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**Literature Review: Interventions for Refugee
Children in New Zealand Schools: Models,
Methods, and Best Practice**

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Literature Review: Interventions for Refugee Children in New Zealand Schools: Models, Methods, and Best Practice

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Refugees

Refugee children are an identifiable and increasing group in our schools. New Zealand ranks 1st equal per capita in the world in terms of the number of refugees accepted, however, of the 10 countries that regularly resettle refugees, NZ rates lowest in post-arrival support. Refugees are special because they have typically experienced both displacement and trauma and now face the task of adapting to a new environment, frequently involving the simultaneous acquisition of a new language. In addition many of the issues of concern regarding their effective inclusion into New Zealand schools and classrooms will be relevant to any migrant populations, and to all children who have suffered trauma, loss or grief in their lives. These populations of children represent groups potentially ‘at risk’ for less than optimal outcomes at school, and might have special needs and / or evidence behaviour problems. They also represent a significant proportion of our school populations. Although many schools and specific individuals within schools have worked hard to meet the needs of refugee students and their families, the current education system does not have a comprehensive refugee support system in place to assist schools refugee families and children adapt to their new schools. To know how to address their needs and how to create schools which are better prepared to meet these needs is crucial.

To that end the aim of this literature review is to identify school based interventions to help this population, methods and measures to assess the efficacy of such interventions and programmes with a view to evaluate current practice and inform future ‘best practice’ in New Zealand. This introduction will outline the method and process used to search the literature, highlight key issues, identify appropriate theoretical models to use in this quest, and describe the model or framework used to organise this review.

The literature search process

We searched six international databases:

- Psych-lit
- Medline
- Sociofile
- Eric
- Current Content
- Mlit

The search terms used were:

- Refugee and School (limited to ‘human’ and 1990 onwards)
- Refugee and Education (same limits)
- Refugee and ‘review’ or ‘state of the art’

The results of the searches were saved and imported into one large EndNote library. This Library formed the database, which was searched more specifically to identify

relevant material. The EndNote database has some 473 entries. Of those some 129 articles have been obtained. In addition we obtained a number of books on the topic of refugees.

Key issues identified in the literature

Refugees are a legally and constitutionally well-defined group of people. While individual countries might have particular laws and regulations concerning refugees, there is an internationally agreed definition of 'refugee': The Geneva Convention (1951) definition:

"... those who were outside their country of nationality and who were unable or unwilling to return to that country because of well-founded fear of persecution due to their race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group."

(Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996, p.350)

While there is a large and diverse body of literature around refugees addressing social, medical, political, linguistic and educational issues, there is a paucity of material specifically concerned with refugee children, and only a small proportion of this is about school-based interventions and programmes. Much of the material that is available deals with issues of language acquisition. In addition research done with refugees is typically concerned with specific refugee populations. There is evidence to suggest that findings are not generalisable across cultures (McCloskey & Southwick, 1996). Cultural differences exist in the interpretation of trauma, and in ways of coping. The same event therefore may have different effects on different groups of people and the same intervention may not be equally successful with all cultural groups. In addition there are significant between group differences that affect outcomes, such as the particular circumstances around the flight, time spent in refugee camps, and cultural and geographical distance between the refugee group and the host country, to name a few. Therefore the extant literature has definite limitations.

Though there is a limited literature base dealing specifically with refugee populations, we can draw on several independent but related fields of research. All refugees have suffered grief and loss, if only over the loss of their home and familiar way of life. In addition refugees might have suffered the traumas of persecution, violence, war, the loss of loved ones and close relatives. They might suffer from Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). There is a large body of mental health literature around all those issues of loss, grief and trauma, which is relevant here.

At the same time as having to cope with all these stressors, refugees also face displacement, typically involuntarily and without time to make preparations. Here again, there is a considerable body of literature, addressing issues of displacement, migration, and acculturation, examining the task of adaptation to a new environment and the factors that hinder or facilitate this process. Special for refugees is that they face this task under the worst possible circumstances at a time when they are already highly stressed, and often following experiences of significant and sometimes ongoing trauma. Related to these issues of displacement are relevant bodies of literature, specifically those concerned with the needs of linguistic and cultural minorities in schools. The resilience literature provides a useful framework to

describe this task of adaptation under difficult and trying circumstances, considering a multitude of potential risk and resilience factors.

Relevant theoretical models

From these diverse literature sources a number of useful theoretical frameworks emerge. Some of the most relevant frameworks will be outlined below, in terms of their usefulness in conceptualising and organising the multitude of factors and issues to be considered in this review.

The mental health perspective (trauma, grief, and PTSD)

Several reviews describe the refugee experience in terms of trauma and loss (Beiser, Dion, Gotowiec, Hyman, & et al., 1995; Fox, Cowell, & Montgomery, 1994; Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996; McCloskey & Southwick, 1996; Pfefferbaum, 1997), discuss the applicability of the PTSD construct for refugees as a group, and describe associated symptoms in children (McCloskey & Southwick, 1996; Pfefferbaum, 1997). Much of this body of literature is situated in clinical contexts, with a focus on therapeutic interventions involving individuals following identification and diagnosis. Though this particular body of literature largely describes pre-migration stressors, it also considers the ongoing trauma of adaptation to a new environment, and the issues of grief and loss associated with displacement. It is a useful and necessary approach to consider as it provides methods of identifying and treating individuals for whom the stresses exceed their personal or contextual resources to cope, and who need intensive individual therapy.

Migration

In contrast theories concerning displacement and migration largely concern themselves with post-migration stressors. Generally speaking displacement involves a number of separate issues: 1. The physical change of location. 2. Having to acquire a different language and 3. Issues of culture and minority status. A proposed theoretical model to consider the first aspect of displacement is 'the psychology of place' (Fullilove, 1996). Displacement here is conceptualised in terms of the loss of attachment to a physical place, and the additional stress placed on individuals by the increased demands resulting from having to orient the self in an unfamiliar space.

There is the large and diverse literature dealing with cultural and linguistic issues, and issues concerning minority populations. Culture is an important consideration in a number of ways. Cultural origins will also need to be considered in terms of how events are interpreted, coping styles, and appropriate interventions. In addition the process of acculturation which refugees undergo needs to be considered. Particularly relevant here is the identification of refugees as potentially at risk for developing oppositional cultural identities (Ogbu, 1995a; Ogbu, 1995b) or negative acculturation attitudes (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995), due to the involuntariness of their migration. This body of literature is relevant here because it leads to the identification of contextual factors (both pre- and post-migration) which might moderate the traumas and stresses experienced, as well as impact on the process of adaptation and the efficacy of interventions, such as for example the cultural (as well as geographical distance) between the refugees and the host nation. In addition it might lead to the identification of interventions designed to ease the move into the new place, facilitate integration and prevent the negative outcomes of marginalisation.

Resilience

Resilience is defined by Blechman as “the survival of a stressor (or risk factor) and the avoidance of two or more adverse life outcomes to which the majority of normative survivors of this stressor succumb” (Blechman, in press, p. 1). Masten and Coatsworth put it more simply “how children overcome adversity to achieve good developmental outcomes” (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998, p.205). By these definitions it is evident that the resilience literature is potentially useful in describing the task faced by refugees. It provides frameworks and mechanisms to conceptually integrate the diverse issues and factors which play a part in this task; that is to adapt to a new environment at a time of great stress. Further, it is a very positive approach with a focus on strengths, existing resources and successful outcomes. It lends itself to the identification of factors (both personal and contextual) which might facilitate healthy adaptation, and thus lead to the identification of useful interventions, including school-based interventions. There is a long list of personal and contextual variables known to be risk or resilience factors, barriers to or facilitators of the process of healthy adaptation. This list of known risk and resilience factors will help us to identify important moderator variables to consider in the task of evaluating the efficacy of interventions and identifying best practice.

An ecological approach

Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological model

For the purpose of this review it is helpful to have a model which imposes some order on the wide array of contextual factors to be considered. Bronfenbrenner developed such a model, which illustrates the influence of the environment, or context, on child development. All development occurs in contexts, and can therefore only be properly understood in contexts (Brooks-Gunn, 1995). Bronfenbrenner contributed significantly to the field of developmental psychology by drawing attention to the importance of contexts. His model separates out aspects of the environment according to the immediacy with which they impact on the developing child. There is the Microsystem, which is the individual child within the settings which immediately impact on the child (the family, the neighbours, peers etc). The Mesosystem describes how the various settings within which an individual actively participates interact. The Exosystem is the extended family, the parent’s workplace etc, which impacts on the child indirectly, but in which the child does not actively participate. Finally, the Macrosystem constitutes the broad ideology, laws and customs of a society. It represents the consistencies evident in all the other settings within a society or culture, such as how all schools within one country share a number of features, and are different in consistent ways from schools in other countries. Or, to put it another way, it sets the tone for everything else that happens within a particular culture. Also of interest are the intersections between these spheres, such as how well families fit into their neighbourhoods, and how successfully they interact with the wider environment, the place of work, or social institutions, for example. Bronfenbrenner visualised these interacting systems as nested one inside the other, like a Russian doll.

Bronfenbrenner defined the ‘ecology of human development’ thus:

The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this

process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded.

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 21)

This definition has three important implications:

The developing person is viewed as actively engaged, and is not only influenced by his / her environment, but also influences / changes the environment.

Development is a process of mutual accommodation, characterised by reciprocity.

The environment of interest is not a single, immediate setting, but incorporates several settings, and larger settings, which have more or less direct influence, and the interconnections between these settings.

Bronfenbrenner's model is a tool for describing human development with consideration for the role environments play in the process. According to Bronfenbrenner evidence that development has occurred requires not only an enduring change in the individual, but also a generalisation of this change across settings. In addition, because Bronfenbrenner sees the developmental process as interactive, not only is the child's development influenced by the environment, but also it can be expected that the environment will be affected by developmental changes in the child.

It has been suggested that the model could be improved, by adding an additional ring, the evolutionary history (Belsky, 1995). This would allow us to examine how behaviour changes over generations in response to environmental demands. This offers explanations of cultural differences, for example and is perhaps a way of looking at the developmental paths of societies / cultures.

An inclusive approach to education

An increasing awareness of the role of the environment in relation to behaviour and learning has led to a shift in thinking and practice towards models of inclusive schooling to meet the needs of students with special needs in New Zealand (Moore et al., 1999a; Moore et al., 1999b) as well as elsewhere (Reynolds, 1989; Reynolds, 1992; Reynolds, Wang, & Walberg, 1987; Stainback & Stainback, 1990). This has implications for the whole approach towards education within nations, and hence policy and administrative structures within institutions and service organisations (including schools). Refugees as a population of students are a good example of the kinds of students who would find themselves 'at the margins' in a system where provision of services is dependent on classification and labeling. They are therefore unlikely to have their needs met in this approach the education of students with special needs. In addition the very process of identification and labeling may adversely affect the process of adaptation and acculturation these students face under already trying circumstance.

Our Model

The model we have developed as a result of a preliminary reading of key reviews, and the consideration of pertinent theoretical frameworks is a developmental model in essence. The aim is to track change over time. It allows us to conceptualise the process of adaptation (the task faced by refugees) with a view to the description of the array of individual and environmental factors that hinder or facilitate this process. To that end it helps us consider factors refugees bring with them to the task. It allows us

highlights individually-focused and ecologically driven therapy as the most appropriate intervention. Chapters Three and Four (Language and Resilience) by their very nature emphasise the relationship between the individual child and their immediate environment. In particular, these chapters underline the importance of taking advantage of existing literacy skills and coping strategies which can act as “buffers” and may moderate the potential negative effects of migration and the refugee experience.

Chapter Five focuses on children as members of communities (as migrants and cultural groups) and the struggles and processes connected with adaptation and acculturation, which occur at both a group and individual level. The inevitable clash between ethnic cultures as well as institutionalised cultures (schools and families) is highlighted within this chapter. Chapter Six discusses how schools and teachers need to change and adapt in order to facilitate and support the education of refugee children. Both the changes required and the methods employed for implementing these changes are described. In addition, the importance of coordinating educational and therapeutic services is identified as a critical determinant of successful integration of refugee children within schools. Chapter Seven looks at the broader context of refugee education and focuses on the interactions between schools (as representatives of society’s mores and values) and other organisations, institutions and structures. It is within this chapter that national policy issues are addressed as well as the impact of national educational philosophies and beliefs about teaching and learning in a multicultural society on the education of refugee children. As you can see the review moves from a specific focus on the individual child, to his/her relationship with their family and culture, to the child’s integration within schools and then finally, how national and societal issues can indirectly influence the refugee child.

The last two chapters focus on a description and summary of the research indicators and practical implications derived from our review of the literature. Chapter Eight summarises the specific research indicators within the context of the model we presented in Chapter One. The intent is to catalogue factors which may influence the pattern and success of the process of adaptation that each refugee child will engage in when entering into a new school and society. Chapter Nine summarises best practice for facilitating the refugee child’s development and learning within the school context. These issues for consideration are organised primarily along the lines of the different review chapters and are derived from the analysis and review of relevant theory and research. Given the nature of our model and the adoption of an ecological perspective, there will be overlap between the specific issues of consideration derived from each of the chapters.

Chapter 2

Refugee trauma, loss and grief and implications for intervention

Loss and stress are normal ingredients of life, which have many meanings and which each person experiences in varying degrees or forms. They are often the experiences over which we have diminished or sometimes even no control. Rutter comments that in every developmental and life experience there may be a gain-loss relationship (Rutter cited in Silverman, 2000). So loss and stress become interwoven within a social and psychological context of change and growth. In most life situations we work through the stressor, or mourn who or that which is lost and incorporate the experience into our life in the best way we can. Often the process challenges our current ways of interacting and living in the world, leaving us feeling quite vulnerable and uncertain about the future. Eventually we may find meaning from the experience and readjust by developing and integrating changed ways of being in the world.

Trauma on the other hand is by definition a response to events which are outside the range of normal life experiences (Montgomery, 1998). In addition to experiences of single, acute traumatic events refugees might be subjected to, the additive effects of the many stressors refugees are likely to experience may also provoke trauma reactions. It is the multiplicity of losses and stressors in addition to traumatic experiences, at a time of overall change that creates the complex situation, which constitutes the refugee experience.

Migration in itself is both a challenging and stressful experience. When this process co-exists with often traumatic and violent pre-migration and trans-migration experiences, the stress commonly surpasses an individual or family's natural coping capacities. This process is further compounded by on-going post-migration experiences of loss, change and adaptation.

It has been noted that at any one time, about half the refugees in the world are children and adolescents under the age of 18 years (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). On the whole refugee children adjust and adapt to their new environment in the host country and are generally able to acculturate to the host society with more ease than adults. Research nevertheless reflects that some refugee children are at increased risk for developing mental health related problems.

The focus of this chapter is to explore the dimensions and complexity of refugee loss, trauma and grief from developmental, ecological, cultural and relational perspectives. A particular focus will be on a child's experience of loss, trauma and coping responses as they occur throughout the migration process. Theories of grief will be reviewed and discussed as they help us better understand the potential difficulties that refugees face during this migration process. Trauma theories and an analysis of the diagnosis Post Traumatic Stress Disorder will also be explored, alongside styles of coping with traumatic experiences and loss. This chapter will also include a brief analysis of educational contexts.

Loss and grief

For many refugee survivors when we consider the vortex of trauma, stressors and loss experienced; that is, the experience of exile, loss of family or friends through death or exile, family fragmentation, hunger, violence, torture, resettlement, changing roles, status, identity, patterns of being and communicating, the theme that illumines and represents most powerfully all of these components is the theme of complex grief. This is not only because of the sheer constitution of loss, stress, trauma experienced, but additionally because loss, stress and trauma becomes constant over a period of years, leaving no clear space to mourn and to incorporate the experiences into changed ways of being in the world.

It has been noted that people work through grief by retrieving, consolidating and transforming the meaning of their relationship to the person they have lost, not by abandoning it (Rando, 1993; Staudacher, 1987). For some refugees however, this process becomes problematic, recognising that they have not only lost a whole world of relationships contributing to a fragmenting of fabrics of meaning, they have been thrown invariably into such an uncertain relationship toward the world.

These multiple and often traumatic losses violate an individual's normal expectations of life. A survivor may initially respond with shock, numbness, panic or confusion, in a sense muting or avoiding the full awareness of a reality too painful to absorb. These responses are normal reactions to traumatic losses, which leave an individual feeling irrevocably changed and diminished (Neimeyer, 1998).

Each survivor's grief is both similar to that of other refugee survivors and unique to that individual. Common experiences of multiple loss are influenced by a number of factors. Primarily influences include, the suddenness of the loss, the number of traumatic losses the survivor experienced, the context and the specific circumstances in which they occurred and what each loss meant to the survivor. Secondly, experiences of multiple and traumatic loss are influenced by individual characteristics such as age, gender, personality, mental health and patterns of coping. Finally, we need to take into account the influence of secondary losses of cultural uprooting, resulting in loss of aspects of self-identity, cultural values and traditions and meaningful social structures. (Almqvist & Brandell-Forsberg, 1997; Eisenbruch, 1991). In the light of these variables, therapeutic interventions need to acknowledge both the trauma and the physical, cultural and symbolic losses experienced.

Some research on grief highlights the fact that theories of grief are always in flux because of changing values, beliefs, social forces and our understanding of human behaviour (Silverman, 2000). Common underlying theories of grief nevertheless propose that grief is a natural reaction to loss and encompasses a diversity of physical, psychological and social changes over time, as the individual mourns his or her losses. (Rando, 1993; Staudacher, 1987). When a person seeks help to come to terms with a significant loss, to understand the intensity of some of the emotions experienced and to restore a sense of meaning again in living, there are essentially certain processes that need to be worked through for the loss to be integrated appropriately into the individual's life. Rando (1993) has defined these processes as the six 'R' processes of mourning. They are, in brief: -

1. *Recognise the loss.*
2. *React to the separation.*

3. *Recollect and re-experience the deceased and the relationship.*
4. *Relinquish the old attachments to the deceased and the old assumptive world*
5. *Readjust to move adaptively into the new world without forgetting the old.*
6. *Reinvest.*

When someone has survived unexpected, multiple and violent loss of family and friends, which are outside the bounds of ordinary human experience, the natural grief process can become blocked by the trauma. This may lead to a fragmentation of the survivor's inner and outer worlds that render life as a safe and foreseeable experience.

Given the predisposing variables outlined earlier, often survivors are able, with sufficient support and resources, to integrate the traumatic event, mourn the losses and move on. It is recognised though that some survivors of overwhelming trauma exhibit trauma reactions such as fear responses and withdrawal or other adaptive strategies and defences (Rando, 1993). These are normal survival responses under the circumstances. If however these survival responses continue over an extended period of time, particularly without therapeutic and social support, it can inhibit grief, and a healing process. Consequently for a child or adolescent, this affects learning processes and adaptation.

Influence of pre-migration factors on children

Refugee children come from a diversity of cultures and experiences, so we cannot systematically place all refugee children under the one category. Some children may have been exposed to extended violence and trauma in war zones and transition camps and lost supportive family members. Other children may have been able to escape before being exposed to or witnessing war-related events. A child's age, culture, cognitive competence, coping strategies and parental support are also influencing variables.

Nevertheless, sudden loss and change is a marked characteristic of refugee children. Common pre-migration experiences for refugee children are losing their home, their friends and in many cases their parents or siblings, which can have psychological ramifications both immediate and long-term (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). The secondary losses experienced as a consequence are often loss of a sense of safety, of familiarity, of confidence in one's self and others, loss of consistency and well-being, sudden changes in attachment figures and relationships and oftentimes the diminished ability of the child's parent or care-giver to provide emotional and physical support.

