individual’s home country (Timmerman & Friedrich, 2016).

Inkster (2015) estimated potential migrants will increase as high as 1.6 billion people which are an equivalent to one fifth of the world population – the reasons that there will be such an increase is because that people were threatened by various forms of insecurity. However it is important to reiterate the needs of the studies on link between migration and terrorism just as Simsek (2007) mentioned that there is a scarcity of migration literature that reflects their relationship with terrorism. The following will

illustrate the push force of refugees from Somalia and other countries and the terrorism that contributes to escalating amount of refugee.

Central government of several countries collapsed post-cold war era and leaving the sovereign territories ungoverned. The ousting of Somalia dictator of over two decades – Mohamed Siad Barre have spark new crisis. The country was split into parts such as Puntland, Somaliland, Jubaland and the Federal Republic of Somalia as the country was colonized by Italy and Great Britain previously. The emergence of Al-Shabaab which was believed that numerous warlords are involved in building its foundation have further led the country into devastation and pushing civilians into forced migration. Failed states such as Afghanistan (after 1992) and Iraq (after 2003) have experienced immense terrorism experiences and the products – large refugee flow (Schmidt, 2016).

The hypothesis of Simsek (2007) on Turkey's terrorism and migration that focused upon three dimensions – terrorist areas, terrorist activities and casualties have proven to be supported. When areas have high terrorist activities and casualties, the migration rate is also relatively high. Following this, the basis of discussing the relationship of terrorism and migration is form to further explore the problems and phenomenon that occurs in the world.

1.2.5 Obligation towards Refugees and their Education

The responsibility imposed upon the host society towards the immigration of refugee was always questioned. As this particular immigration was often uninvited or unwelcome by certain host societies and along with it bear a certain price tag. States attempts to ensure the assimilation of the refugees and guarantee their safety by

providing them with housing, jobs, education and etc (Martin, Schoendtz & Fisher, 2005).

Thinkers around the world are fascinated with the term of social justice. The Republic, one of the major works of Plato (427-347 BC) has argued that four virtues are needed to create an ideal state and they are wisdom, justice, courage, and moderation. Kirk (1993) quoted Thomas Aquinas who was influenced by Aristotle where he wrote that justice is a certain level of righteousness in mind for a man to act in line with the circumstances they are facing. Aquinas believed that justice was a form of a natural duty owed by one person to another. The term – natural duty was grounded in the foundation of political obligation which will further thus making it perfect sense on the obligation to the circumstances around us.

Reformers egalitarian spirit and policy makers have been promoting social justice but despite all these the market that controls privatisation and marketization of education and society, the uncertainty of the past legacy and the issues of critical education and policy were left cold on the shelf and ‘remain on policy agenda’ (Zajda, 2002). However, these unresolved issues lead to the issues of inequality (Coombs, 1982).

Thomas Christiano (2015) talked about the duty of international community on normative lenses where he mentioned that the duties of the international community are to cooperate and provide a safe and welcoming space for refugee resettling. The rights are built on the premise of fundamental belief that a person should be assisted in avoiding violence and persecution by other human beings and the international community has the duty to help properly realise those rights. However, Christiano (2015) also mentioned that the states should not be given unsustainable burdens while helping refugees and this is the point where the international community plays their

role as a kind of unified political entity to make sure that refugees go to states that are able to help them. However, in the context of Malaysia, the government is not the signatories of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR) where the state claims that without binding with the CRSR they have had offered protection to refugees on humanitarian grounds where brings a contrast with the view painted by Christiano (2015).

Malalal Yousafzai (2016) words were quoted in the Policy Paper prepared by UNESCO and UNHCR where she mentioned that since world leaders have promised to provide every child with 12 years of education by 2030, young people that were displaced by wars should not be exempted from this goal. However, not all country are willing to provide refugees any services. Kang (2016) mentioned that Malaysia has maintained their no obligation stance towards refugee as they are not part of the CRSR, however, he argued that the obligation towards refugees does not refer to only those from the CRSR as obligations were well founded in other conventions and customary international that complements CRSR. He also noted that Malaysia is a party to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and Convention of the Right of Children (CRC). These treaties bear significant importance for the protection of refugees as Malaysian government has not acceded to other human right treaties except for those mentioned above. Although the international community have voiced out concern of refugees however the Malaysian government stay firm with their ground of no obligation towards the refugee communities which subsequently led to a situation where shortcoming of international agency limits the assistance and supports for refugee.

1.2.6 Shortcomings of International Agency on Refugee Assistance and Support

As the conflicts and terrorism activities escalates in Somalia, forced migration and displacement of Somali occurs. However, the understanding of obligation is blurred with the risk perceptions towards refugee's influx into host countries. The importance of this sub-theme is to illustrate the shortcomings of international agency aid which stemmed from the irregularities and inconsistent funding's by the state, corporate and donor. This portion will attempt to explain the shortcomings in depth and its effect upon certain provision for refugees on a global scale.