Research on refugee children has identified that the most vulnerable time for refugee children who experience pre-migration ordeals of war-related events are pre-school years (Bowlby, 1980) and early adolescence (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Due to limited cognitive resources and consequent difficulties in comprehending and processing experiences, pre-school children are particularly sensitive to traumatic events (Montgomery, 1998). This changes when children reach school age because children by then have more cognitive, emotional and behavioural resources for handling traumatic situations (Montgomery, 1998). It has also been noted that refugee pre-migration experiences occur at a time when children are both more vulnerable in certain ways, but are also more adjustable and flexible when compared with refugee adults. These qualities are however dependent the children's parents being in a position to support and protect them (Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

Influence of transmigration factors on children

Transmigration factors additionally play a part in increasing or decreasing risk factors depending on the refugee child's length of time spent in transition camps. (The Kosova refugees are in a relatively unique refugee group in that they have come directly from a war zone.)

The impact of displacement on children has been observed in refugee camps worldwide (McCloskey & Southwick, 1996). When a child experiences a lack of stability and safety, including constant disruptions to familiar routines over months or years in transition camps, this poses as a risk factor. 'At risk' or 'developmental risk' is a statistical epidemiological concept referring to increased risk of psychiatric morbidity, dysfunctional behaviour patterns or incompetence in work, love or play (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Refugee children frequently are severely deprived, sometimes for long periods, prior to or during migration, or while in refugee camps (Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

In relation to displacement and loss which occurs during the migration process, a potent theme to consider is of one's sense of place and belonging in the world. A theoretical model, which recognises and validates the importance of this sense of place and belonging, is the, 'Psychology of Place.' (Fullilove, 1996) The 'Psychology of Place' surmises that individuals endeavour to create a sense of belonging to a place. This need for a sense of belonging emanates from three psychological processes; **Place attachment**, which is a mutual caretaking bond between a person and a beloved place, **familiarity**, the process by which people develop knowledge and intimate awareness of their environment and **identity**, pertaining to the resulting sense of self, which develops out of one's intimate and immediate environment (Fullilove, 1996).

When we turn to view these processes in the context of the refugee experience, the experience of displacement is one of the most significant traumas and loss that refugees face and it impacts in multifaceted ways, dismantling those emotional, spiritual and physical connections. Fullilove, (1996) notes that the consequent disorientation, nostalgia and alienation may undermine the sense of belonging in particular and mental health in general.

Previous biomedical models have not included the importance of an individual's attributes and sense of place, alongside the significant factor of displacement and its impact on mental health. More ecologically based models such as Engel's Biopsychosocial model (Engel, 1980 from Fullilove, 1996) and Bronfenbrenner's Ecological model, which examines the 'person in environment' (1979), have helped define and validate the importance of social systems when assessing and planning treatment in the area of mental health.

From within the framework of these ecological contexts, an individual's sense of place has multiple meanings, all of which impact on his or her wellbeing and sense of belonging. Firstly a sense of place connotes the physical imperatives of shelter, food, water, security, a healthy environment and access to basic resources. Secondly a sense of place connotes the interconnectedness of a number of different relationships, which create the space for healthy expression and the meeting of emotional needs that validate, include and affirm an individual or family. Finally a sense of place needs to

look at how a particular place fits into and shapes a person's or family's themes and life story.

Disruptions to these life-forming and life-giving experiences of place and attachment have profound synergistic impacts on the physical and mental health of an individual. The experience of displacement contributes to multiple grief and loss experiences, given that one's sense of place represents a tapestry of meaning, history, identity and relationships. In the case of refugees there are the initial and sudden losses of a country, of a way of life, of family and friends, of social status, of profession or occupation, of emotional security, of cultural and religious acceptance and belonging, of being able to interact and communicate with the wider society and too, a loss of all that is familiar to their senses. Thus, when we relate these losses to Fullilove's 'Psychology of Place' all three psychological processes undergo monumental change.

The effects of these losses are further compounded by the process of resettlement, cumulating in not only a series of losses, but also a series of continuous stressors in adjusting to life in the host country. For example, there are structural adjustment difficulties connected with language acquisition, finding employment, low socio-economic standing, understanding the new culture, its norms, laws and educational systems and adjustment to separation and role changes within the family system, alongside ongoing experiences of racism. Further imposed on these stressors are feelings of ongoing powerlessness around unresolved political and family traumas in the home country.

When we look at the impact of such losses on the family, where often one or more individuals will have experienced the quintessence of trauma and in some cases torture, the already fragmented nurturing family system experiences further distress and disempowerment. Torture, for example is commonly interwoven in the socio-economic structure of a number of countries and consequently impacts on the society, family and individual. It is used primarily as a critical apparatus in preserving the oppressive system. In a recent study of Middle Eastern refugee families in Denmark, 51% of the children were part of a family including a survivor of torture. (Montgomery, 1998).

Psychiatric literature on the refugee experience that includes refugee survivors of torture have described a process denoted as the 4D's: Disintegration (of the psyche during torture), dispossession (including loss of family and significant other as well as belongings), dislocation (from homes and countries) and disempowerment (the loss of efficacy in dealing with the inner and outer world) (Silove, Tarn, Bowles, & Reid, 1991).

Although torturers employ specific techniques the procedures used are aimed to induce multilayered and complex effects, which impact not only on the individual, but also their family and community. For example, inducing a deep sense of loss of values, loss of a sense of belonging, self-esteem and self-denigration, while many torture survivors experience torture as an ongoing state and are unable to return the torture experience to the past. Silove (1991) notes that the defences survivors often use to cope with torture, such as, splitting or projection, continue to be used in the resettlement process. This may lead to heightened communication difficulties, such as modulating strong emotions, especially anger and irritability, which consequently can

often lead to the disintegration of families whose members have already suffered multiple and traumatic losses.

Trauma

In counselling and psychiatric literature trauma refers to the psychological reaction following danger, threat or violent events outside the range of normal life experiences, (Montgomery, 1998). Not all refugees will develop clinical symptoms as a result of trauma, though every refugee will have experienced some degree of trauma in relation to upheaval, loss, the effects of war, alongside ongoing family reunification and resettlement issues in the host country. The impact of such intense and often prolonged trauma in children and young people can for some refugees extend over a lifetime, with variable intrusive symptoms often manifesting at particular developmental stages, or significant events in an individual's life.

Rando (1993) notes that trauma can produce a number of sequelae in the mourner, most notably post-traumatic stress reactions, anxiety, helplessness and powerlessness, survivor guilt, personality disturbances and a violated assumptive world. The mourner is at particularly high risk for developing post-traumatic stress if, while being involved in the same traumatic event that took the life of loved ones, she has feared for her own life, the individual felt helpless and powerless, and the event was shocking and unanticipated (Rando, 1993). Raphael (cited in Rando, 1993) also lists the intensity, degree, proximity and duration of exposure to shocking stimuli, violence, death and destruction. Pre-existing vulnerability from earlier psychological wounding or trauma plays a part as well (Raphael cited in Rando, 1993).

However, it is critical to avoid presupposing psychopathology if a disorder has developed after the trauma, unless there is clear evidence that such problems pre-existed and have influenced post traumatic reactions over and above the normal response consequent to trauma (Rando, 1993). Clinical symptoms such as prolonged crying, fear, anxiety or other behavioural changes may initially be natural, adaptive responses to experiences of overwhelming upheaval, loss and change.

Psychological trauma is recognised as being influenced by both the actual exposure to an overwhelming experience and a process whereby the earlier coping strategies of the individual are rendered beyond their capacity to deal with the experience. There is consequently a loss of cognitive schemata, which normally allows the person to interpret life as paramountly a safe, organised and foreseeable experience (Herman, 1992; Montgomery, 1998; Silove et al., 1991).

When an individual is exposed to a traumatic experience the individual will often at first attempt to create meaning around the experience. Research on the effects of traumatic events on children have shown that children too, will attempt to process and make sense of the traumatic experience, but their reactions are specific to their age, environment and their cognitive development (Corr & Corr, 1996; Perry, 1994). Thus this process may be influenced by the child's lack of understanding of the war related experiences that are creating massive changes in their lives. Secondly, the child may have had no previous visual pictures or concept of traumatic, auditory stimuli such as sirens, war planes, screams, bombs and explosions. Thirdly, a child may have extensive fears of separation from primary attachment figures in their lives. Because of a child's deeper level of dependence on his or her parents, particularly the mother

in most adult/child relationships, the young pre-school child is additionally a lot more affected by the traumas experienced by the mother.

In this process of trying to make sense of what has occurred, the event will keep representing itself in the mind of the child. The child may reflect this re-experiencing phenomenon by telling the story over and over again, acting out the event in play or using drawing to describe the traumatic event and intrusive recurring thoughts about the traumatic event. This re-living of the experience may additionally be manifested through intrusive dreams, which re-play the emotional or affective memory of the actual trauma (Perry, 1994).

When these attempts to make sense of the trauma are inadequate, due to the overwhelming nature of the experience, a sense of powerlessness sets in. Consequently, neurobiological and neurophysiological changes occur in both the central and autonomic nervous systems (Friedman & Jaranson, 1994; Pfefferbaum, 1997). A trauma process develops, where the individual is in an acute state of physical and psychological alertness.

How an individual has previously adjusted and adapted to loss and other life challenges has significant bearing on the impact of trauma and loss. Alongside the traumatic event or cumulation of traumatic events, several risk factors for trauma reactions have been identified, which make an individual more vulnerable to experiencing trauma symptoms. Pre trauma factors are family psychopathology or dysfunction and previous trauma and loss. The nature and degree of the trauma are also important variables, such as exposure, life threat, witnessing death or violence, familiarity with other victims, sense of abandonment, guilt or sense of responsibility. The post trauma risk factors identified are loss of faith in self, adults and a Supreme Being, alongside the nature of the family response to the trauma. For instance, if the family experiences a degree of discomfort with traumatic symptoms, if the parents are over-dependent or traumatised, or there is a lack of support within the family system (Corr & Corr, 1996).

At a physiological, cognitive and emotional level the dominant symptoms often reflected in children, who have experienced significant trauma, are anxiety and fear. Perry (1994) notes that this low-level fear and anxiety state is reflective of key changes in children, which are related to the traumatic event. These changes may be manifested in an appetite disorder, impulsive behaviour, hyperactivity, mood changes from aggression to depression or withdrawal, a refusal to go to their own bed and sleep difficulties, alongside some loss of previous functioning, or a slow rate of acquiring new developmental tasks. A research study of Central American refugee children in a school environment observed that exposure to war and persecution related trauma resulted in significant delays in the children's academic and cognitive functioning above and beyond those that could be accounted for by a lack of proficiency in English (Espino in Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

Montgomery (1998) has also found in her emotional and behavioural studies of refugee children that depression, aggressive behaviour and other emotional and behavioural symptoms such as nailbiting, finger sucking, headaches, stomach aches, nightmares, regressive behaviour and enuresis diurnal or nocturnal are found to be common (Montgomery, 1998).

Terr's (1991) study of traumatised children revealed that children's reactions to crises are varied, complex and profound. Nevertheless, familiar, cohesive patterns emerged in the studies. The descriptions were keyed to specific developmental stages. In pre-school kindergarten children Terr found specific post-traumatic behaviours to be withdrawal, denial, cognitive, emotional and relational thematic play, anxious attachment, specific fears and regression. In younger school age children the most common behaviours observed were performance decline, compensatory behaviour, obsessive talking, discrepancy in mood, behaviour changes or problems, more elaborate re-enactments and psychosomatic complaints. In older school age children some were likely to exhibit acting-out behaviours, low self-esteem and self-criticism. Terr found that these school age children sometimes developed joyless lifestyles several years in advance of their age, displaced anger and a preoccupation with self (Terr, 1991).

Silverman points out that a changing sense of self is also accelerated in bereaved children, who often talk about feeling older than their peers. However, this process has fewer debilitating and more constructive effects for bereaved children, who through the process of grief and coping can in many instances, begin to value more intimate aspects of relationships and take themselves and their lives more seriously; (Silverman, 2000).

Trauma has been separated into two types. Type 1 trauma is the effect of isolated events. Type 2 trauma is when the individual has been exposed to extreme, prolonged and repeated traumatic exposure (Terr, 1991). This separation is significant because it recognises that traumatogenesis may not have developed from a single definable experience. Rather it can be the result of exposure to both specific traumatic experiences and the effects of particular life contexts. For example, the experience of growing up in a refugee camp or a prolonged war zone, or living with parents who have been traumatised through torture or imprisonment (Montgomery, 1998). These continuous, extreme stressors together constitute a condition of influence. One which has a more profound effect on the psychosocial development of the child (Montgomery, 1998). The majority of refugees have experienced Type 2 trauma.

Healthy adjustments after specific, delimited traumatic experiences have shown themselves to be dependent upon cognitive competence, self-esteem, coping strategies, a stable emotional relationship with a parent or parental substitute and access to support from the former, in addition to access to a wide system of social support outside the family (Montgomery, 1998).

If, however, a child has been exposed to multiple ongoing traumatic experiences the effects often have a greater impact on their emotional, moral and cognitive development, altering the child's internal working model of the world and themselves. This internal working model, developed in early childhood years, according to Bowlby's attachment theory, constitutes the basis for the child's expectations and reactions later in life and consequent confidence in self and surroundings. Traumatic experiences of separation, perceived or actual abandonment and loss have negative developmental consequences because a child needs a foundation of safety and security for achieving and incorporating emotional, cognitive and behavioural competence.

A longitudinal study of resettled refugee children hypothesised that a child's age at the time of the traumatic events influences differences in symptomatic outcomes related to trauma. Those children who experienced the disruption of early, vital attachment relationships were more susceptible to developing oppositional or conduct traits at school than students who had roughly eight years of normal life prior to experiences of trauma, loss and exile (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). This research has been qualified by other studies, which have observed younger children to be more at risk than older children if their relationship to their parents is affected through separation or deep seated emotional responses in the parents. This research clarifies however, that if parents have successfully created a protective shield against the trauma and continue to maintain a secure relationship with their children, then younger children will not be as significantly affected as older children by the trauma and upheavals (Montgomery, 1998).

Post traumatic stress disorder

Post Traumatic Stress Disorder is one of the few diagnoses in the Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, which relate symptoms directly to a psychosocial event. Over the past years, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder has been depicted or diagnosed in children and adults, who have been exposed to a variety of traumatic experiences. PTSD is a nosological tool that may improve understanding of the psychological impact of the refugee experience (Friedman & Jaranson, 1994). Several research studies on refugees reflect that PTSD reactions are frequent after concrete war-related experiences (Ahearn & Athey, 1991; Montgomery, 1998). The more life threatening the event, the more likely a child is to develop PTSD.

Common PTSD indicators have been identified in four symptom clusters: Affective indicators, which include symptoms of pessimism, depression, anxiety guilt, anger grief, detachment. Physical indicators, which include nightmares, heightened arousal, somatic complaints, headaches, sleep disturbances and fatigue. Cognitive distortions, which include negative perceptions, intrusive recollections, self-blame, loss of interest, impaired memory, suicidal ideation and poor concentration. Finally, behavioural indicators, which include regressive behaviours such as clinging, withdrawal, agitation, isolation, repetitive play or startled reactions, (Cole, 1996).

In a study of Cambodian high school students, who had survived atrocities in Cambodia, 50% were diagnosed with PTSD and 53% were diagnosed with depressive disorders several years after the Pol Pot genocide years. Those students who lived in foster care on arrival in America had a higher percentage of psychiatric disorders. Those students who had experienced fewer family separations and had continued to live with family members had fewer symptoms of severe trauma, (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). This study, alongside other studies, (Ahearn & Athey, 1991) reflect the importance of other systemic variables, as stated earlier, that increase or decrease a child's susceptibility to Post-Traumatic Stress disorder developing in the country of resettlement.

More general research conducted on children, who have survived traumatic experiences estimates that between 45 to 60% of these children will develop post-traumatic stress disorders (Cole, 1996; Perry, 1994).

Nevertheless, the PTSD diagnosis is seen as quite culture bound, pure and rigorously defined. In order to be diagnosed with PTSD 4 criteria have to be met

1. *Have been exposed to an extreme event that lies beyond usual human experience*
2. *Repeatedly re-experience the event or parts of the event*
3. *Attempt to avoid stimuli that give rise to recollections of the event (Avoidance) or experience general emotional numbing*
4. *Continually be in a state of psychological alertness (arousal). (American Psychiatric Association Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th Edition, Washington, 1994) (American Psychiatric Association, 1994).*

Some of the arguments that have been put forward describing the limitations of the PTSD diagnostic tool are:

- * It focuses exclusively on the trauma provoking event and the following reaction. The diagnosis however, does not take into consideration the tenor in which children and adults construct their experience of a traumatic event and the meaning they ascribe to traumatic events. Thus suffering and distress does not always constitute a psychological disturbance (Plummer, 1998).
- * The diagnosis does not take into consideration experiences of war, growing up in a camp or living with a traumatised parent – events, which are characterised by the continuous presence and repetition of a number of different stressors, which together constitute a condition of influence (Montgomery, 1998).
- * Partial symptomatology is also common and can be disabling, even if the full criteria are not met (Pfefferbaum, 1997).
- * Other factors the PTSD diagnosis doesn't give weight to are ethnocultural, religious and sociopolitical contexts – and that coping with these related losses, such as home, social networks, institutions and surroundings can produce a phenomenological picture that meets PTSD criteria, but which may instead be a process of cultural bereavement (Eisenbruch, 1991). Cultural decoding is therefore critical. For example, if one of the symptoms is headaches, there may need to be a sensitive exploration around what the headache represents for the survivor. The headaches may be a general somatic complaint in place of the individual's unwillingness to express his or her feelings. Certainly there are different coping responses and meanings attributed to traumatic events.

Montgomery (1998) proposes that specific traumatic events are best understood within a PTSD framework, but prolonged repetition of trauma is best understood in the context of developmental psychology. An alternative to PTSD has been put forward. Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome offers a more general construct than the purely defined PTSD (Friedman & Jaranson, 1994). PTSS overlaps with PTSD but it may also feature symptoms that are idiosyncratic to individuals from specific ethnocultural traditions. It also recognises that a profound, acute psychological response following traumatic exposure is universal. When however, traumatic events are unable to be psychologically integrated by individuals, the psychological response can be transformed into a chronic and debilitating Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome (Friedman & Jaranson, 1994). The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, 4th edition has now added an acculturation stress diagnosis, which can open up help to those refugees, who may not have fitted within a PTSD diagnosis, but are nevertheless experiencing the trauma of huge loss and change.

Whatever diagnosis is made with an individual experiencing symptoms of stress and trauma in her or his life, we need to remember that neither comprises the sum total of the refugee experience. Loss, adaptational experiences, alongside cultural, family and spiritual beliefs that promote resilience and increase protective factors need to be explored.

Influences of post-migration factors on children

Adapting to a new country and culture has generally been acknowledged as a stressful process involving several interacting cultural, social, economic, language and environmental factors. As indicated earlier in the study, for refugees however, this process is compounded by experiences of loss and multiple sources of stress, such as financial problems, language, culture shock, racism, unemployment, health problems, changes in family structure and roles and different or little educational experience. All of which can create individual and family disequilibrium.

Family themes

Family themes in relation to post-migration issues are often overlooked in literature. Nevertheless they are essential to our understanding of the refugee experience. This is because for the majority of ethnic populations and cultures the family is where themes of loyalty, protection, obligations, responsibilities and plans are approached collectively. And yet through war and exile the family is torn often unexpectedly and violently apart, leading to multiple losses and uncertain reunifications.

From this family perspective, two main themes emerge. The first theme includes family and culture and cultural transition, recognising that culture and ethnicity are intrinsic components of family attachment. Thus exile can dislocate the family's image and sense of unity. The other theme concerns family trauma and family loss, recognising that some family members may be killed or separated during war, so intact families rarely migrate together.

From a family systems perspective the experience of exile, loss and transition fragments and disrupts life cycle patterns of interaction, roles, boundaries and inner codes of what is expected of family members. It has been noted that migration alone is so disruptive in itself that one could say it adds an entire stage to the life cycle for those families who must negotiate it (McGoldrick, Pearce, & Giordano, 1986). However, among refugee families the separations are more sudden, more unpredictable and more violent and the outcomes more uncertain (Chambon, 1989).

Recognisably then, a significant dimension of family trauma and grief relates not only to death or separation of family members, but also the fragmentation of the accustomed family life cycle. This can in many cases propel the entire family system, or what is left of it, into disequilibrium.

Shapiro describes grief and loss as a family developmental crisis, interwoven with the family's history and its current developmental moment. The family members' grief radically redirects the future course of their life together. In the context of the larger society and the community in which they live, each family constructs for itself a coherent system that guides, explains and accompanies its members as they deal with the vicissitudes of life (Shapiro cited in Silverman, 2000).

Some families have no language for loss or coping with loss within their family's language system and patterns of communication and meaning making. This makes a family more susceptible to subsequent stressors. A family's flexibility in dealing with the effects of multiple loss and change within the family structure through for example, acknowledging differences in grieving processes within the family and accepting help, are more able to accommodate the new changes into the family life cycle. Silverman (2000) writes, that we need to ask, can a family acknowledge and share their dependence or interdependence on others in an atmosphere of mutuality and has the family a coherent image or a way of making meaning that reflects who its members are? This is though, a more difficult task for refugee families, who may have survived terrifying and overwhelming war-related events outside the range of normal life experiences, which have led to the dissolution of the family group or important community bonds.

Styles of coping with traumatic experiences

Some writers, (Almqvist & Brandell-Forsberg, 1995; Almqvist & Broberg, 1997; Montgomery, 1998) highlight other commonly used methods of coping, which are employed not just in a family where there is a survivor of torture, but for the refugee family experience of trauma and loss as a whole. Themes of silencing, denial or minimising traumatic events, are often used by refugee survivors as coping strategies. These strategies are recognised as having adaptive advantages in order to mutually protect family members from being overwhelmed. These strategies are particularly useful in the parent-child dynamic. Children can be unwilling to share feelings or experiences of traumatic events in front of their parents. This dynamic may be implemented for fear of upsetting their parents, or for not wanting to acknowledge that their parents or caregivers were unable to protect them from the traumatic experiences, when the parents or caregivers may be the child's only wellspring of security.

A parent on the other hand will often desire to re-create a sense of security and re-establish the child's belief in self and environment as quickly as possible after experiences of war, loss and trauma. There is consequently a desire to move forward and an unwillingness and fear around remembering, verbalising and reactivating traumatic memories, alongside feelings of fear, rage and powerlessness.

John Bowlby (1973) in his three-volume work on attachment asserts that each individual develops their own personal environment of life sustaining and life enhancing systems, which work in conjunction with the individual's inner psychological processes and homeostasis. That is, the individual's 'outer ring' moves in a dance with the individual's 'inner ring.' Both rings are influenced by the child's family and wider environment. Bowlby goes on to claim that a child creates and organises an internal working model of the world in the first few years of his/her life. These internal representations, built on affect and memory links, include the child's perceived place in the world and the common responses of the parental attachment figures in varying situations. A feeling of secure attachment and belief in the parents or main caregiver's ability to protect the child from danger is a critical foundation for the child's development of basic confidence in self and surroundings (Bowlby, 1973). This foundation is also essential for healthy expectations and responses later in life and for developing and incorporating emotional, behavioural and cognitive proficiency.

For these reasons, in war or other situations of extreme danger, family survival strategies such as minimising, choosing to forget and denial are often implemented in an attempt to maintain the child's core sense of self and the family as a constant, protective haven. Protecting a child from feelings of fear is commonly viewed by parents to be as critical as their role of protecting the child from actual harm (Almqvist & Broberg, 1997).

Other aspects may contribute to the family strategy of minimising or choosing to forget experiences of trauma. A number of parents who have survived traumatic experiences of war, loss, persecution and exile struggle with feelings of guilt and shame. Guilt about not being able to accomplish the parental mission adds to the guilt about having survived, while feelings of shame are probably even more disturbing and difficult to talk about (Almqvist & Broberg, 1997).

Shame has been described as one of the major factors contributing to destructive patterns of post-traumatic secrecy and alienation within families (Brende and Goldsmith, cited in Almqvist & Broberg, 1997). Clinical practitioners frequently come across the strategy of silence, implemented to protect the individual and the individual's family against shameful traumatic events by not speaking or not recalling. The husband tries to protect his wife, the wife her husband, the parents their children and the children their parents (Almqvist & Broberg, 1997). However, this survival strategy gradually creates an emotional vacuum within the family structure. The family continues to function on an outward level, but the effects of trauma and consequent silencing strategies diminishes the communication bonds, fragmenting the wealth of inner family resources, such as emotional spontaneity and trust.

Further research findings in a study of Khmer Refugee children found that parents also frequently underestimated the symptom level of their children and their social difficulties as compared to the children's assessment of themselves and their teacher's assessment. (Sack et al, cited in Montgomery, 1998). These findings were thought to correspond with particular attributes of the East Asian culture, however similar findings were found among Croatian parents (Montgomery, 1998).

In summary, minimising, denial or silencing from war-related traumas are common coping strategies in refugee families (Almqvist & Broberg, 1997). Research has documented that there can be a consequent tendency for parents to overlook and under-report debilitating emotional symptoms in their children (Montgomery, 1998). Correspondingly however, a significant protective factor from war-related experiences is when the parent-child relationship remains unaffected and parents continue maintaining a connecting, secure relationship with their children. Research recognises though that a balance is needed between maintaining a secure parent-child relationship where possible and creating the space for a child to be able to talk openly about war-related traumatic experiences. This is critical to avoid an acute crisis if traumatic experiences break through the protective parental shield (Almqvist & Broberg, 1997).

Loss, change and cultural bereavement

Culture plays a significant role in shaping and determining how an individual, family or community perceives, understands and copes with loss and change in life. It has been stated that culture becomes the glue that provides a community with meaning,

cohesion and integration (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Cultures carry with them history, beliefs, ways of doing things and processes of communication. Experiences of the most intimate events and the most public are interpreted to people, to some considerable extent, by their culture (Waldegrave, 1993). Hence it is focal to how the individual or family defines loss or change, the meaning they place on it and the ways in which they express and cope with loss and change.

Psychiatric data has shown that culture has minimal influence on early neuromotor and psychosocial development. However later in childhood and adolescence, plentiful indices of development are greatly influenced by culture. These include attaining literacy, courting, assuming adult responsibilities and achieving independent decision-making (Westermeyer, cited in Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

As described earlier, when a person is uprooted from their primary social, environmental, spiritual and economic structures, this can produce intense and profound grief. However it is an experience that does not necessarily fit into classic grief and trauma theories, but instead requires a specific form of cultural construction and therapeutic help, within the framework of the person's subjective experience of monumental loss.

As a way of defining such loss, Eisenbruch has coined the term, 'cultural bereavement', which is the experience of the uprooted person or group, resulting from loss of social structures, cultural values and self-identity (Eisenbruch, 1991).

It is important to note that there are healthy and constructive components to cultural bereavement. Even if the symptoms resemble those symptoms of traumatic stress or other related illnesses, it is necessary to understand the meaning behind the symptoms and each survivor's response to personal losses from their cultural perspective. The significance of this is echoed by Waldegrave, (1990) when he asserts that therapy is concerned with the manner in which people give meaning to experience and, in so doing, define their realities. But it is cultures, which carry with them their people's history, and meanings and it is through these cultural meanings that events are interpreted for people.

If symptoms such as headaches are therefore recorded without taking into account a more complete understanding of relevant cultural, mental and spiritual phenomena, then the assessment is divorced from the reality of the individual's or family's experience and its validity can sometimes therefore be questionable.

Children and loss

From an ecological perspective it is important to note that children's responses to loss cannot be understood independently of their environments. Such a perspective can then incorporate stress and family systems models and an ecological theoretical model such as Fullilove's 'Psychology of Place', alongside grief and developmental models. Despite this, there is very little research or other related literature on refugee children's responses to loss. More general literature and research on children and loss focuses primarily on a child's experience of loss through the death of an important attachment figure in the child's life. There is minimal reference to other experiences of loss, particularly the multiple losses often experienced by refugee children. This research and literature on loss nevertheless highlight some of the common

developmental and social themes experienced by children, who have survived a significant loss (Corr & Corr, 1996; Silverman, 2000).

A child or young person's experience of loss is often not recognised or legitimised (Silverman, 2000). This is further compounded by society's lack of awareness and patience around the process of loss and grief, leaving many mourners feeling demoralised and unsupported.

Bowlby (1980) pointed out that for children these particular psychosocial processes begin when children are not given accurate information about a loss, so they can often lack the information they need to grieve appropriately. Children also need extra affection, comfort and reassurance after experience of loss. If close attachment figures are not emotionally available a child has nowhere to turn, given that their ability to seek information and find support from other social networks is often limited, in comparison with the information and support available to most adults.

Themes of silencing also come into play around experiences of loss in a family. Silverman, (2000) in her studies of the impact of loss on children, has observed that too many adults feel that as long as the experience is not given a name or discussed, children will carry on with their lives as if nothing has happened. However, if we do not concede that losses have occurred or that death exists, we cannot legitimise and create a space for the feelings, thoughts and responses a child experiences after the loss. As a consequence a child can develop acute, intermittent or chronic stress.

Children often experience deep and unfamiliar feelings, alongside a changed sense of being in the world and belonging to the world after a significant loss. Younger children particularly may not have that experience that life will continue. Research in this area has found that a child's identity is more deeply affected by losses in childhood because self-development is still in progress, and a child's grief reactions appear to be longer in duration than those of adults (Corr & Corr, 1996).

Despite this factor a child's deeper responses to loss may not always be noticeable. Children understand when someone or something is lost and will often express their grief, anger and fear in non-verbal ways. There may be the more easily recognisable reactions and feelings expressed such as temper tantrums, clinging behaviour, sadness, agitated searching behaviour or withdrawal. However, some of the more invisible responses are a child's feeling of being lost or made smaller by death. Staudacher has observed that many child survivors of significant loss have described themselves as getting smaller and smaller, that they were so insignificant, so unimportant they might disappear (Staudacher, 1987).

Developmental changes in children's understanding of death and loss have been studied by a number of researchers (Speece and Brent cited in Corr & Corr, 1996; Silverman, 2000). Common themes that are reflected are the importance of understanding other developmental factors alongside a child's cognitive development. These factors can include the child's stage of separation and individuation, the level of maturity of the child's developing sense of self, which includes the child's ego functions and ego defences, the child's ideas about the world and the nature of their experiences in the world.

Neimeyer's (1998) constructivist view of grief and loss frames these themes. Neimeyer suggests developmental factors influence a child's way of making meaning from loss. Neimeyer describes human beings as meaning makers, striving to organise and anticipate their engagement with the world by arranging it in themes that express their particular cultures, families and personalities. This construction of meaning correlates with where an individual is developmentally from both cognitive and emotional perspectives (Neimeyer, 1998).

In general it has been found that gender is not a significant variable in a child's experience of loss or death. Age is the most common variable studied in children who have experienced the death of a significant attachment figure. Most studies have found that by the time a child is around seven years old they have a reasonably clear understanding of the concept of death (Corr & Corr, 1996).

For children who have experienced multiple losses through war and exile however, the child's experience is more complex because of the interaction of loss and trauma. It is believed that traumatic aspects of loss may hinder or complicate aspects of grief resolution because specific symptoms of trauma, such as avoidance, can interfere with normal processes of bereavement. Additionally, responses to traumatic and multiple loss are further complicated by the fact that catastrophic events can affect entire communities (Corr & Corr, 1996).

The child may not necessarily have experienced some of the more physically destructive aspects of war, such as witnessing persecution, death or destroyed houses and streets. Nevertheless, the sudden multiple losses of familiar surroundings, people, animals and objects, with which the child had a significant bond, can lead to the child developing traumatic symptoms.

There has been some difficulty in studies of children, who have experienced bereavement and trauma, in separating the symptoms of trauma and loss, given that there is an overlap. However it is recognised that symptoms may be intensified because of the overlap.

One of the most common reactions to a significant loss by children has been identified as fear. That is, fear of going to sleep, fear of being separated, fear of being unprotected and less noticeable, the fear of sharing feelings, particularly for older children and young teenagers. Other common reactions are guilt, sadness, anger, withdrawal and confusion (Staudacher, 1987). Somatic responses, as discussed earlier, are common amongst pre-school children who have been traumatised, alongside regression to an earlier phase of development. Some common symptoms identified in the DSM IV for both bereavement and trauma are; feelings of sadness, repetitive thoughts, diminished interest in activities or pleasure, sleep disturbance, impaired concentration, anger/irritability, associated dreams or play and somatic reactions. Numbing is more common in the beginning phases of bereavement and may be more persistent in some form for trauma. Anxiety, agitation, helplessness, emotional pain, loss of energy and guilt are connected with both trauma and bereavement.

A child's way of coping with loss

To understand a child's way of coping with loss we need to ask what it is of significance that has been lost for the child. This loss may be an integral meaningful relationship with an important person or animal in their life, or it may be the secondary or wider ecological losses of home, street, school environment, special toys and familiar routines.

Children's grief reactions and coping responses have been seen as differing from adults. Nevertheless Stroebe and Schutt have identified two common coping behaviours in adults and children. Firstly there is loss-orientated behaviour, where the individual faces the loss and consequent grief. Secondly, restoration oriented behaviour, where the individual deals with the new reality, the need to change and find new roles and identities (Stroebe and Schutt cited in Corr & Corr, 1996).

In general most children are similar to adults in possessing a quality of resilience that enables them to cope and find meaning from losses experienced. Children's grief and coping is however a lot more intertwined with their own developmental processes, alongside being influenced more directly by how their family copes with loss. Silverman (2000) states that because the process is both reactive and interactive, how a child moves or reacts always depends on the interface between the child and other mourners.

It has been identified that even a child of a very young age will attempt to make meaning out of the loss or losses they have experienced, which is ecologically reflective of their experience in life, their culture, family and where they are developmentally in their studies of young bereaved children have identified that they are more likely to distract themselves, cling to familiar activities for comfort and use fantasy to cope, as well as to deny the loss for periods (Corr & Corr, 1996). Older children and adolescents on the other hand have two main coping modalities in accordance with their developmental age. Firstly, problem solving strategies, such as reframing the problem and secondly, being able to regulate emotions, especially the distress (Silverman, 2000).

Whatever the developmental age of the child it is important to recognise that coping with loss and change is not something that is static, but continually changes in meaning over time as the individual matures, interacts with others, develops a changing identity and creates a new sense of meaning around the loss, while additionally, utilising new resources that become available.

The impact of refugee grief and trauma on educational settings

There is currently scant literature on refugee grief and trauma in the context of educational settings, despite schools playing a critical role in the adjustment and mental health of refugee children. Although there is a growing area of research that looks at the effects of trauma on children, who have survived war-related experiences, very little focuses more specifically on the school environment. More general literature on children's experience of coping with extreme stress or traumatic loss within the school environment has documented that children have the competence and

resilience to cope (Garmazy, Masten and Tellegen cited in Silverman, 2000). Other research has documented that school age children often seem to adults to change radically following a traumatic event. The child becomes irritable, rude, argumentative or complains of somatic problems, while school performance declines substantially (Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

When we focus on the experience of refugee children it has been noted that generally they adjust satisfactorily to the new settings in which they are placed (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Nevertheless, research on refugee children and adolescents (Kinzie, Sack, Angell, Manson, & Rath, 1986; Rousseau, Drapeau, & Corin, 1998) has also revealed that a significant number of refugee children, who have experienced loss and trauma, exhibit emotional problems on resettlement. These differences reflect that refugees are not a uniform group and that each individual will respond to resettlement differently depending on variables which include cultural, social, economic and developmental differences, alongside differences the degree of loss and trauma experienced.

Rousseau et al confirm in their data of Central American children that five years after resettlement in the host country, emotional problems exhibited among the group studied were associated with initial pre-migration trauma (Rousseau et al., 1998). A study of 52 Cambodian High school students living in the United States found that half of these participants met the diagnostic criteria for PTSD. In addition, almost half met the criteria for other clinical problems, notably depression and anxiety disorder (Kinzie et al., 1986). Williams and Westmeyer also found that 60% of the refugee adolescents they surveyed exhibited emotional problems, (Williams and Westmeyer, cited in Bemak & Greenberg, 1994). Further research has documented that normal grieving, which is difficult for any child is particularly problematic for most refugee children (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Alongside experiences of primary losses and trauma, refugee children also lose their homes, their sense of well-being and both safety and familiarity of place.

When we view these factors of refugee trauma and loss within the school context, recognisably these factors pose challenges to teachers, who often assume enormous importance to refugee children in helping them to deal with other out of school needs. It has been noted that some teachers internalise the pain and trauma of their refugee pupils and become traumatised themselves, losing confidence in their teaching skills and doubting their own abilities, while other teachers may protect themselves by become rigid or distancing themselves (Fox, 1995). Under these circumstances the task of the teacher can be a complicated one. There are additionally for the teacher the challenges of language difficulties, differences in learning styles and educational experiences, cultural differences and lack of resources amongst many refugee families. Resiliency has been connected with school children when the child has experiences of nurturing caregivers, physical security, stable personality and a welcoming school environment (Cole, 1996). Yau's (1995) research however has identified significant difficulties experienced by refugee students, which makes developing resiliency more challenging. These include cultural disorientation, frequent relocations, difficulties understanding teacher instruction and gaps in foundation skills (Yau cited in Cole, 1996).

Schools play significant roles in children's socialisation process. For a refugee child this process is often violently disrupted in the home country, until the child or adolescent's education begins again with a new socialisation process in a school in the host country. A process, which is frequently at odds with the child's home environment and previous experience of school. For example, differences in discipline, school culture and processes of learning. This places additional pressure on a child who has already experienced multiple changes, trauma and loss. In a study of Somali students in Christchurch secondary schools, the researcher found that students had to compromise their own cultural norms to succeed, they struggled with the ways learning is expected to occur and were marginalised not only by experiences of racism but also because of their low socio-economic status as refugees (Humpage, 1998). Cushner (1998a), in his work on multi-cultural issues within educational institutions, notes that a tremendous gap often exists between the culture of the home and the culture of the school, a gap too great at times for many students to bridge. These children are often left to struggle and mediate the dichotomy between the two. Cushner states however that the effective school recognises this dilemma and aids the child and family in understanding that the two realities, with effort, can be accommodated (Cushner, 1998a).