There is a substantial increase of needs such as shelter, water and sanitation, food, medical and education. The displacement by conflict contributed to the increase of refugees and displaced people to 42,000 person in 2014 as compared to 11,000 person in 2010 as commented by the UNHCR, António Guterres. Grant (2015) highlighted the fact that the basic needs of millions of people could not be met as the refugee crisis increases in the Middle East, Africa and Europe whilst the United Nation humanitarian agencies are standing on the cliff of bankruptcy. Guterres commented that the global humanitarian community is not broken and working effectively as compared to before but financially broke.

In Iraq, the World Health Organization (WHO) is only being funded \$5.1m from donors whereby WHO aims to raise \$60m for healthcare. Dr Michelle Gayer, Director for emergency risk management at WHO stated that as the gap between desperate health attention from countries such as Iraq and funding levels widens, it pose as permanent damage to public health across the refugee and displaced population.

“People are not vaccinated. They suffered malnutrition and mental health issues caused by the conflict which sets countries lagging behind.”

The situation illustrated peoples are at risk as virus carrier although the WHO have attempted to work within the situation. The global masses should be aware that international agencies and global community collaborate with each other to tackle emergency cases especially in this time where events occurs at an unprecedented scale and nature. Conflict situation have caused health impact towards people who fled from their country of origin to seek refuge elsewhere (Grant, 2015).

Grant (2015) also reported the cut down on the World Food Programme (WFP) ration in several countries. In Lebanon, \$13 is allocated for food each month where WFP official warned such situation might push refugees to be recruited into extremist group activities. The pattern of food provision cut down is repeated around the globe. From early 2015 WFP cut the food provision for refugees in the Dabaab and Kakuma camps of Northern Kenya twice whereby Sudanese refugees in Uganda also faced the same fate. Beyond the cut in food provision, refugees risked their freedom by returning to country of origin or irregularly travel to Europe.

“This is a hand-to-mouth operation where the second money flow in, the money flow out. WFP is operating in a funding deficit as of early 2015 and found ourselves short of \$149m to assist Syrians refugee throughout September and October.”

The above statement shared by Dina El-Kassaby, spokeswoman of WFP based in Cairo proof the shortcoming of international agencies are not limited to healthcare but possibly to other area of needs such as food, education, shelter and safety.

The highest priorities within refugee communities is education where it was reported in the UNHCR publication *Refugee Education: a Global Review*. However, UNHCR equally faced funding and supports shortage to ensure every refugee children and young people gain rights and access to education. The lack of financial and supports for international agencies relatively led to an education of lower quality for refugees

and subsequently obstruct the goals of *Education for All* as agencies faced limitation to achieve durable solution and sustainable development (Educate A Child, n.d). However, the international agencies are not to be blamed upon the shortage of funding as Human Right Watch (2017) research in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan have pointed out that the policies from host countries are barriers to access education with children being coerced into the workforce or marriage as compared to attending school. Although donors have exceeded the target of \$1.4 billion, donors missed funding for Jordan and Lebanon which subsequently led to a funding problem stemming from donor lack of attentiveness in funding.

Despite understanding the shortcomings and conflict that occurs in refugee country of origin, International Crisis Group (2016) reported that host communities complain about the effects of refugee movement on the labour force, social benefits and the risk of crime and terror increase. However in the context of Malaysia, refugees are not guaranteed any social benefit or access into the workforce as the government is not a signatory of the CRSR thus enabling the government of non-obligatory duties toward refugees.

1.3 Problem Statement

The work of Ulrich Beck on Risk Society is discussed extensively over two decades against the backdrop of incalculable uncertainties of the Chernobyl disaster, global warming, mad cow disease, global pandemics (Avian flu, Zika virus, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome), the Asian financial crisis and global terrorist attack (September 11th World Trade Center attack, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria movement) which reflected the concern of Beck's works that span across different areas from environmental, health and man-made destruction. The occurrence of catastrophic events such as man-made and environmental destruction contributed to the human

movement in search of a refuge. This resemble the multifaceted dimension and dynamic of the world risk society.

Conflict and terrorist activities in the war torn Somalia have subsequent long term effect towards the surrounding communities in terms of shelter, food, education and healthcare. Terrorism and migration studied separately have contributed to a huge pool of knowledge pertaining to it. However, in-depth intersectional studies on terrorism and migration are lacking (Schmidt, 2016). Terrorist attacks on educational facilities contributes to the movement of attacked communities as refugees. Children and young adolescent were impacted by terrorist activities as they were not privileged to travel or escape the situation which subsequently forced them into joining militant activities. Despite of some “privileged” refugees are able to escape persecution and misery of the conflict, they faced problems with the authorities in Malaysia as the state is not a signatory of the CRSR.