Assessment and care of these children within the school system is therefore integral and requires clear programme planning to meet these special needs. This includes a differentiated approach to intervention, which validates cultural frames of reference that are used to trace alternative perspectives, solutions and strengths. It also includes the support of staff in understanding refugee experiences of trauma and loss, alongside assistance for teachers in managing their own fears and frustration when working with refugee students.

With extra initiatives and effective interventions, that emphasise the critical learning, psychosocial and cultural needs of refugee students who have survived loss and cataclysmic events, it is possible for these students to transcend traumas and experience success within the school system.

Tasks of adaptation

Migration alone has been described as a developmental process with identifiable stages and developmental tasks. Life-cycle, education and socio-economic factors influence this process. The developmental process of cultural transition comes as an overlay to the normative developmental stages of the life-cycle (Chambon, 1989). There are thus dual developmental tasks in adaptation. The tasks of adaptation for refugees are more multi-layered, due to pre-migration circumstances of loss, trauma and major disruptions. Correspondingly it involves not only the individual and family, but also the wider social structures of schools and other institutions. Adapting to a new environment is therefore an interactive process.

Due to life-cycle factors, sometimes the task of adaptation for older family members is to find their place in the ethnic community rather than become integrated into the mainstream culture (Chambon, 1989). This may include developing a balance of understanding some of the acculturation needs of younger family members to reduce issues of cultural polarisation and consequent conflict in the family.

Some of the more challenging adaptation tasks for spouses in the family system is redefining roles and perceptions of competence and authority. Role changes and differential rates of acculturation can occur when for example, the wife finds employment outside the family and the husband, whose traditional role was the wage earner, remains unemployed. Issues around parental authority may additionally be an adaptation task when traditional ways of parenting do not correspond with the new culture and when parents attempt to control their children, for fear of losing them to the influences of the new society.

A refugee child's ability to adapt is influenced by the amount of risk factors experienced, both chronic and acute, which can greatly decrease a child's ability to adapt successfully (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). The ability to adapt is also influenced positively by protective factors that assist a child in coping; (1) Personality dispositions of the child (2) a supportive milieu (3) an external support system that supports and encourages a child's coping efforts (Ahearn & Athey, 1991).

One of the main tasks for refugee children within the school environment is adapting and developing socialisation skills in a new cultural and social context. It has been noted that refugee flight almost always disrupts this process in two ways; first it breaks the continuity of the socialisation process, and second it prevents the child from progressing normally in learning information and skills (Ahearn & Athey, 1991). Within this context one of the tasks for a refugee child is to incorporate and superimpose what is meaningful and functional from one culture to another (Eisenbruch, 1991).

Schools additionally have a part to play in this process by helping refugee children to feel less invisible through creating a safe, validating environment, where they feel supported and understood. The school's task may also be to orchestrate learning experiences within the school curriculum that include refugee children's experiences and reinforce positive ways of handling problems.

Finally, if a child has been affected by the traumas experienced to the point where it is affecting learning and adaptation processes, one of the tasks of family, school and related professionals is offering therapeutic and social support. Family sessions are essential, because providing support to mothers in particular is a critical first step to treating the child (McCloskey & Southwick, 1996).

Conclusion

In the Cornish language the noun for 'home' is the same word as the verb, 'I am', which is contiguous with a person's need and appreciation of a sense of belonging and identity within a family, groups, community and country. When an individual is uprooted traumatically from these primary social, environmental, spiritual and economic structures, it can produce intense and profound grief. However, it is an experience that does not necessarily fit into classic grief or trauma theories, but instead needs to incorporate a specific form of cultural construction and therapeutic help, within the framework of the individual's experience of monumental social loss.

If we return to view Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological approach for assessing and working with the changing and interdependent environmental conditions on individual development, it is imperative that refugee trauma and loss are viewed and

validated within these differential contexts. The significance of environmental factors, of family, community and other support systems can not be underestimated in both the losses experienced and correspondingly in helping the individual to cope with enormous loss and stressors. Through the integration of these factors it is possible to facilitate effective change and growth in refugee survivors through strengthening resources and developing a clearer perspective of the options available to them in the new country. Suggestions for best practice focus on assessment, therapeutic interventions, family and community involvement, and school, classroom and teacher practice.

Assessment

Assessment within this context presents a variety of difficult issues and complicating factors. The refugee child has often lived through very traumatic times and may have experienced both loss and grief. In addition, their trauma, loss and grief need to be viewed within the wider cultural context which may alter the way in which their trauma, loss and grief may present itself within the classroom. Consequently, it is valuable for any assessment to include an awareness of culturally specific symptoms alongside validating the meaning behind particular symptoms, so that some symptoms are not misdiagnosed or go unrecognised. For example, complaints of headaches may not be a symptom of PTSD, but instead, a general somatic complaint in place of an unwillingness to express strong feelings. It can be helpful to ask refugee students about their ideas regarding the situation or problem and their perspective on possible solutions or outcomes.

Learning difficulties related to trauma are complex to assess in refugee children in the first months of arrival. However such a disability needs to be taken into account in children when it extends over time and they fail to advance on a similar level with their peers. Within any assessment of the refugee child, there needs to be a documentation of pre-migration stressors and significant events, as well as post-migration factors and critical events. In addition, it is important during assessment to discern the coping strategies the children may have used to survive traumatic experiences as well as current transition strategies, which may be cognitive as well as behavioural and involve processes such as dissociation, minimising traumatic experiences and containing emotions within manageable bounds.

Individual, family and school-based therapeutic Interventions

All attempts to facilitate the refugee child's healing process through therapeutic interventions need to match the social and cultural context and include a continuum of culturally sensitive activities. It is therefore important to obtain cultural knowledge relative to particular conflicts, learning, emotional or behaviour problems. Therapy also needs to recognise any healthy and constructive components to cultural bereavement for this is critical to the healing process.

Narrative therapeutic interventions are helpful when working with traumatised children. The process of externalising the problem so the child and the child's problems are not one. That is, the child should not be defined only by their loss. Art, poetry, music or storytelling in the framework of the child's cultural heritage are expressive therapeutic techniques for traumatised children.

School and individual therapeutic interventions need to be interlinked to reconstruct a sense of social belonging. That is, helping to acculturate and become a part of the school, without losing their strong cultural identities. Consequently, both schools and families need to mutually adapt and need to create a safe arena for supporting the child's transition.

Family structure and function in each refugee culture needs to be understood and appreciated. Systemic and family therapeutic interventions are helpful in redefining and reorganising roles, expectations, relationships and responsibility in the family to ensure the family continues to operate as a unit, within their cultural frame of reference. It is also helpful to discuss the family's history and value systems.

School, classroom and teacher practice

In terms of refugee students classroom behaviour and teacher response, it is important for teachers not to pathologise responses to multiple loss and change. However, it is also critical for teachers to be responsive to the ways refugee children may be affected as well as the ways in which their trauma, loss and grief may appear within the classroom. For example, the child may exhibit behavioural problems, such as chronic anger, anxiety, guilt, prolonged agitation or depression, chronic feelings of hopelessness, physical symptoms and loss of physical well-being. The teacher needs to be confident and able to identify refugee children who may require extra professional help. Consequently, teachers should participate in appropriate training and in-service activities related to refugee education and the effects of trauma on children within the classroom. These activities can often be organised by specialised service providers within the community.

Integrating refugee children within the classroom may require both extra resources as well as additional mechanisms for supporting teachers as they develop their knowledge and expertise within this arena. It could be valuable to create small group or department supportive settings for teachers to discuss sensitive issues or any anxieties they may have when working with refugee youths. It is critical that the principal play a leadership role in supporting and integrating teachers in developing and accessing ways to facilitate their own adaptation and the adaptation of refugee children.

Restoration of a sense of safety is a top priority for refugee children. The school needs to create a safe environment within the school and the individual classrooms. One approach within classrooms is the use of small groups, so children can learn from each other in an intimate and supportive environment. In addition, the implementation or strengthening of cross-cultural curricular topics and projects within schools could help increase levels of understanding, acceptance and mutual respect. Also, integrating a focus on human rights and refugees will both inform the home country students of the needs and experiences of the refugee children and validate the importance of the refugee children's experiences. Within this context, the development of extra-curricula activities would be of value. For example, the development of an after school group once or twice a week for refugee youth and local students, who wished to participate. This group could be a place to share songs, stories, music and for the local students to assist refugee students with any homework difficulties.

Finally, increased positive and culturally appropriate liaison between schools and families, which includes programmes for parents participating in school enterprises or school forums are needed in order to foster cultural diversity and communication. Parental involvement is critical to insuring the academic success of the refugee children. Without it, these children are bound to fail and to potentially sink deeper into isolation.

Chapter 3

Second Language Concerns for Refugee Children

Language plays an important role in the task of refugees resettling in another land. It is through language that we construct ourselves as human beings and make sense of the world around us. The newcomer's task of adapting to life in a new country is often complicated by the need to acquire a new language. In the case of refugees, this already challenging task of resettlement is exacerbated by the emotional and physical trauma experienced. Obviously, language is not the only concern of refugees in their new environment; however, one measure of refugees' overall success in adapting to their new environment is the extent to which they are successful in learning a second language.

In order to gain an understanding of the issues concerning second language learning and refugee children, it is necessary to draw on several bodies of literature. Refugee children share certain characteristics with other groups of second language learners. Therefore, second language acquisition theory and research is relevant. Furthermore, studies of second language acquisition by immigrants can provide insights applicable to refugees. However, it is necessary to consider what is unique about refugees and refugee children in their task of second language acquisition. When research relating to refugee children exists, every attempt has been made to include these studies. However, studies and theories focusing on broader populations, such as adult refugees, immigrants or other second language learners, have also been included when appropriate, with the realisation that the issues may vary somewhat for refugee children.

In keeping with the model that informs this project's overall approach, the remainder of this chapter will examine refugee children and second language learning in relation to pre-migration factors, the task of adaptation, post-migration factors, best practice, and outcomes. It should be noted that within an ecological approach there is often overlap among the issues being considered (i.e. issues may be relevant to several of the above categories). Nevertheless, issues have been placed into categories where they are felt to be the most salient.

Pre-migration factors

When considering second language learners, it is important to determine what is unique about refugees in their task of second language acquisition. One characteristic that can be examined about learners is the circumstances that have necessitated their learning a second language. In this regard a distinction has been made between voluntary and involuntary minority groups (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995; Gibson, 1988; Ogbu, 1995b). Voluntary minority groups have left their home countries of their own volition and have settled legally in another country, with the possibility of remaining there permanently (e.g. various Asian and Pacific Island groups in New Zealand). For these groups, learning a second language is a consequence of a choice they have made. Involuntary minorities, on the other hand, are those groups that have been incorporated into a society, largely unwillingly, by means of colonisation, conquest,

annexation or slavery. As a result they find themselves linguistic and cultural minorities, often in their own land (e.g. Maori in New Zealand and Aborigines in Australia). For these groups, learning the language of the dominant society, although not generally mandatory, is necessary for equal access to societal resources. Because of the unequal relationships between involuntary minorities and the dominant society, involuntary minority groups often develop oppositional identities, leading them to accentuate the differences between themselves and the dominant group. One means of maintaining an oppositional identity is the preservation of distinct language or dialect. Refugees share characteristics with involuntary minorities (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995). However, they have also been considered distinct from the two categories (Gibson, 1988). Unlike voluntary minorities, refugees have been forced to flee their homelands and have experienced varying degrees of emotional and physical trauma. These pre-migration experiences can then affect refugees during the resettlement process. Refugees are more at risk for mental health and academic dysfunction, and they do not arrive in optimal psychological or emotional condition for language learning. Indeed, some survival defences may initially impede the learning of a second language (Freire, 1990). In addition, the lack of choice in leaving their country and the lack of preparation prior to departure can make adjustment more difficult. In this regard, refugees differ from immigrants since immigrants usually arrive after much preparation (Coelho, 1994). However, unlike involuntary minorities, refugees do not arrive with an oppositional identity, although they may be at risk of developing one (Gibson, 1988). Another factor which, although common to all second language learners, may be exacerbated in refugees is the initial inability to communicate in their new surroundings. Adult refugees often have had above average interest and investment in the socio-political life of their own country; however, in the host country they find themselves in a pre-verbal and pre-literate position which underscores their vulnerable and dependant condition (Freire, 1990). Studies in Britain found that, unlike most other minority groups, refugees were often academically over-qualified for their jobs, but they lacked the language skills necessary for higher level positions (Further Education Unit,). In a study of South East Asian refugees, poor second language skills were shown to contribute to feelings of isolation and depression (Bemak & Greenberg, 1994). Thus, the inability to communicate in their new surroundings can compound the emotional trauma already experienced by refugees.

Other Pre-Migration Factors Other pre-migration factors, such as previous educational experiences, can also influence second language learning. Studies of Southeast Asian refugees in the United States (Westermeyer & Her, 1996) and Australia (Boua, 1990) have found previous L1 education to correlate significantly with increased English language proficiency after resettlement. In addition, pre-migration study of the second language correlated significantly (and not surprisingly) with post-migration second language proficiency (Caplan, Nathan, H., Choy, & Whitmore, 1991; Westermeyer & Her, 1996). The implications of this for refugee children are unsettling because many of them have had disrupted education due to the war and violence that have overtaken them. Some refugees, such as the Khmer in Australia (Boua, 1990) and the Somalis in New Zealand (Humpage 1999) have arrived with little formal education and no literacy skills in their first language. This lack of previous educational experience makes the learning of a second language all the more difficult for refugee children.

The task at hand

Having considered the situation of refugees prior to their arrival in a new country, it is important to identify the tasks facing refugees as they resettle in their new homeland. These tasks include learning the language and adapting to the culture of the host society. Both will be examined in turn. What does it mean for refugee children to learn a second language? While there may be several different answers to that question, it is generally accepted in the field of second language acquisition that there are two types of second language proficiency: Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (Cummins, 1981; Ellis, 1994). Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) refers to the language skills that learners need to engage effectively in face-to-face interaction, and it involves the mastery of contextualised language, which occurs in relatively undemanding communicative situations. By contrast, Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) refers to the linguistic knowledge and literacy skills needed to engage effectively in academic study, and it involves the ability to communicate precise, explicit messages in tasks that are context-reduced and cognitively demanding (Cummins, 1981; Ellis, 1994).

While BICS develops naturally as a result of exposure to language through communication, the development of CALP is much more difficult. Collier (1987) found that it may take between four to eight years for Low English Proficiency children to reach the average grade-level proficiency of their English-speaking peers. Since this review is primarily concerned with the academic achievement of refugee children, it is important to see the acquisition of CALP, not just BICS, as one of their goals.

In addition to the acquisition of linguistic proficiency, refugee children have the task of adapting to the culture of the host society. Current theories in second language acquisition predict that learners will acquire the target language to the degree that they acculturate to the target group. Schumann (1986), in his Acculturation Model, argues that acculturation, which he defines as 'the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language group' (p. 379), is a major causal variable in second language acquisition. Acculturation does not necessarily imply that second language learners must adopt the target group's lifestyle and values; however, learners must be socially and psychologically open to the target language group. Schumann proposes that second language learners' relationships with target language speakers can be conceptualised as a continuum of social and psychological distance. The greater the distance between the two groups, the lower the likelihood of learners acquiring the target language. Thus, social and psychological contact with the target language group, not adoption of the lifestyle and values of the target language group, is the essential component in acculturation.

According to Schumann, factors that may affect successful acculturation, and thereby the rate and overall success of second language acquisition, include the degree to which the two groups share the same social circles, the cohesiveness of the first language group, the congruence of two cultures, the attitudes of the two groups towards each other, and the intended length of residence of the immigrants in the target group environment. Another important factor is the comparative social status of the two groups; the best conditions for second language acquisition are when the first

language and the second language groups are of roughly equal social status, neither being dominant or subordinate.

Acculturation (or lack thereof) can also be seen in the types of integration strategies second language learners adopt. One strategy, assimilation, occurs when immigrants give up their first language lifestyles and adopt the host society's norms, thereby maximising contact between the first language and second language groups and promoting second language learning. A second strategy, preservation, involves immigrants maintaining their first language lifestyles and rejecting the target language group. This strategy maximises social distance and creates minimal opportunity for second language learning. A third strategy, adaptation, occurs when immigrant groups adapt to the lifestyle and values of the target language group but maintain their own lifestyles and values for intra-group purpose. This strategy results in varying degrees of contact between the two groups and, as a result, varying degrees of acquisition of the target language.

A similar theory of acculturation is espoused by Gibson (1988). She views acculturation as an additive process in which new traits and values may be added to already existing ones. Alternatives to acculturation include assimilation, when individuals are incorporated or absorbed into another culture and thereby lose identification with their former group, and accommodation, when individuals publicly conform to host society standards to avoid or reduce inter-group tensions. Accommodation may occur even when the second language group believes that its lifestyle and values are superior. Again, language is only one part of the entire process of acculturation.

Post-migration factors

Having examined some of the pre-migration characteristics of refugees as well as the tasks they face upon arrival in their host country, it is important to consider some of the post-migration variables that may affect refugee children in their task of adaptation.

First Language Issues

It is important to realise that all second language learners possess various skills and abilities in their first language (and possibly other languages as well.) Too often a deficit perspective is taken towards second language learners, with the primary focus on the fact that learners do not possess fluency in the second language. However, it is important to recognise the linguistic and literacy skills of second language learners and to build on them as much as possible (Waite, 1992). Studies of bilingualism have examined the relationship between first language and second language skills. One view of bilingualism, the Balance Effect Theory (see Cummins, 1981), assumes a limited linguistic capacity, shared between the two languages. Thus, according to this theory, promoting skills in one language results in a decrease in the proficiency of the other language. One implication of this theory is that schools that want to see children succeed in a second language should discourage them from developing their first language. However, Cummins (1981) rejects the Balance Effect Theory in favour of the Think Tank Model which assumes that first language and second language academic skills are interdependent, stemming from a common underlying proficiency which enables the transfer of cognitive or literacy-related skills across languages. Performance in the second language is determined by the entire store of linguistic and

conceptual knowledge in the think tank, which is derived from the totality of the child's experience in both languages. Therefore, development in either language contributes to the development of the total think tank. Not only does Cummins propose a theory of bilingualism, he also supports it with a review and summary of the research on bilingualism. The main research findings were as follows: (1) time spent using the minority children's first language either in home or at school does not in any way impede the development of second language academic skills. (2) Promoting the development of minority children's L1 skills in the school significantly improves second language academic skills among minority children who tend to perform poorly in second language only schools (3) bilingualism and biliteracy appear to confer intellectual and academic advantages on the individual when proficiency in both languages continues to develop.

These findings imply that first language academic skills can be strongly promoted at no cost to the development of English academic skills. In fact, programmes designed to support refugee children's first language oral and literacy skills can benefit their second language skills.

Age

When it comes to children and second language acquisition, age is an obvious factor. It is popularly believed that it is easier for children than adults to learn a second language (Kennedy & Dewar, 1997). In second language acquisition theory this belief has been termed the Critical Period Hypothesis, which states that 'there is a period during which learners can acquire a second language easily and achieve native-speaker competence, but that after this period second language acquisition becomes more difficult and is rarely entirely successful (Ellis, 1994 p. 699). The Critical Period Hypothesis is not, however, uncontroversial. For example, there is no consensus as to when the critical period ends, and recent research has suggested that what may be more important than the age at which second language study begins is the duration and nature of exposure to the second language. Ioup, Boustagui, El-Tigi and Moselle (1994) found that native proficiency was obtained by two bilingual learners of Arabic - after a period of 25 to 30 years in a naturalistic learning environment.

While the Critical Period Hypothesis is controversial, studies of immigrant children have found age to be a significant factor in second language achievement. For instance, Gibson (1988) in a study of Punjabi immigrants in California found that age of entry into the American school system was a significant factor in second language assessment of high school seniors. High school seniors who had arrived before fourth grade were more likely to be rated as 'Fluent English Proficiency' by the school system, while seniors who had arrived after fourth grade were more likely to be rated 'Limited English Proficiency'. Similarly, Collier (1987), in her analysis of the length of time necessary for Limited English Proficient students to become proficient in English for academic purposes, found the optimal age of arrival into the second language academic environment to be between 8 and 11 years old. Dufresne (1992), in a study of Hmong refugees, concluded that those who did not enter the American school system before fourth or fifth grade had little chance of competing successfully with their academic peers. Similarly, Boua (1990) concluded that Khmer refugee students arriving in Australian schools at the elementary level had better chances of succeeding in school than those arriving at the secondary level.

However, research does not indicate that the younger is necessarily better. Collier (1989) found that adults and adolescents initially acquire Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) faster than children; however, after two to three years of second language exposure, children achieve higher BICS. In regards to Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), children between the ages of eight and twelve who had several years of schooling in their first language were the most efficient. Collier also found that overall academic achievement was not affected by age of initial exposure to the second language as long as cognitive development continued in the first language until age 12. However, second language development may be negatively affected by discontinued first language development. In addition, if schooling is conducted exclusively in the second language, students require at least five years to reach the 50th percentile on nationally standardised tests. Collier concludes that consistent, uninterrupted cognitive academic development in all subjects throughout students' schooling is more important than the number of hours of second language instruction for successful academic achievement in a second language.

Social Identity

Social identity concerns group membership, perception by self and by others, and the accompanying markers of identity (eg. language, religion, dress, etc.). As such, social identity is an important variable in second language acquisition because it can affect the amount and nature of exposure to the second language. Recent second language acquisition theories have come to view identity as multiple and complex, changing depending on the context. Certain identities may come into the foreground or recede depending upon the situations in which learners find themselves (Peirce, 1995). Thus, second language learners may identify themselves with the target language group to varying degrees, with stronger identification being associated with increased second language learning.

Several studies have found identity to be an important factor in the second language learning process of immigrants and refugees. Gibson (1988) found that the Sikh immigrants in California viewed acculturation as an additive process. Therefore, the academic success of their children was not viewed as replacing a Sikh identity with an American one; rather, they were adding to their already established identity. As a result, even though the Sikhs had an oppositional identity to their host society, academic success, a trait that was associated with the host society, did not threaten that identity. Similarly, Caplan et al (1991) found that Indochinese refugees isolated themselves from their non-refugee neighbours and maintained their traditional Buddhist and Confucian values, in spite of the perception that one of the goals of the public schools was to Americanise their children. Their beliefs, however, correlated with academic achievement and were entirely compatible with basic American ideas about the work ethic, motivation to succeed, and optimism about the future. Another study of Indochinese refugees in the United States (Skinner & Hendricks, 1979) demonstrated that they shifted from an identity of 'refugee' to one of 'Asian American' as the usefulness of the latter identity in accessing resources became clear to them. Thus, their identity was shaped by categories, which had meaning in the larger society.

While the focus in the Second Language Acquisition literature is on shifting or maintaining identities, much of the grief and loss literature (see Chapter 2) refers to

the loss of identity that refugees experience in their new homeland. For refugees this issue of identity may be further complicated by the need for emotional stability. The changes in identity that may be needed for optimal second language learning may threaten the coping abilities of individuals, thereby actually impeding the language learning process. For immigrants or other voluntary second language learners, it might be easier to accept the changes in identity; however, since refugees have little control over their circumstances, including some of the changes in identity, this may make it more traumatic for them, and create difficulties in accepting these new identities. Further study regarding this aspect of trauma and loss in relationship to the role of identity in refugees' second language learning is needed.

One further factor that may be considered under the heading of identity is relationship of the refugees to the host country. Gibson (1988) found that Sikhs in California used the idea of returning to India to legitimise continued adherence to their traditional values and to reject American values and lifestyles, even though there was little evidence that they would actually return to India. Similarly, second language acquisition by refugees may be affected by their perception of their status within their new society. If they wish to return to their homeland, they may be less motivated to learn a second language. By contrast, if they see themselves as settling permanently in their new homeland, this will provide extra incentive for them in their language learning.

Gender

Gender is another factor that has been found to influence second language acquisition. In general, studies have found that females are better second language learners than males (Ellis, 1994). However, several studies of immigrants and refugees have found male gender to correlate with increased second language proficiency. Gibson (1988) found that Sikh males had a higher academic success rate in American high schools, which she attributed to differences in course selection and general responses to schooling. Westermeyer and Her (1996) also found male gender to be associated with greater English language fluency and with increased pre-migrational education among Hmong refugees in Minnesota. Thus, in considering refugee children, it is perhaps less helpful to look at gender as a variable in and of itself, but rather to consider the opportunities and roles that correspond with gender in the cultures of the refugees.

Miscellaneous

Other factors which various studies have found to influence second language acquisition by refugees include less proximity to other first language households in the U.S., any educational involvement in the U.S. (except English as a second language or ESL training), and not receiving welfare. ESL training was not associated with eventual English fluency as determined by either self-assessment or objective language tests (Westermeyer & Her, 1996). Similarly, Caplan et al (1991) found two important factors in the academic achievement of Vietnamese refugees in the United States: the level of English proficiency on arrival and the number of children in the family. The significant finding is that educational performance is positively related to family size: the larger the size of the sibship, the higher the aggregate GPA. They did not find any effect for English language and employment programmes even though they were provided in the resettlement program.

Summary, conclusions and best practice

Now that some of the factors influencing refugee children in their task of learning a second language and adapting to their host environment have been examined, it is important to consider what schools can do to help refugee children in this task. Although this section is headed 'Best Practice', caution should be exercised in using such a term. Firstly, the term suggests that there is one method which is most effective for second language learning; however, individual variation in language learning is a well-recognised phenomenon (Skehan, 1989). Consequently, what might be best practice for one learner might not be best for another. Similarly, what may work well in one context with one group of refugees may not work well in different contexts with different groups of refugees. Secondly, the term implies that there is an agreed upon consensus about what works best. Again this is not necessarily the case. Conflicting research and theories may point in different directions (as is the case with mainstreaming versus pull-out classes). Therefore, when talking about second language learning, it is perhaps better to use the term 'good practice' and to realise the limitations of any one methodology. Keeping this caveat in mind, the following practices have been identified in the literature as being helpful for refugee children in learning a second language. Furthermore, in the discussion of 'best practice' for refugee children, an attempt has been made to link practice and theory whenever possible.

Mainstreaming

Including Non-English Speaking Background (NESB) children in mainstream classrooms is perhaps one of the more controversial practices discussed in the literature. The merits of mainstreaming have been debated, but current consensus is that NESB children should be included in regular classes with native English speakers in most circumstances (Kennedy & Dewar, 1997; Waite, 1992). The benefits of mainstreaming include the opportunities and incentives provided for the children since they are learning English for a purpose – to learn the subject being taught- not just for its own sake. Furthermore, children are motivated to learn English to participate in activities with other children, both inside and outside the classroom (Rutter, 1994b). If NESB children are separated from mainstream classes, they miss the opportunity to interact with English-speaking children and their primary, and perhaps sole, source of English input comes from their ESOL teacher. In addition, separating NESB children limits their access to the curriculum (Rutter, 1994b), and labelling NESB students can have a detrimental impact (Lewis & al., 1998).

Part of the controversy around mainstreaming is in its definition and implementation. Barnard (1998) cites English in the New Zealand Curriculum as saying that 'the transition [to the new school] is best managed by planned immersion experiences in mainstream English classrooms'. However, Barnard claims many mainstreaming plans overwhelm the student and are unsuccessful because they are poorly planned. Cummins (1988) points out that most second language submersion programmes involve virtually no concessions to the child's first language or culture and, as a result, have well-documented negative effects for many children. Franson (1996) cautions that while mainstreaming may be the ideal, it should be well planned simply implemented ad hoc to satisfy the latest dictates of theory. One of the theoretical supports for mainstreaming comes from Schumman's Acculturation theory. Social and psychological contact with the Target Language group is essential for acculturation to take place. By denying refugee children the opportunity to interact with mainstream

children, educators are denying them a point of contact with the Target Language group.

Pull-Out ESOL Classes

While including refugee children in mainstream classes is considered good practice, there may be some occasions where withdrawing them is appropriate. Reasons for withdrawal might include helping total beginners with basic English literacy, focusing on specific problems or assignments, and allowing traumatised students to develop a trusting relationship with an adult.

As with mainstreaming, the benefits of pull-out classes accrue when they are well-planned. First, it is suggested that any withdrawal be discussed with students and teachers (Rutter, 1994b). It is then important to focus pull-out ESOL classes to meet the specific needs of the students and to link the classes to content courses in order to maximise relevancy (van Hees, 1997) ESOL students need to feel that these classes are meeting their needs. One way to do this is by concentrating on the skills needed and issues arising in students' content classes. If pull-out classes are not made relevant to the students, they may feel that they are losing valuable time that could be spent more productively in their content courses (Lewis & al., 1998).

In order for there to be a link between content and ESOL course, there must be collaboration between the content and ESOL teachers. For collaboration to occur, there must be positive attitudes and respect towards the role of the ESOL teacher, something that often does not happen because of the lack of institutional status for ESOL teachers (Franson, 1996). Ideally, the ESOL teacher should be seen as a partner with content teachers, and the developing of second language skills in students should be seen as the responsibility of all teachers, not just ESOL ones (Rutter, 1994b).

Peer Tutoring

Another method that has been put forward as good practice is the development of a peer tutoring or 'buddy' system in which newly arrived refugee children are paired with both second language and second language peers (Barnard, 1998; van Hees, 1997). Because it is unrealistic to expect teachers to have much extra time to help familiarise newly arrived refugee children with the New Zealand school system, it can be useful to have peer tutors to help new students become familiar with the expectations of their new school. Pairing a new refugee student with an English-speaking peer can enable the refugee child to learn how the system works. It will also give the refugee an opportunity to create friendships and to practice using English. In addition to helping the refugee, the English-speaking peer may learn from the refugee child as well, thus fostering mutual understanding. Pairing a new refugee with an first language speaking peer who has been in the system for some time (if such a person exists) can also help the new student become familiar with the system, as well as provide support in the student's first language.

One account of two teachers who conducted action research projects involving peer tutoring (Lewis, 1997) identified several important factors. 1) The training of peer tutors was very important, 2) a shorter length of the scheme (6 to 10 weeks) was more successful, 3) younger children preferred same sex tutors, 4) common interests between the tutor and tutee, and 5) personality factors affected interaction. Results of the peer tutoring included an increase in the amount and quality of talking for some

NESB students. In addition, both teachers and other students in the classes noticed a development in attitudes, social skills, and language awareness in many of the NESB students and their tutors.

Cultural and First Language Support

In addition to learning how the new system works, it is important for NESB children to feel that their first language and culture are valued and respected. This can be done by understanding NESB children's language and cultural values and to support cultural diversity through incorporating the culture, language and experiences of children into the curriculum (Talení, 1998), especially refugee's values in regards to education, religion and world view (Humpage, 1998). In addition, refugees should not be viewed as a monolithic community. Not all of the refugees fit the 'refugee' stereotype, and this needs to be taken into account in the classroom. Indeed, educators should realise that varying degrees of education, social status, religiousness, etc. exist within the refugee community, as Humpage (1998) found in her study of Somali refugees in New Zealand.

Classroom Language

If refugee children are to attend mainstream content classes, one way that teachers can help make accommodations for them is by examining the language of the classroom. Comprehensible input is necessary for second language development. Krashen (1982), in his Input Hypothesis, argues that it is necessary to have input that is just slightly beyond what learners' know. He refers to this concept as 'i + 1'. Cummins (1988) supports the necessity of comprehensible input and argues that it is much better given in content classes where the second language is actually used to convey meaning, rather than teaching the language (often interpreted as grammar) as a subject itself. Some Second Language Acquisition researchers (Swain, 1985; Swain, 1995) have argued that comprehensible input is necessary, but not sufficient for second language learning, and that what is also needed is 'pushed output' - opportunities for second language learners to produce talk that stretches their competence because of a need to express an idea using accurate and appropriate language. Within the mainstream classroom it is possible for second language learners to have opportunities for both comprehensible input and pushed output. Teachers may need to modify their talk to provide more contextualised language for the students and they can encourage students to express themselves in language that may stretch the students' capabilities. Kay (1990), citing Cummins and Swain (1986), points out that much teaching involves decontextualised language. Kay argues that one way to help NESB students is for teachers to provide context-embedded language as much as possible. In addition, recent studies (Ellis, Loewen, & Basturkmen, 1999) of communicative language lessons (i.e. where the main aim of the lesson is the exchange of information) have shown that teachers and students can take time out to briefly discuss the form language (e.g. the meaning of a vocabulary word, the appropriate verb tense, etc.) without disrupting the communicative flow. Such focus on form is theorised to improve both students' fluency and accuracy in the language. Although no studies of content classrooms have investigated this, it is hypothesised that mainstream teachers and students can also take brief time outs to address linguistic items, thereby contributing to the linguistic development of the second language students. According to Cummins (1988) the ideal programme is one with a bilingual teacher, modified second language input and first language literacy promotion.

Whole School Environment

While specific teachers can do specific things in their classrooms, it is also important to consider the context of the entire school. Helping refugee children with the task of learning a second language and acculturating to the new society should be seen as the responsibility of all teachers not just ESOL ones (Rutter, 1994b). Indeed, Kennedy and Dewar (1997) found that New Zealand school principals and teachers felt that general school policies were an important part of effective ESOL programmes. A policy of inclusiveness, a commitment to welcoming NESB students and families and philosophical and administrative support of ESOL teachers were all recurring themes in their interviews. (See Chapter 6 for further discussion of successful whole school environments.)

Initial and Ongoing Assessment

In order to determine if school programmes are effective, in-depth language assessment, both initial and on-going, is necessary. Richman (1998) suggests that language assessment should focus on: a) history of child's early language development and acquisition, b) assessment of child's first language abilities, c) child's educational history, d) child's current level of understanding, speaking, reading and writing of English, e) parents' previous education and first language literacy, and f) parents' knowledge of English. Kennedy and Dewar (1997) point out that assessment can be problematic because it is time-consuming, it can be hampered by communication difficulties, and there is often a lack of suitable assessment procedures. This assessment is best accomplished in the presence of an interpreter or bi-cultural worker.

A variety of assessments have been used in New Zealand schools, some developed by individual teachers or schools, and others used on the national level. van Hees (1994), who has worked with many schools within New Zealand to facilitate second language development of school aged children, suggests that effective provisions for students from language background other than English should include initial, diagnostic and curriculum based assessment. Initial assessment should occur at enrolment, diagnostic assessment a few weeks after transition into schools and, finally, curriculum based assessment should occur regularly after diagnostic assessment in order to facilitate ongoing instructional planning and remediation. Initial assessment should focus on gathering information on the history of child's language development and acquisition, educational experiences as well as family background and basic personal details of the child. Diagnostic assessment would focus on both first language and English oral and written skills. Finally, curriculum based assessment would be aimed at student's knowledge and understanding in curriculum areas.

Outcomes

When discussing good practice and issues that affect second language learning, it is important to keep the eventual goal in mind. What do refugees expect of their new life, and what does New Zealand expect of its refugees? There has been much public debate recently about whether New Zealand is a bicultural or multicultural society. These types of issues have a direct impact on NESB students. Are refugee children expected to give up their own culture and language in order to fit in to New Zealand society? Or is it acceptable for them to take an additive approach, thereby maintaining their first language and culture? This debate is far from over, but it has implications for what will be viewed as a successful refugee resettlement program. Taleni (1998, p.

28) takes a stance on this issue by stating, 'I am concerned about the strong assimilationist policies in our schools, where all immigrants are expected to learn English, to learn in English and to fit into NZ society'.

In the end, it should be noted that second language acquisition is just one aspect of refugee children's task of adaptation. Language will contribute to their cultural development and their academic performance; however, their overall success in adapting to life in their new homeland will be measured by much more than just language, as can be seen by the scope of this entire literature review.

Chapter 4 Resilience

The resilience literature offers a useful perspective relevant to this review because research into resilience seeks to discover how some individuals overcome adversity. It therefore offers an alternative focus on solutions (rather than the problems), identifying factors that promote good outcomes following challenging circumstances. Resilience it seems is what refugees need, as they are certainly experiencing challenging circumstances.

In addition the resilience literature also identifies ‘risk’ or vulnerability factors. These are factors, which if present in a child’s life will increase the likelihood of adverse developmental outcomes. Some such factors are highly likely to be present in the lives of refugee children (Werner, Randolph, & Masten, 1996). Knowledge about how to foster resilience either by increasing the resilience factors in the lives of these children, or by minimising risk factors may lead to the development of appropriate interventions as well as provide us with information to better judge the effectiveness of interventions.

How appropriate the concept of ‘resilience’ is in discussions of refugees is apparent from the various definitions of ‘resilience’ in the literature. Blechman (in press, p.1) describes it as “...the survival of a stressor (or risk factor) and the avoidance of two or more adverse life outcomes to which the majority of normative survivors of this stressor succumb”. Masten (1998, p. 205) puts it more simply: “how children overcome adversity to achieve good developmental outcomes”.

The following is a more comprehensive definition of ‘resilience’.

“Resilience refers to the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances. Psychological resilience is concerned with behavioral adaptation, usually defined in terms of internal states of well-being or effective functioning in the environment or both.”

(Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1991)

In this definition, resilience is conceptualised in three ways: as a process, a capacity, and an outcome. It describes the process of adaptation in the presence of significant challenges (risk factors, stressors), where a positive outcome (resilience) is facilitated by certain personal and environmental factors. Research into resilience has identified factors that are associated with good outcomes despite adversity. As such it provides us with information regarding potential interventions to promote resilient outcomes. However, a list of factors is not enough – it is also necessary to understand the process of resilience. What follows is a conceptual description of resilience followed by a list of identified personal and environmental risk and resilience factors, organised by our model. That is I will consider pre-migration factors (what they bring), the process, (the task) as well as ongoing factors and the present environment (factors that are and what can be done), and then potential outcomes (what happens). In addition these factors will be organised in terms of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model as either individual, familial or contextual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Garmezy, 1991).

The Concept of ‘Resilience’

Overview

The term ‘resilience’ is often used as a descriptor for people. Using the term as a label leads to a common misconception of ‘resilience’ as something people either do or do not possess. However – resilience is something that develops, and only emerges as a result of adversity. Even some of the intra-individual factors associated with ‘resilience’ can be described as acquired “tools for good adaptation... shaped by interactions between children and their environments” (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998, p. 205). Other predictors of ‘resilience’ are contextual or environmental. Some children happen to live in more supportive environments than others do. The point here is that some ‘tools’ can be taught, and environmental scaffolds can be put in place. Resilient outcomes can be promoted (Luthar & Zigler, 1991; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). Deliberately promoting the development of resilience might be a desirable goal for interventions with people who have experienced adversity, such as refugees.