As the amount of refugee increase across the decades of conflict and terrorism, the Malaysia government have no intention of providing public facilities and services for the refugee communities within the countries. International agencies faced shortcomings as state donors and funding pledges did not meet the intended funding’s target. As both the host government and international agencies faced policies limitation and funding’s inconsistencies, within the world risk society thesis, the concept of sub-politics emerged out of the formal political process to deal with ignored issues by aligning their expertise towards it. This research focused upon Fugee School based in Gombak, Selangor as the sub-politics which deliver educational provision for a majority refugee children and young adolescent from Somalia beyond the framework of formal political process with an extensive discussion and reflection on empowering refugee through passionate sub-politics group and its networking.

1.4 Research Questions

Based upon the problem statement, the following research questions are formulated:

1. What is the relationship between terrorism, refugees and education based on the risk society approach?
2. How does the Fugee School act as a sub-politics group in terms of delivering educational facilities and empowering refugee children and young adolescents?
3. How do local and refugee communities cooperate in supporting the development of refugee children and young adolescent education?

1.5 Research Objectives

The research objectives are the reflection of the research question and they are as follow:

1. To identify the linkage between terrorism, refugees and education in connection with the risk society approach.
2. To investigate the Fugee School's role as a sub political group in the area of delivering educational facilities and empowering refugee children and young adolescents.
3. To analyse the cooperation between the local and refugee communities in supporting the development of refugee children and young adolescent education.

1.6 Research Significance

The research contributes to an extended field of risk research in light of terrorism and refugee issues. The educational content of this research is intended to guide researcher on understanding the intersection of conflict (terrorism), refugees and education

attainment. The biographical approach utilized in this research open space to illustrate experiences and continually be used as a tool of realistic painting of risk and terrorism. The risk politics features will also shed light on empirical research and encourage changes across time with the emergence of new risk. This research also approaches the risk that was not able to be extended by Ulrich Beck and seeks to fortify World Risk Society thesis by examining the theories of reflexive modernization and sub-politics with the contemporary issue that occurs around the globe in addition to the issues of environmental risk discussed previously by scholars.

1.7 Research Scope and Limitation

The coverage of this research are upon Somali refugee communities that attend school in Fugee School. The selection of this coverage is contributed to the fact that the former beauty queen and her team along with the refugee communities worked in a harmonious way despite of problem and challenges in the earlier phase of building the school. The selection is also due to the fact that there are numerous groups of refugee communities and schools in Malaysia where it does not have a track record of more than five years and coverage from media as the matter of consistencies and access to information is important for the research. The limitation that occurs are the interviewees were selected influential people in setting up the Fugee School and the children's that attended the school to understand their aspirations in life and the educations they received from the school.

There are two groups of people that could not be interviewed and do not wish to be interviewed. The teachers are not able to be interviewed as they have a packed class schedule and the intervals between each class is 15 minutes which is not conducive for in-depth interviews. The other groups are students from the grade 4 classes where their parents do not allow them to join the interview session without any explanation. Thus

the perception of teachers are not grasped to understand the teaching of the school, however, this portion was explained by the educational coordinator which illustrate the whole teaching processes that will determine whether the way of teaching echoes the suggestion in the analytical framework.

1.8 Operational Definition

1.8.1 Refugees

Based upon the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, refugees is defined as a person with well-founded fear of being persecuted due to reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political option is out of the country of his or her nationality and is unable to avail him/herself of the protection of the country and with the existing fear is reluctant to return to it (Convention Relation to the Status of Refugee Article 1:A, 1951). Conflicts combined with drought and famine has escalated the amount of refugees from Somalia to a staggering 1.5 million people. The term refugee for this research is based upon the legal explanation that suits the situations illustrated within the law itself where refugee of Somali origin flee conflict and natural disaster in Somalia. The geographical location for this research is located in Gombak, Selangor within a community school for refugee along with the refugee community and other personnel with knowledge on managing educational facilities.