Developmental perspective

An additional source of confusion around the phenomenon of ‘resilience’ stems from the fact that it has been researched from a number of different perspectives. The first of these is the developmental perspective. Here ‘at risk children’ are identified by the presence of risk factors in their lives, factors (such as poverty, low birth weight, perinatal complications etc) which are statistically associated with poor developmental outcomes. In this sense resilience is associated with ‘overcoming the odds’, that is developing normally in spite of the presence of a large number of risk factors (Masten et al., 1991; Werner, 1993; Werner et al., 1996). The consideration of these kinds of ‘risk factors’ is relevant here as there are likely to be, among refugees, children who could be described ‘at risk’ even without the additional risks associated with being a refugee. Poor developmental outcomes for these children might be attributable to their ‘at risk status’, rather than to the fact that they are refugees. It is this perspective also that draws our attention to the potential long-term developmental consequences of adversity for refugee children. As the literature suggests that it is the cumulative effect of a number of stressors that is critical in terms of outcomes the kinds of ‘risk factors’ described in the developmental literature need to be considered in addition to any factors specific to the refugee experience in determining the level of need or ‘at risk status’ of a person (Garmezy, 1991; McKelvey, Mao, & Webb, 1992). These ‘regular risk’ factors, likely to be represented in a refugee population at the same rate as in any other population, include contextual, environmental and individual factors, such as repeated childhood illness, divorce of parents, and foster home placement (Werner et al., 1996). In addition there are a number of ‘risk’ factors that refugees are more likely to be exposed to than other populations as a result of their particular circumstances. These include pre-migration factors (eg prolonged separation from care-giver, father absent, departure or death of older sibling or close friend) as well as ongoing / current factors (eg change of residence, change of schools) (Werner et al., 1996).

Stress and coping perspective

A second conceptualisation of ‘resilience’ is portrayed in the ‘stress and coping’ literature. Here resilience is defined as “... sustained competence despite severely challenging circumstances.” (Masten et al., 1991, p. 430). The risk factors considered

are acute or chronic major life stressors, and the focus of research is much more on short term functioning. Here resilience is effective coping. It is this approach which would concern itself quite directly with some of the pre- and post migration experiences specific to refugees (experiences of stressful events, loss, and altered life circumstances) and the refugee's immediate way of coping. Resilience here is seen as a certain stress-resistance.

Recovery perspective

The third approach conceptualises resilience as 'the capacity for recovery'. By definition acute trauma overwhelms coping resources. No one is expected to maintain a high level of functioning, or to 'cope' immediately following extreme threat or disaster. However, over time the extreme trauma responses are expected to abate (unless life circumstances are permanently altered), and resilience in this case is the capacity for recovery (Masten et al., 1991).

The process of resilience

Research into the phenomenon of 'resilience' shares the challenges of developmental research, and that is the inherent difficulty of studying a dynamic and recursive process. It is important to understand some of the issues involved in order to be able to draw conclusions about results of such research and assess their relevance for potential interventions (Masten et al., 1991). Above all it is important to note that from results of correlational research causality cannot ever be inferred. Issues around the 'nature – nurture' debate also come into it. Mostly it is acknowledged that the focus of investigations should be on the interaction between an individual with the environment (Freitas & Downey, 1998).

Resilience can be described as a process of development which results from stressful events or significant challenges. The process is an interactive, recursive one, in which both environment and personality play a part. What develops are both: individual as well as contextual resources, or as Blechman puts it "... The capacity for resilience evolves over the life-span within the total context of developmental influences." Blechman (in press, p. 6). To illustrate this an example: Difficult children might not attract the attention of potential mentors. They might also be less likely to have opportunity to develop good social skills, or a positive view of themselves (Radke-Yarrow & Brown, 1993; Werner, 1993). Thus a difficult temperament might be predictive of a lesser capacity for resilience by limiting the likelihood of development of both personal and contextual resilience factors in a person's life. However, within the context of a school-based social skills training programme – the development of social skills could still be fostered, and a school-counsellor could make it his / her business to be a caring presence in such a child's life – thus altering his / her predicted developmental trajectory.

Resilience factors are at times quite situation specific (Cicchetti & F.A., 1997; Freitas & Downey, 1998; Luthar, Doernberger, & Zigler, 1993). Lists of common resilience factors do not necessarily apply to all people in all situations. For example, Cicchetti and Rogosch (1997) found that children who had been abused, did not trust the camp counsellor, therefore not utilising the environmental resilience factor 'caring adult'. Instead self-esteem, autonomy, mastery, and self-determination predicted resilient outcomes for abused children. Interventions for abused children therefore need to focus on fostering these intra-individual resilience factors, rather than providing

environmental scaffolds in the shape of caring adults. Similarly, stressful events can erode personal resources in a way that the capacity for resilience becomes diminished. For example, depression in response to stress often leads to a deterioration of family functioning (Del Medico, Weller, & Weller, 1996; Kaslow, Deering, & Racusin, 1994) (rather than poor family functioning predicting depression). An understanding of the dynamics of resilience is therefore needed to facilitate the development of effective interventions – and give insight into why sometimes interventions do not work.

The capacity for resilience.

Under normal circumstances psychological development is a highly buffered process (Masten et al., 1991). That means the kinds of factors that prevent psychopathology are present in most people's lives to a sufficient degree to enable them to deal with common challenges adequately. In this sense we all have a large capacity for resilience. It is in the face of extreme challenges, those that exceed most people's coping resources, that only the resilient (by definition) escape adverse outcomes. What is it that these people have in addition to the 'normal' buffering processes that helps them to survive such challenges unscathed, or is it that they are able to maintain existing buffers where others would see them be eroded as a result of the challenging circumstances?

Traditional approaches to resilience concerned themselves with lists of traits and factors associated with resilience. More recently the focus is on attitudes and cognitive systems that promote or perpetuate resilience, things like optimism, humour, and control beliefs for example (Freitas & Downey, 1998; Masten et al., 1991). It is those kinds of things that enable individuals to consistently maintain an adequate level of buffers despite extreme levels of risks and adversity at times, and therefore represent something like a greater 'capacity for resilience'. Blechman (in press) describes ego-resilience, which is a tendency to exhibit resourceful, flexible responses to novel or stressful situations, associated with children who grow through and beyond difficulties. High ego-resilience is associated with high levels of empathy, reasoning and problem solving ability, conscientiousness, and openness to experience. Is it the individuals' high levels of these attributes that lead them to create for themselves consistently more resilient circumstances? For refugees these factors are among the things that they bring to the situation.

This does not mean that people less well-endowed with these attitudes and cognitive systems cannot achieve resilient outcomes to the challenges they face. They might need more external help and support in ensuring that their inherent resources are not overwhelmed by the demands of extremely challenging circumstances. Refugees are likely to have faced (or to face) extreme challenges. In addition they are likely to experience circumstances that rob them of existing support structures and resilience factors, both internal and external (the things they bring to the situation). For example, a supportive family network might be lost through death, separation, displacement, or threatened by high levels of depression. A sense of self-efficacy, or internal locus of control might be eroded by disempowering experiences, such as victimisation, abuse, and the helplessness commonly associated with experiences in refugee camps (Ekblad, 1993).

The literature generally lists three types of resilience factors:

1. *Individual: such as Internal Locus of Control, problem solving ability, agreeableness, self-reliance and good self-management skills, high IQ, physical attractiveness, a sense of humour.*
2. *Familial: healthy family functioning, a 'resilient' family, structure and rules in household, family size (not too many siblings), required helpfulness (looking after younger siblings), shared values and a sense of coherence.*
3. *And contextual / institutional: supportive neighbourhoods, close peer friends, access to special services, (including health and educational), additional care-takers, existing support for mothers outside the household, financial security, religious affiliations, positive school experiences, and the presence of a caring adult or mentor.*

Resilience as outcome (what happens)

What it is that constitutes resilient outcomes depends on the research perspective. In the developmental literature resilient outcomes to developmental challenges would be 'normal healthy development', characterised by on-time attainment of developmental milestones, in the cognitive, emotional, social and moral domains. The stress literature concerns itself more with immediate short-term outcomes, such as adaptive and maladaptive responses to stress, or "effective adaptation in the environment" (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998, p. 206). Maladaptive responses to stress are either externalising responses (evidenced by behaviour problems, delinquency and the like) or internalising responses (depression, suicidality and other self-injurious behaviours). Both, maladaptive as well as adaptive responses to stress are seen as attempts by the individual to deal with the situation, so are essentially functional (at least in the short term). Resilient outcomes in this case can be promoted by reducing the stress and / or training alternative, adaptive coping responses. Adaptive coping responses, according to Blechman (in press) are always essentially pro-social.

Lastly, in cases of acute or prolonged adversity, where trauma is evident and any sense of maintained functioning is unlikely, resilient outcomes are associated with good recovery from trauma. Trauma symptoms in children are similar to those in adults and the best predictor of short-term trauma symptoms is the psychological proximity of the threat to the child. That is children whose immediate family has been under direct threat are more likely to suffer symptoms than children whose more distant relatives have experienced threat. In addition children are also affected by the way their parents respond to the threat, or by the way that parenting patterns might be altered as a result of the parents' experiences of threat (Masten et al., 1991).

A call for caution (limitations):

Resilient children, people who have overcome adversity more successfully than the norm, are not invulnerable. The resilience that has developed is not a permanent guarantee that the same individuals will not ever be overcome by some future adversity. Even resilient people have limits to their resources. When they encounter circumstances that overcome these resources, they too will be overwhelmed by them.

In addition, having survived adversity does not mean that these people do not bear any scars. Some suggest that resilience creates its own vulnerability. Even resilient children need help and support to overcome the sadness, the loss of trust, resulting from their experiences (Garmezy, 1991; Luthar et al., 1993).

Finally, the development of resilience can be quite domain specific. Just because a person responded with resilience to one specific situation does not mean that the same person will exhibit the same resilience in a different situation. Also, different situation might require different kinds of resources. Known resilience factors may not function as such for all people in all situations (Cicchetti & F.A., 1997; Del Medico et al., 1996; Luthar et al., 1993).

Issues specific to refugees

There are not many studies that have researched 'resilience' in the context of the refugee experience. However, the kinds of specific 'risk' factors refugees are likely to encounter are well known. Pre-migration factors include: experiences of war, famine, persecution, violence, flight, loss of home, family, friends, a way of life, and involuntary migration. Current and ongoing factors of the refugee situation might also affect coping. Ekblad (1993) for example suggests that the sociocultural context of refugee stress may play a considerable role. The culture of origin may determine what is experienced or interpreted as stress, how to cope appropriately, and the kinds of coping strategies available. Therefore – one needs to be cautious about the generality of both 'known' risk as well as resilience factors where refugees are concerned, and consider the way that what refugees bring to the situation, and the specifics of the host environment interact.

An additional source of stress for refugees in fact might be a disjunction between such expectations in the culture of origin and the host culture. Some factors, which might serve as resources in the home culture might represent a stressor in the host culture. For example, church affiliation is cited in the literature as a resilience factor. However, if a strong church affiliation serves to alienate the new immigrant from the host culture, this might turn into a risk factor. Similarly, a higher parental educational status is usually associated with better outcomes for children. For refugees however this is not the case, probably because highly educated refugees rarely find employment at their level in the host nation, and the resulting loss of status has negative side-effects (such as depression, loss of self-esteem) which impact adversely on the children in the family (Montgomery, 1996).

Refugees are highly likely to experience a large number of known stressors or risk factors – at a time when they are also removed from a lot of existing contextual and personal resources by their experiences and by displacement. The literature stresses that it is not any one individual stressor that is particularly damaging, but the cumulative effect of a number of stressors present. At the same time refugees find themselves in a situation where they are likely to have limited access to contextual support (friends, a supportive neighbourhood etc) and where even well developed personal resilience factors (like good social skills) might be of limited use without language competencies in the host country. Therefore, the refugee situation is likely to challenge even those individuals who had developed resilience previously in their home country.

Schools in the host culture are one of the more consistent points of contact for new immigrants with the host culture. As such schools are in powerful position to impact positively in the lives of refugees. Schools have been identified as a potential source of resilience, if people have positive experiences here, and / or find there a mentor, teacher, or other caring adult (Werner, 1993). In addition to this schools could do a lot

to specifically promote resilient outcomes for refugees, by facilitating the development of both personal and contextual resilience factors in their lives. Specific suggestions for how this can be accomplished are presented in the conclusions.

Conclusions

The resilience literature offers a dynamic and comprehensive perspective to the refugee situation with a positive focus on good outcomes and possible interventions. Though little can be done about what occurred in the past in the lives of refugees (what the person brings to the situation), knowledge of the refugee's pre-migration experiences and contexts will give a clearer picture of a particular child's 'at risk' status, and hence level of need. It might also offer insight of appropriate buffers or scaffolds that might be implemented or offered in the current situation, to aid the child in accomplishment of the task, that is successful adaptation to a new set of circumstances. Interventions can be put in place to enhance or add to the factors that already exist in the environment to promote the development of resilience. School based interventions could be structured such that known environmental based resilience promoting factors could be put in place, and all would benefit. Potential school based interventions include:

- Availability of a caring adult or mentor (teachers or counsellors who look out for children in need).
- A nurturing accepting, and caring school climate characterised by tolerance and acceptance, including structured opportunity for social interaction (peer support programmes etc), which will maximise the opportunity for newcomers to make friends and find a supportive social network.
- Programmes or philosophies that promote the development of personal resources, such as self-esteem, internal locus of control, and good social skills.
- Teaching the host language to both children and adults will facilitate the development of social networks and decrease the likelihood of role-reversal occurring, which could threaten family functioning.
- The development of social networks can be further strengthened by organised school wide activities, allowing refugees to meet local people, as well as each other.
- Counsellors and teachers could be made aware of the children's need and make themselves available as a potential friend or mentor.
- Group processes in class might facilitate the development of friendships for refugees.
- Making local information available can alleviate some of the stress associated with relocation.
- Understanding maladaptive behaviour as fundamentally functional may enable teachers to respond by teaching alternatives (rather than punishment), or recognising it as indicative of problems that need intervention in the form of therapy.

Chapter 5

Issues of migration

A central feature of the refugee experience is migration; that is movement from a familiar place, 'home' to a different place, usually a foreign country and culture. The following chapter deals with issues shared by people, including refugees, who migrate and therefore experience displacement and often contact with another culture as well. It will outline the factors contributing to displacement and acculturation. The chapter first examines general theoretical frameworks, and then relates these to the specifics of the refugee situation in terms of our model. To this end pre-and post-migration factors will be considered and how they affect refugees' ability to successfully accomplish the tasks faced in migrating, to a different place and a different culture. These issues are located within an ecological perspective that takes account of both the physical and the social environment, as detailed in Bronfenbrenner's model of human development.

In chapter two the stressful effect of migration on individuals has been discussed in terms of loss, grief and trauma. This current chapter represents a discussion of issues around migration from an ecological perspective, focussing on the nature of interactions between individuals and their environments and the between and within group processes, both in terms applicable to all migrant populations and considering the specifics of the refugee situation.

Displacement

The effects of displacement on people's psychological well-being have been studied from a number of theoretical perspectives, including "the psychology of place" (Fullilove, 1996), and stress theories (Ekblad, 1993). Displacement involves a great deal of disruption to everyday life. People experience even moving house within the same town as stressful. There is a loss of attachment, routines and the ease associated with familiarity, and a need to orient the self in a new space, develop new routines, and a positive identity associated with the new locality. Displacement also creates a lot of time-consuming work. Refugees have to cope with the stresses associated with physical upheaval under the worst imaginable set of circumstances, without being able to prepare for it, often without hope of ever being able to return to their home place. This happens at a time when their personal, social and material resources are likely to be already exhausted.

The saying "Home is where the heart is" reflects common notions of 'home' as a place of emotional security, a place which is part of our identity, and where we 'belong'. The 'Psychology of Place' considers the importance of a physical locality for psychological health. It assumes that all individuals strive for a sense of belonging to a place in terms of three psychological processes: familiarity, attachment and identity. A 'good enough' home, functions as a geographical centre which allows us to be productive and creative, giving expression to our selves. 'Toxic environments' on the other hand threaten health and survival. Loss of 'home' may lead to 'nostalgia' and 'homesickness' (Ekblad, 1993; Fullilove, 1996; Vantilburg, Vingerhoets, &

Vanheck, 1996). Encouraging a sense of belonging following migration is seen as the ultimate goal of recovery efforts (Fullilove, 1996).

Stress theories focus on the stresses associated with relocation. The demands placed on the individual by the need to adjust to a new environment or situation are, by definition, stressful. This is apparent from the following definition of 'stress' by Ekblad (1993) where "... 'stress' denotes stereotyped physiological 'strain' reactions in the organism when it is exposed to various environmental stimuli, changes in, or pressures and demands to adjust to, the environment." (p. 160). The extent to which people are able to successfully accomplish the task of settling into a new place depends on a number of factors: premigration experiences and personal resources (what refugees bring to the situation), social networks and contextual / cultural elements) and potential ongoing stressors.

What they bring

Many of the premigration factors, which impact on refugees' ability to deal with the task of successfully relocating, have been discussed in a previous chapter in this report. These are experiences of trauma, loss and grief that are a part of the total refugee experience, and the impact they have on individuals, their personal coping resources and hence their ability to adapt. Personal resources, such as flexibility, good health, decision-making strategies, adaptability, social skills, and an internal locus of control and so on have a direct impact on the refugee's ability to adjust to the new locality (Vantilburg et al., 1996). In addition to these personal factors refugees might also bring with them social support structures and contextual factors which could facilitate a successful accomplishment of the task of relocation. Such as existing social support in the shape of intact family units – or close friends and neighbours who all make the same journey.

Premigration factors which impact negatively on children's ability to adapt to a new place include the cultural distance between the home and the new place (Vantilburg et al., 1996). Factors specific to refugee populations include things like experiences of direct violence, an apathetic or unstable mother (parental mental health), a higher educational level for the father, separation from a parent and a lack of information about the flight. Buffering factors are an optimistic mother and social support (Ekblad, 1993; Montgomery, 1996). Interestingly, though a high parental educational level is generally associated with better outcomes for children (eg Werner, 1993), for refugee children this appears not to be the case. For these parents a high level of education is not necessarily associated with employment in well-paid, high status jobs in the host country (Ekblad, 1993; Kanal & Adrienne, 1997; Montgomery, 1996).

The task

Part of the task which faces the refugees, is the task of settling into a new place, orienting the self in a new location. To begin with the refugees need to come to terms with their situation including coping with the loss of their home and familiar way of life (Vantilburg et al., 1996). The process of adapting to a new place and lifestyle includes finding one's bearings geographically, and getting used to different ways of doing things. School children have to get used to a new route to school (maybe even new and unfamiliar modes of transport) and find their way around that new school geographically as well as negotiating their way through its organisational and social structures. Adapting to a new place also involves the process of establishing new

social networks, making friends and forming new attachments and developing a healthy sense of belonging to the new place (Fullilove, 1996). All these things can only be accomplished if the demands of the situation do not outweigh the coping resources of individual refugees.

Existing Factors

Some potential barriers and facilitators to the task of adaptation may be inherent in the new geographical and social environments. Existing structures within a locality (including schools) might either hinder or facilitate the accomplishment of the adaptation task faced by refugees. Potential facilitating factors include the availability of introductory orientation programmes to the new country (and school), along with existing procedures to welcome newcomers, and attitudes in the local population such as acceptance of diversity, inclusiveness, warmth and friendliness. Conversely, local structures and attitudes might be such that they represent barriers (Ekblad, 1993; Fullilove, 1996; Vantilburg et al., 1996).

In addition, the geographical and cultural distance between the place of origin of the refugees and the host nation and the voluntariness of the migration are important predictors of outcomes. Forced migration, (which tends to apply to refugees) particularly is often associated with vulnerability, poverty, dependence and helplessness (Ekblad, 1993; Vantilburg et al., 1996).

What is done / can be done

Environmental barriers and facilitators are amenable to intervention. Facilitators can be developed and barriers can be removed. Fullilove (1996) suggests that helping refugees to re-establish a health –promoting habitat and affirm their sense of belonging are essential. To do this one needs to ensure that people live in a ‘good enough’ place, feel settled at home and in the neighbourhood, contribute to the care-taking of the environment (both personal and shared), know their neighbours and interact with them to solve communal problems. This can be achieved in a series of steps including working together to rebuild former activities, attending to shared emotional needs, such as mourning the lost place, and maintaining rituals of the old place as well as participating in the rituals of the new place (Fullilove, 1996).

Schools are major socialising agents and points of contact between the refugees and their new country. Schools play a vital part in helping immigrant children understand the new country, find social support, access to trusted people and experience acceptance. This enables them to become a meaningful part of their new home (Vantilburg et al., 1996). (See also Chapter 6)

What happens

Homesickness, depressive and somatic symptoms as a result of relocation are most frequent among children (Ekblad, 1993). Developmental delays due to the disruption and difficulties in adapting to a new environment are also common among children (Ekblad, 1993). ‘Nostalgia’, by definition is the sadness that comes from longing for a familiar place, and was once recognised as an affliction which affected sailors, soldiers and others who journeyed from home for extended periods of time (Fullilove, 1996). This kind of sadness will impede refugees’ ability to adapt to a new place, as well as affect their functioning in general (Vantilburg et al., 1996). These are the negative outcomes associated with migration in terms of a change of locality.

The integration of the immigrants into the new place so that they are able to participate fully in its activities, be economically independent and settled in terms of having a sense of belonging are important goals. For children this includes acquiring the host language so that they can fully and successfully participate in school life and become a meaningful part of the new place. To achieve this they need to make the transition to the new place while maintaining adaptive functioning.

Acculturation

Emminghaus (1987) suggests that there are at least two distinct approaches to considering the role of culture in the refugee situation. The first is that of a clinician considering the implications of working in a bi-cultural situation. The second approach is that of considering refugees as a particular group of people (albeit a rather disadvantaged and needy one) in a culture-contact situation. This section will focus largely on the second of these approaches.

One of the well-defined sources of stress and difficulty encountered by refugees stems from their need to learn to live within or alongside a different culture. The 'Psychology of Acculturation' deals with the psychological adaptations individuals have to make when they come into contact with another culture. It is the study which "seeks to understand continuities and changes in individual behaviour that are related to the experience of two cultures through the process of acculturation." (Berry, 1995, p. 457) and is distinct from the main body of cross-cultural psychology, which concerns itself with comparative examinations of psychological similarities and differences between members of different cultural groups. This latter approach, which links individual behaviour to membership of a culture is also relevant to the treatment of refugees, particularly in relation to trauma, stress and culturally appropriate interventions. Some of the relevant findings have been highlighted in Chapter two of this review. This section then limits itself to a discussion of 'acculturation' as defined above and as distinct from 'displacement', because migration is not a necessary requirement for cross-cultural contact. Cross-cultural contact can occur in a number of ways other than as a result of migration, including via the media (TV, internet etc), or when one society is 'colonised' or invaded by another.

Theories of Acculturation

In the 1930s acculturation was studied within anthropology, and the earliest definitions of acculturation are from within that discipline (see eg Mickelson, 1993). Acculturation here is considered primarily on a population level, as a group process. More recently a focus on the psychological aspects of acculturation has led to the development of theoretical frameworks within that discipline (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995). Psychological acculturation "refers to the process by which individuals change, both by being influenced by contact with another culture and by being participants in the general acculturative changes under way in their own culture." (Berry, 1995, p. 460). Berry's model considers antecedents, processes and consequents of acculturation at both the population and the individual level and focuses on the attitudes, the behaviour changes in individuals, and the stresses associated with the process for individuals. What follows is a brief description of this model as well as an attempt to relate relevant findings from the anthropological perspective to this model.

Pre-contact factors (what they bring)

A required situation for acculturation to occur is that there be contact between two cultures. How acculturation then proceeds depends on a number of variables. In principle it is possible that both cultures are of equal status, but generally speaking one is dominant (the 'donor' culture) and the other one is the acculturating group (the receptor), which is expected to undergo the most changes as a result of the contact. That is not to say that the dominant culture does not change as well as a result of the cross cultural contact. Pre-contact variables, which affect the course of acculturation in both cultures include the following: Purpose of the contact, (eg migration for economic reasons, or invasion for the purpose of colonisation), length, permanence, size of the populations, policies (pluralistic goals versus strategies for assimilation for example), and cultural qualities (eg. how traditional / flexible) (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995; Bishop & Glynn, 1998; Cushner, 1998a; Ogbu, 1995a; Ogbu, 1995b).

One factor considered to be an important predictor of outcomes from a number of perspectives is the voluntariness of the cross cultural contact (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995; Ogbu, 1995a; Ogbu, 1995b). For refugees the situation is such that their migration is usually involuntary (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996). In addition refugees often do not have the option of returning home. These factors predispose refugees for developing an oppositional cultural frame of reference (Ogbu, 1995a; Ogbu, 1995b) and negative acculturation attitudes (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995), predictive of less desirable outcomes. An oppositional cultural frame of reference develops as a result of cross cultural contact in which the minority group is subordinate, disadvantaged as a result and consequently develops a cultural frame of reference that includes attitudes, behaviours, and speech styles which are stigmatised by the dominant group. At the same time attitudes, behaviours and ways of speaking of the dominant culture are rejected by the subordinate group – who have thus an oppositional frame of cultural reference. Attitudes to acculturation as conceptualised by Berry can be either the consequences or the predictors of the acculturation process. Negative attitudes to their own or the host culture are often associated with psychological conflict for the individual, and a possible consequence can be acculturative stress, which is accompanied by undesirable life-changes for the individual or a community (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995; Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996).

Many of the other factors that affect acculturation outcomes will be specific to particular refugee and host populations, such as the cultural and geographical distance between the two groups involved (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996). The fact that two groups who are different come into contact creates a situation of conflict. Often there is a power imbalance, in that one group has less of the knowledge and tools needed to succeed. Also, people tend to find interactions with people who are different from themselves difficult, even aversive, and tend to prefer interactions with people who are similar (Ogbu, 1995a; Ogbu, 1995b). These factors contribute to the development of undesirable sets of circumstances such as the development of oppositional cultural frames of reference and marginalisation, which will be discussed in more detail in the following section. However, as Ogbu (1995a, 1995b) suggests, it is not being different which is damaging, but how the differences are interpreted.

Changes during acculturation (the task)

Changes that occur as a result of acculturation can be economic, political, demographic or cultural, and the number and extent of changes that occur may be a

measure of the extent to which acculturation has occurred (Berry, 1995). On a group level the task for the acculturating population is to interpret the situation such that it allows members of the group to acquire the tools of the host culture, in work and education, enabling them to be successful and independent participants in the mainstream culture's activities, without compromising their own cultural identity. The development of an oppositional frame of cultural reference will compromise the ability of individuals to acquire the tools of the mainstream culture without fear of losing group membership status. How the culture-contact will be interpreted by the acculturating group depends largely on the voluntariness of the contact. Involuntary cultural minorities are at risk for developing an oppositional frame of reference as they are often also subordinate and disadvantaged compared to the mainstream culture. The impact of their collective problem of a low status may force the group to seek collective solutions, which will foster the development of strong in-group identities. Between group differences then become markers of group membership and collective identity. Under these circumstances it becomes very difficult for individual minority group members to cross the cultural boundaries. To acquire tools, attitudes and values of the mainstream culture, means to lose their own cultural identity. Individuals who do so may experience anxiety and opposition from other members of their minority group. Ultimately the consequence might be to lose group membership and their own cultural identity (Ogbu, 1995a; Ogbu, 1995b).

On the other hand cultural minorities which may be just as different from the mainstream culture but are voluntarily in the cross-cultural contact situation are likely to have different attitudes. They are likely to see the between group differences as barriers to overcome. The acquisition of the majority culture's tools, norms and values for the purpose of upward mobility and success within the mainstream culture does not threaten their group membership or cultural identity. Members of such groups are free (and often encouraged by their peers) to acquire the ways of the mainstream culture without fear of losing their 'in-group' membership, or their own cultural identity. It is in these terms that Ogbu explains different outcomes for different cultural minorities, as evident in the US for example where Asian Immigrants tend to adapt successfully, and yet black Americans still suffer from the long term trans-generational group effects of an oppositional cultural identity (Ogbu, 1995a; Ogbu, 1995b).

There is however also considerable individual variability (Cole, 1996). Not all members of an acculturating group change to the same extent, or even in the same direction. It is variability between individuals that is, primarily, the focus of the psychology of acculturation. Within this framework the task for individuals as they acculturate is the same as outlined above, to successfully acquire those tools of the host culture needed to function successfully within it. Specifically, individuals must acquire 'cultural competence' sufficiently to enable them to "... carry out productive work and interact effectively with other individuals to achieve valued ends." (Gardner, 1995, p. 228). Aspects of culture to be mastered exist in three domains: the physical world, the world of man-made artefacts, and the social world. Intellectual competencies of particular importance include the acquisition of the particular symbol system used, which includes formal language, but also dance, art and rituals for example (Gardner, 1995). Associated with this are meanings, values, and goals. Children need this knowledge to be able to adapt to and function within cultural

institutions such as schools sufficiently to gain access to culturally valued knowledge and expertise (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995).

Berry (1987; 1995) classified four possible varieties of acculturation – some adaptive and some associated with less desirable behavioural outcomes for individuals. Each is predicted by a different set of circumstances. *Assimilation* is the likely path of acculturation in a situation where the acculturating individual does not wish to retain their culture of origin and seeks frequent interaction with the host culture. Outcomes associated with assimilation are the acquisition of the norms, language and values of the host culture accompanied by the loss of the culture of origin. The converse of assimilation is *separation* predicted by a situation where the acculturating individual wishes to hold on to his / her own cultural values and norms and at the same time avoids contact with the host culture. In this scenario the individual is unlikely to acquire the tools (language, values and ways of doing things) needed to function fully in the host culture, but maintains their own cultural identity. *Integration* is likely when an individual wishes to do both: to hold on to his / her own culture and acquire the values, norms and tools associated with the host culture. This is considered to be the most positive option. The tools and values of the host culture are acquired additively, that is without loss of the native culture (Cole, 1996; Kanak & Adrienne, 1997). The least adaptive option is *marginalisation*, which occurs when individuals neither maintain their culture of origin, nor acquire the host culture. Associated with this is often the lack of any fully functional language competency. Marginalisation is a likely outcome when individuals have negative attitudes to their own culture of origin as well as to the dominant culture. This is likely for individuals in groups with an oppositional frame of cultural reference. Members of such groups may reject their own culture due to the negative perceptions of it in the dominant culture without being able to acquire the tools and values of the dominant culture. This may explain some of the difficulty experienced by members of certain minority cultures such as black Americans (Mickelson, 1993; Ogbu, 1995b) and Maori in New Zealand (Bishop & Glynn, 1998).

Acculturation is essentially a developmental phenomenon involving change within an individual over time. It is bi-directional, and both the acculturating individual and the host culture change, though usually there is one dominant culture and it is individuals of the non-dominant culture who experience the bulk of the changes. Further, acculturation may be uneven over domains, that is individuals may seek assimilation economically (for example in work), while remaining separate in other domains, such as religious affiliation, or parenting practices (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995).

Existing Factors

The existing factors influencing the way acculturation occurs in individuals are largely on a group / national level. These are factors likely to shape the acculturation attitudes of the acculturating individuals. The effect of voluntariness of the migration is well documented, not only on a population level, but also for individuals (Berry, 1987; Berry, 1995; Cushner, 1998b; Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996; Ogbu, 1995b). Indeed some suggest that the problems black Americans experience today are to some extent a legacy of their forced migration (Cushner, 1998b). Not only are groups of involuntary migrants at risk for developing an oppositional frame of reference as described by Ogbu, but as individuals they are also at risk for developing negative attitudes to the host culture, and their own culture. In addition attitudes towards

migrants in the host country can also shape the development of acculturation attitudes in migrants. If they encounter hostility and segregation for example chances are that migrants will view the host culture more negatively than if they are met with tolerance and invited to participate fully in life in the host nation.

Whether or not migrants view their own culture of origin positively may depend in part on premigration factors, such as specific experiences, or the degree of traditionalism present in their own culture. However, attitudes and policies in the host country will also impact on this. Pluralistic societies, which value diversity, equity, and practice tolerance are more likely to foster the maintenance of positive attitudes by immigrants to their culture of origin. To what extent immigrants are able to maintain their own cultural identity will also depend on the extent to which they are permitted / encouraged, or given the opportunity to engage in cultural practices, and form associations with other members of their own ethnic group.

Schools are one of the prime acculturating agents within societies. It is here that the values, norms and tools of a particular culture are transmitted to its young. Schools are one of the settings where the general attitudes and beliefs held by a given society are apparent in their practices. Schools are also a prime point of contact between new immigrants and the host culture. As such they are ideally situated to implement interventions which foster the development of positive acculturation attitudes in refugees, a positive view of their own as well as the host country's culture.

New Zealand scholars suggest that in this country we have a situation where one ethnic group dominates, still espousing a largely assimilationist ideology. This creates barriers and difficulties for new immigrants who, particularly in educational contexts, are seen and treated as people with deficiencies in need of remediation, (Bishop & Glynn, 1998; Kanal & Adrienne, 1997). This is further exacerbated by a certain level of tension that exists due to the unresolved issues around bi-culturalism in New Zealand.

What is done / can be done

Of particular interest are all the points of contact between the acculturating individual and the host culture – wherever they occur. It is in the interactions between them, at any level, that tensions lie. It is here therefore that solutions need to be sought. However, it is suggested that to be effective change needs to occur at a systems level, with the goal of conflict resolution by removing the barriers erected for the individual by society (Cushner, 1998b; Emminghaus, 1987). This is considered the only 'causal' approach and involves interventions aimed at the policy level and the institutions within a society (including schools). A compensatory approach is directed at the administration within a country in terms of the application of the law for example, as it affects refugees, but also at the interpersonal level where positive intercultural encounters can be fostered by providing information and encouraging communication, thereby reducing misunderstanding. Interventions aimed at individuals are described by Emminghaus as 'props'. These are the kinds of interventions which teach individuals tolerance or coping skills (Emminghaus, 1987).

Schools are important sites for both long-term and short-term interventions at several levels. Cushner (1998b) suggests that a potential long-term goal of education could be to prepare the minds of all of our young people to include a diversity of viewpoints,

behaviours and values, thus preparing them for life in multicultural societies. More immediately, effective schools need to implement strategies and programmes designed to remove the cultural barriers as much as possible. To achieve this in-service teacher education may be required as many teachers are currently “ill-prepared for the diversity in their classrooms” (Cole, 1996; Cushner, 1998b, p.361). Safe multicultural schools are characterised by setting high learning standards and clear behavioural expectations as well as promoting cooperative climates, all within interdisciplinary school-based programmes with an overall ecological orientation (Cole, 1996). This means that the problem is not seen as belonging to the student, but is a result of poor interactions between students and their environment. With this approach the multiple needs of children like refugees can be catered for with the aim of preventing negative outcomes (Cole, 1996).

Cushner (1998b), in a conclusion to an edited book about multicultural education summarises the responses of the various authors of to a scenario he set at the outset for the reader, the scenario being that a large number of refugees suddenly enter their country. The question is: “what do you think should be done in your country?” Though Cushner accepts that the answers are somewhat idealised, there are a number of similarities, reflecting the thinking of a number of leading experts in the field today. These are some of the recommendations made:

1. *Most nations suggest that refugees need some support on arrival (health-care, help with finding employment, access to counselling services and interpreters, and language training)*
2. *Most recommend that all parties should be involved in the design and delivery of programmes and services. Refugee populations should be consulted and represented on school committees as soon as possible.*
3. *Maintenance of language of origin should be encouraged / fostered, using bilingual teachers, in addition to ESL provisions.*
4. *Though a host of other services and agencies may need to be involved, schools were seen as the central settings, where various communities could come together.*
5. *Teacher training in issues related to diversity is seen as essential.*
6. *Pluralism is seen as an overall goal, avoiding assimilationist ideologies.*

In conclusion Cushner cites Banks (1993) who suggests that: “The major goal of multicultural education is to restructure schools so that all students will acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function in an ethnically diverse nation and world” (Cushner, 1998a).

What happens

What happens as a result of cross-cultural contact depends largely, as argued above on the nature of the cultures who meet and the circumstances under which they come into contact. Potential outcomes range from an acculturation experience that is positive and enriching for both cultures involved, to outcomes that lead to the development of transgenerational cycles of disadvantage in the acculturating group, an outcome which in the long run represents an economic and social burden for all (Cole, 1996). In between lies a spectrum of degrees of stress experienced by individuals, and variation in the degree to which they successfully negotiate cultural adaptation to the new society, determining the extent to which they become full participants in its activities. Children who are able to maintain biculturality perform better at school (Cole, 1996).

Promoting biculturality requires an ecological approach involving the provision of multilingual services for students and their families and staff development to improve the interactions between acculturating children and the host culture (Beiser et al., 1995). Such an approach will also be able to better cater for the within group diversity in groups of refugee children (Cole, 1996).

Conclusion

The potential negative outcomes of unsuccessful acculturation by any groups are so far reaching and very difficult to remediate, as can be seen by the problems still experienced many generations later in Black Americans, for example. These kinds of outcomes are largely avoidable, but this requires significant change of attitude at a population, policy and institutional level.

Chapter 6

School and Teacher Effects

As indicated in Chapter 1, we have adopted an ecological view of the refugee child's development and learning in order to better understand how to help schools prepare themselves as well as how best to facilitate the involvement of refugee students and families within schools. For all children, schools fulfil the function of focusing other related systems (e.g., families, community services, etc.) on the task of facilitating children's development in order to prepare the child to contribute to the wider society. The ecological systems view of child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1993) assumes that the child both influences and is influenced by their natural environment. Bronfenbrenner (1993) identifies a variety of layered systems which directly or indirectly influence the child's development, e.g., schools, community, family, helping services, and society. The child is the centre of and embedded within these layered systems which interact with each other and with the child to influence development in very important ways.

One of the major tasks facing the refugee child when arriving in a new country is to adapt to a new school environment. In coming to grips with this task the child brings many potentially facilitating and interfering pre-migration characteristics and experiences, e.g., nature of flight and refugee experience, level of literacy in first language, parental support (see Chapters 2 and 3). One set of post-migration variables that will critically influence the child's adaptation process resides within the school, i.e., characteristics of schools and teachers. It is important to emphasise that not only will the child be required to adapt but schools, teachers and existing students will also need to adapt. The main purpose of this chapter will be to briefly summarise the general literature on school and teacher effects and to then look specifically at these effects within the refugee education context.