1.8.2 World Risk Society

The modernity era witnessed a wide spectrum of revolution ranging from information, genetic, nano-technological to the recent revolution of the global terrorist threat. The immensity of the global terrorist threat signalled the importance of government within this context in connection with security provision. Risk society is a development phase of a modern society where social, political, economics and individual risk are escaping

the formal institutions which monitor and protect the society. The risk society within this research refers to the late modernity risk through Beck lens with three significant traits – areas, production and limitation. As compared to the previous risk such as the Chernobyl incident, its occurrence coverage is within Ukraine (former Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic till 1991) and pandemics could be controlled within infected territories. However, Beck stated that the risk and uncertainties “manufactured” within the late modernity as a global threat as opposed to the previous time where it is territorially specific. There is no limitation on the risk that could occur on a global scale especially in the era of global terrorist threat. The idea of world risk society within the context of this research refers to the late modernity where risk occurs at global scale affecting states across the world. The risk discussed is man-made and unlimited – terrorism activities which subsequently requires society to combat it as the government have policies and limitation pertaining another issue that sparks from the same risk. By understanding the limitation and the nature of the risk within the risk society, it leads to the idea of sub-politics and the need to explain it closely behind the notion of world risk society.

1.8.3 Sub-Politics Group

The usage of this term is to synchronies with the work of the late German sociologist Ulrich Beck where he rejected the traditional labeling of private and public, sub-politics occurs outside of the conservative politics of parties and parliaments. They function in the public within a specific movements, communities and places where although they are small groups, it does not equate that they have no influence (Havelka, 2016). Beck (1997) advises us instead of looking politics within a wrong and limited space. As we move into the new era, the political landscape also refreshes where issues

are discussed beyond the formal structures of political parties, parliamentary debates or election.

But as formal political agenda created the vacuum of relevant issues being discussed, sub-politics group emerge as the agenda from below. Following the act to fill up the vacuum, the social framework of sub-politics group enabled the actors to define and discuss issues without referring to the formal political structures and hierarchy. This research observed three particular characteristic of the sub-politics group: small-scale, beyond formal political structures and discussed issues beyond the formal political structure. By observing the characteristic of the sub-politics group, this research identify Fugee School as the sub-politics subject for it is a small scale educational provider to refugee children and young adolescent from Somalia and other countries in turmoil. The school functioned beyond formal political structures and refugee's educational concern is discussed without the formal political institutions monitoring.

1.8.4 Reflexive Modernization

The approach to reflexive modernization assist this research to situate the facts and information collected for investigation in a more general perspective. This approach provides interpretative assumptions pertaining to processes of reflexivity which relatively guide the analysis of relations between the structural changes in complex societies and the emergence of new forms of collective action that proofs incremental level of reflexivity. This research looks upon the work of Gidden (1990, 1994) where he expanded the theoretical implication of the processes of social changes in connection with the modernization risk. This research addressed the modernization risk which include the influx of refugee contributed by terrorism and conflict in country of origin whilst the processes of social change is reflected with the formation of Fugee School to provide education for Somali refugee in Malaysia-transit country.

1.9 Outline of Thesis

The entire research is presented into six (6) chapters and the followings are the description for each chapter.

Chapter one presents the background of studies and literature reviews which entails three connected keywords – conflict, terrorism and education. The problem statement, research questions and research objectives, research significance and research scope and limitation were specified in this chapter to guide the research. The operational definition presented the four (4) keywords for this research – refugees, world risk society, sub-politics group and reflexive modernity.

Chapter two presents two key components for this research – literature review and theoretical framework. The literature framework entails the idea of world risk society and its accompanying concept of risk politics, cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan sociology, reflexive modernity and sub-politics. The theoretical framework entails the approaches to the idea of causality and the funnel of causality which lastly led to the integration process of components within the world risk society into the funnel of causality which forms the basis of theoretical framework for analysing the collected data and information from fieldwork and documents.

Chapter three presents the research methodology by focusing on the problem, approaches and strategies of the risk-related research. The problems in methodological planning describe the idea of cosmopolitanism and the difficulty of formulating proper methodology which led to the idea of conducting risk research through biographical approach. This chapter also presented the methods of data collection and analytical strategies.

Chapter four presents the problems faced by refugees where terrorism influence falls upon Somalia. The fear and cultural norm were described by the refugee children and young adolescent as well as Dr Shafie Sharif. This chapter also presented the challenges faced by refugees in transition country whereby the legal framework and discrimination towards refugee and the learning obstacles and harsh daily reality that were faced by refugees. The chapter closed by tying the components of the refugee situation from their homeland and during their stay in transitional country by stressing the risk of terrorism causing educational breakdown among refugee children and young adolescent.

Chapter five presents the work of sub-politics against the backdrop of government. This chapter focused upon the efforts of the sub-politics against the government inactive role to address the issue of educational access for refugees. The learning, capacity building and empowerment process is also an emphasis within this chapter and describe several institutional policy shift. This chapter closed with a summary on the importance of stakeholder and sub-politics involvement in delivering effective education to refugee regardless of the government opinion pertaining to issue of refugee welfare in Malaysia.

Chapter six presents the thoughts on refugee children education, state governance and sub-politics. This chapter also summarise the research with three implication – theoretical, methodological and policies. This thesis ends with the list of references.