School and Teacher Effects

There has been much research that has looked at how the structure and characteristics of schools influence the nature of and interactions between classrooms, teachers and students (Fuller & Clarke, 1994; Jansen, 1995; Waxman & Walberg, 1991). Research on effective schools has a long and varied history and is currently going through major shifts in the focus of and techniques employed to assess school effectiveness (Jansen, 1995). The approach most employed within this area is to identify unusually "effective" schools and identify how they differ from other schools. An effective school is defined as one that consists of students who demonstrate particular positive behaviours (one or more) at rates higher than one would predict given the student, family and community characteristics (Good & Weinstein, 1986). The student behaviours include high scores on standardised tests, good school attendance, low rates of disruptive classroom behaviour or delinquency, a high rate of post-secondary school attendance and high self-esteem.

In general, the following characteristics have been associated with "effective" schools: 1) strong leadership by the principal which creates a commitment to

excellence, 2) a safe school environment, 3) teachers possess positive attitudes and expectations concerning all students' ability to achieve, 4) effective use of instructional time and emphasis on the importance of mastery, 5) comprehensive monitoring of student progress and acquisition of skills, and 6) high levels of parental involvement (Creemers & Scheerens, 1989; Frieberg, Prokosch, Triester, & Stein, 1990; Good & Brophy, 1999; Stringfield & Herman, 1996; Teddlie & Stringfield, 1993).

All of these characteristics of effective schools are important within the context of refugee education, however, because some are particularly salient, we would like to further discuss the role of principals, parental involvement, teacher expectations and school environment.

Principal Involvement and Leadership

The effective schools literature consistently finds that the most effective schools are those which include a principal who is an active leader and who supports the teaching efforts of teachers (Sergiovanni, 1994). In particular, when schools are adopting alternative approaches to teaching or implementing a new curriculum (such as teaching refugee students), Waugh (1995) suggests that principals and administrators play a critical part. Unless teachers are receptive to the changes required within new curricula or the adoption or use of new approaches, the new curricula and programme will fail to be implemented as designed within the classroom. A complex number of factors is likely to affect teacher reactions towards a new curriculum or teaching approach. Those reactions, in turn, will influence subsequent implementation and maintenance efforts. Hall and Hord (1987), in their Concerns Based Adoption Model, suggest that change is a developmental process and that individuals will experience different concerns at various stages of project implementation. A variety of experiments have found that teachers vary widely in their actual adoption and implementation of new approaches and curriculum (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; Molman, Coladarci, & Gage, 1982; Waugh & Punch, 1987). Many researchers have focused on the significant impact of the target community and institutions on the implementation process innovations (Berman & McLaughlin, 1980; Roberts-Gray, 1985). One critical influence on this process is the leadership role played by principals and administrators in supporting the use and implementation of a new approach or curriculum.

In order to ensure that teachers are receptive to new approaches, principals and administrators need to engage in a variety of supportive and promoting activities (Waugh & Godfrey, 1995). First of all, principals need to emphasise the benefits of implementing or taking advantage of the new approach or available services. Secondly, they need to allow and offer support to teachers to tailor the new approach to their specific classroom, their teaching styles and content. Principals who can find some extra time for teachers to plan and communicate with peers will be providing some of the necessary conditions for expanding teacher's roles and, consequently, improving student learning. Thirdly, principals need to create a mechanism that allows teachers to express their concerns about the new programme or initiative and have those concerns answered. The way school resources are employed and the approach used to encourage teachers to interact with one another have a direct influence on the effectiveness of a school (Brophy, 1985; Rosentholtz, 1989; Sizer, 1992). Fourthly, they need to include teachers in decisions about how best to

implement programmes and programmatic changes within their classrooms. Schools where teachers engage in considerable job-related discussion and share in decisions about instructional programmes and staff development are more effective than schools where decision are made by hard and fast procedures and rules (Barth, 1990; Schlechty & Vance, 1983). Finally, principals need to publicly support the new programme or initiative, by at least, identifying and presenting the advantages of the initiative or new opportunity.

Within the context of refugee education, the principal can play a vital role of leading and supporting teacher development and use of new techniques which are particularly useful in helping refugee students adapt to a new school environment. Also, the principal, in essence, acts as a gatekeeper and facilitator for the use and integration of community and agency helping services, which serve an invaluable role within the refugee education context.

Parental Involvement

Parental involvement in education has been found to positively influence student performance and behaviour in schools (Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum, & Aubey, 1986; Lee, 1993; Raywid, 1985). A variety of parental behaviours, from monitoring their child's homework and creating a quiet place to do homework to volunteering in their children's schools and classroom, have been found to be positively related to student academic performance (Henderson, 1987). In addition, secondary schools which foster positive parent-school interactions have been found to be more effective schools (Chubb & Moe, 1990). That is, parents of children in "effective" secondary schools, visited classrooms, were involved in school activities and had regular meeting with teachers. Lee, Bryk and Smith (1993) suggest that attempts to increase parental involvement in schools typically involve one or more of the following strategies: a) parent education programmes, b) functional communities around the school, and c) community control. Parental education programmes which have focussed on training parents to become better home educators and to engage in supportive academic behaviours have produced positive effects on student performance (e.g., Becker, 1984). Developing functional communities around the schools involves schools creating mechanisms for integrating parents and the wider community into the activities of the school. This requires that schools adopt an outreach mentality and to view themselves as a potential centre for community action and activities. Finally, the community control approach advocates that parents gain some control of schools and their administration. This control can range from parents becoming responsible for school site management to parent-school partnerships. This approach is often employed when schools are seen to be insensitive to local community needs which can be due to a variety of factors, e.g., federal educational policy, entrenched interests (Lee, 1993).

In order to increase refugee parental involvement in schools, schools will need to develop parental education programmes and outreach programmes. Schools will need to help parents develop skills (e.g., language) which will allow them to better participate in their child's education experience and support the efforts of schools. In addition, schools will need to develop functional communities that integrate and coordinate services and members from the target cultural community in supporting the education of refugee children.

Teacher Attitudes and Expectations

Although there is some controversy over the direct effects of teacher expectation on student achievement and development (Jussim, Smith, Madon, & Palumbo, 1998; Spitz, 1999), there is clear evidence that teacher expectations influence teacher behaviours within the classroom and their interactions with students (Dusek, 1985; Smith & Sheppard, 1988; Weinstein & McKown, 1998). That is, teachers have been shown to moderate their interactions with students based on their expectations for different levels of achievement or performance (Ennis, 1998). This is important for differential teacher behaviour has been found to be related to differences in student performance and classroom environments (Brophy, 1985). Consequently, in the worst possible instance, teacher behaviours may create a negative snowball effect by virtue of their reactions and feedback to students. Of interest to the context of refugee education is the existence of evidence that individual differences among teachers and also among students moderate expectancy effects (Brophy, 1985). In particular, research has found that teachers who hold rigid stereotypes and social class biases and who tend to differentiate between high and low achieving students are more likely to produce negative expectation effects (Snow, Corno, & Jackson III, 1996). Given that refugees often come from very different cultures and possess different values and goals from those held by members of the country within which they are settling, the potential for conflicting stereotypes or biases to enter into teacher-student interactions becomes more probable. Consequently, initiatives that are aimed at influencing teacher views, knowledge and expectations related to the culture of the incoming refugee students need to be part of any attempt to significantly impact refugee education.

Earlier in this Chapter, we discussed the impact of the principals and administrators on the adoption of new teaching approaches. Although their support is critical, as indicated in Kolbe and Iverson (1981) "the implementation of educational innovations is accomplished by individuals, not institutions. . . change is a highly personal process that entails developmental growth in both feelings about the innovation, and skills in using the innovation (p. 71)." Consequently, it is important to note, that the degree to which teachers are willing to take on a new initiative will be significantly influenced by their attitudes and expectations. These attitudes can be influenced by a wide range of factors from their views on the focus of the approaches (e.g., refugee students) to their views on taking on new initiatives in an already complex classroom. Clearly, within the context of refugee education, it will be important to note and be aware of teachers' concerns about the new approach and new students and to be supportive of their needs.

Safe School Environment

Unless schools are seen to be a safe environment in which one can flourish without being victimised, taunted, bullied, or at worse, physically harmed, then children will be seriously hampered in their attempts to learn and develop. As is evident from recent incidents in schools, particularly in the United States, schools are becoming increasingly unsafe (Nolin, 1996). Within New Zealand, there appears to be an increase in the incidence of violence in schools as well as an overall high level of bullying (Sell, 1999). Bullying is now recognised as a serious problem in many educational systems throughout the world. Estimates indicate that 30% or more of students have either been the victim of a bully or have been a bully at some point in his or her schooling (Snow et al., 1996). According to Olweus (1998), who has done

research on bullying in Scandinavia, United States and other selected European countries, most bullying occurs at school, rather than on the way to or from school, teachers usually do little to stop it and most parents are unaware of it. One of the critical determinants of whether an individual student will be the target of bullying or inappropriate treatment is the degree to which they conform to the prevailing norms or values of the majority culture. In the case of integrating refugee students into schools, there is a high potential for the refugees to be the target of bullying and racism. Schools will need to adopt strict policies and procedures in order to ensure that refugees are not subject to bullying and racism.

Teacher Effects, School Effects and Refugee Education

Facilitating refugee children's adaptation into a new and foreign school system is a complicated process that requires interventions at multiple levels. How a school is organised, its relationship with parents and community, and how teachers interact and instruct students are all factors that will dramatically influence the success of students, in general, and refugee children in particular.

Schools will need to develop specific policies and procedures that focus on ensuring the creation of a mutually adaptive relationship between the refugee child, his/her parents, schools, and surrounding community and helping services (Brizuela & Garcia-Sellers, 1999). These policies and procedures should promote and support the development of: a) clear communication channels between the school and home, b) parental participation in school activities and the child's education, c) home country students' awareness of the refugee community and culture, d) teacher understanding and support for needs and interest of child, family, and culture, e) a safe school environment free from racism and bullying, and f) the integrated use of multiple service providers (Bolloten & Spafford, 1998; Humpage, 1999; Hyder, 1998; Jones, 1998; Jupp & Luckey, 1990; Leiper de Monchy, 1991; Lodge, 1998; Ready, 1991; Richman, 1998; Rutter, 1994a; Sherriff, 1995; Wagner & Lodge, 1995).

One could argue that most schools should already have many of these characteristics (e.g., good communication channels with families, high levels of parental participation and a good induction process). However, within the context of refugee education, the above mentioned areas are crucial to ensuring a safe environment for these children as well as increasing these students learning and self-esteem. It is the special circumstances that surround the children's participation and presence here that create complex and sensitive issues that require well-developed policies as well as further teacher development and change. The following sections of this chapter will review research and literature in the areas listed above and summarise best practice within each of the areas. As is evident, many of the above overlap and interact within the context of schools, parent and children interactions, consequently, each area will be discussed as it becomes relevant to the topic at hand.

Clear communication channels between the school and home

Good communication channels will allow for the possibility of encouraging parents to become involved in school life and their children's learning. One way to open up and facilitate communication between the child, school and parents is through a mediator. The mediator would need to have an in-depth understanding of both the culture of the school as well as of the family and child. In many ways, the mediator can act as a broker to develop good communication channels between the child, school and

parents. Although the mediator can be thought of as an individual, there is no reason to suppose that an organisation or set of individuals could not play this vital role. Brizuela and Garcia-Sellers (1999) found that "mediation" plays an important role in facilitating the child's transition from one culture to the other by helping to develop common perspectives and an area of overlap between home and school. Richman (1998) highlights the importance of employing a mediator working with parents right from the beginning of the parent and child's involvement in schools. Multiple meeting with parents within the first two/three months of the child's entry into the school is identified as critical to building up a relationship with parents. Bolloten and Spafford (1998) in their description of approaches to supporting refugee children in East London primary schools, identify the value of a "Refugee Support Teacher" who in addition to other duties helps with facilitating the communication between teachers, schools, parents and children.

Kelly and Bennoun(1984) and Jupp and Luckey (1990) in their research on the experience of Indo-Chinese refugees in Australia found that students and their parents felt unprepared for the educational system. They also found that the poor communication and exchange of information between parents and schools contributed significantly to the children's poor performance in school. Within the New Zealand context, Humpage (1998) found that for the Somali refugee adolescents in Christchurch schools, the lack of parent school communication was a major obstacle in resolving other refugee student related difficulties. Sherriff (1995) surveyed parents and refugee community organisation involved in meeting the needs of refugee children from the Horn of Africa that were brought to Great Britain. One of the major issues that influenced the quality of children's education was the need for effective communication between parents and schools. Jones (1998) in a summary of a case study of a primary school in Greenwich, England, found that a lack of adequate communication between schools and parents was a significant barrier to the children's adequate progress and education.

Richman (1998) suggests that one role that a mediator or interpreter could fill would be to organise meetings between parents to create a forum for them to voice their concerns and to discuss educational issues. Richman (1998) and Sherriff (1995) also emphasise the importance of creating mechanisms that will support parents acquisition of the native language, e.g., organising language classes at the school, and creating babysitting opportunities for mothers of young children in order for them to attend existing classes.

One of the critical mechanisms which set the tone for communication between parents and schools is the induction process. A good induction process requires both the delivery as well as acquisition of critical information. Pollard and Filer (1996) in their case studies of schools within Great Britain found that how the refugee children and families were welcomed into the school significantly affected the initial progress of the child, and the capacity of the family to provide help.

A good induction process includes: a) getting to know parents and child, b) introducing the school and its policies and procedures to parents and child, c) encouraging parents to become involved in the school, d) assigning a buddy to the refugee child who shares some similarities (hopefully, language), e) introducing the mediator or liason as a contact person for parent and child and, f) a basic social and

educational assessment administered by a bicultural worker (Richman, 1998; van Hees, 1994). According to Richman (1998) and van Hees (1994), social assessments should at minimum include gathering information about who lives with the child, details of moves and changes of caretakers, social familial network, refugee status, housing situation and health problems. The basic educational assessment should include gathering information on languages spoken at home, child's previous education and achievements, child's current English language abilities, parent's education and language literacy and amount of academic support available from home. A bicultural worker will need to be involved with this assessment regime (Richman, 1998; van Hees, 1994).

One of benefits of clear communication between parents and schools is that it may help overcome potential mismatches between prior conceptions, values, and goals of schools and parents. When a refugee enters into a new school system they are not only entering a new educational environment they are also entering a new cultural environment which may be aligned with different values and goals (see Chapter 5). Ogbu (1988, 1986) in his discussion of the mismatch between school and home for disadvantaged children within the United States, indicates that there is often some level of distrust and suspicion surrounding interactions between parents' and the school. He indicates that often teachers describe parents' actions and approaches as interfering with the educational goals of schools, while parents suggest that teachers ignore and even devalue the culture of the home.

One factor that will influence the degree to which cultural difference will interfere with or facilitate the refugee child's adaptation process is whether the children's cultural frames of reference are similar, different or in opposition to the majority cultural frames of reference (Ogbu, 1995b). As discussed in Chapter 5, cultural frames of reference are the correct or ideal way to behave within a culture. Different or oppositional frames of reference will interfere with the child's educational adaptation process. According to Ogbu (1995), involuntary immigrants and refugees are more likely to possess different cultural frames of reference, but in some instances may possess oppositional frames of reference.

Humpage (1998) found that Somali refugee students have very different frames of reference in terms of school behaviour, roles and values. She found tensions between values of home culture and those of the educational culture. In addition, the Somalians' lack of experience with group approaches, lack of writing skills, and difficulty with being on time was found to interfere with appropriate educational progress. Kelly and Bennoun (1984) in their research on the experience of Indo-Chinese refugees in Australia observed that teachers, students, and parents had widely different perceptions about what was happening to students in the education system and what they wanted from it. Rousseau, Drapeau and Corin (1996) found a wide mismatch between teachers' and parents' perception of the difficulties which existed in refugees entering Canadian schools. Parents perceived the cultural gap between family and school as a major problem. Teachers, on the other hand felt, that lack of language ability on the part of the parents was the main cause of the communication difficulties between home and school. It is very likely that both perceptions captured a real problem in the communicative environment between schools and parents.

The clash of cultural values and expectations that occurs when refugee children enter into schools can be eased with proactive planning focused on the development of clear communication channels, well-developed induction schemes, extensive teacher support and training and mechanisms for community outreach and integration. Just as teachers are trained to gather as much information as they can about the individual students, who come into their classrooms, preparing for refugees should follow the same path. The diversity that the refugee children bring to the classroom may in many cases overlap with the cultural and experiential diversity already present in the classroom. Alternatively, however, they may also bring characteristics and behaviours that are new and somewhat unsettling for teachers.

Parental Involvement in Schools

Creating clear communication channels with parents is reciprocally related to increasing parental involvement in schools. That is, clearer communication increases the likelihood that parents will become involved in schools and as parents become more involved in various school activities, communication channels are further developed and solid connections occur between the parents and the school. Consequently, the earlier discussion on the development of clear communication channels and explicit induction procedures should increase the probability that parents become more involved in schools. Encouraging parents to become more involved in the school serves both: 1) the function of increasing their knowledge and level of comfort with the school and its procedures, and 2) allowing the school to gain valuable information about the interest and experiences of the parents and children (Richman, 1998).

Cole (1996) suggests that school can provide multilingual opportunities to increase parent involvement in schools. According to Cole (1996), parents may be reluctant to approach the school given their present circumstances (i.e., focus on adjustment and lack of language skills) and suggests that schools can reach out to refugee parents by getting them involved in volunteer programmes, first language tutoring programmes and by asking them for assistance in identifying appropriate multilingual resources. In addition, after-school activities focused on the development of English language capabilities and parental education classes on enhancing the academic progress of their children will also focus them on increasing their involvement in schools. Finally, regular meetings (as indicated earlier) organised and run by a mediator will go a long way to facilitating parental involvement in schools.

Teacher understanding and support for needs and interest of refugee child, family and culture

Jones and Rutter (1998) suggests that there is a real danger that teachers will harbour some misconceptions about the impact of refugee experiences on refugee children. Not all refugee children are traumatised and in need of specialised help, although some may clearly require extra support (see Chapter 2). In addition, the lack of appropriate experiences and skills (e.g., language) should not be used as a basis on which to assume that refugee children will be at an extreme disadvantage (see Chapter 3). It is important not to develop low expectations for refugee children in terms of their academic capabilities as well as the nature of their future goals. Research on educational provisions for students enrolled in inner city schools within London, suggests that it is likely that refugees will elicit low teacher expectations (DES, 1980).

Humpage (1998) in her review of the efforts in Christchurch to facilitate the adaptation of Somali refugee into schools found that teacher expectations presented a barrier to students to become competent. That is, teachers labelled the refugee aspirations as unrealistic and such expectations influenced their behaviour toward the students.

Sherriff (1995) found in her survey on the integration of African refugees within Great Britain that parents of Somalian and Eritrea children indicated that professionals in health, social services and education had little understanding of their culture, background, lifestyles and the critical differences that exist between refugees and migrants. They were consequently unlikely to take into account the effects of being a refugee in their interactions with refugees. The most effective way to influence teacher expectations about refugee students and what it means to be a refugee is to help them to gain knowledge of the different cultures, values and beliefs of the students which are in the classroom (Bolloten & Spafford, 1998).

In order for teachers to develop "cross cultural competence", teachers need to become self-aware of their own cultural beliefs and values, develop knowledge of information specific to the cultures that exist within his/her classroom and develop skills to engage in each culture (Hyder, 1998). According to Hyder (1998), teachers can facilitate the development of cross cultural competence in their own students by helping students to note the similarities and differences in how children and adults look, speak, dress, etc. and to see differences as positive and not indicative of some type of deficit. Teachers also need to adopt "culturally responsive teaching" approaches that requires that teachers acknowledge cultural diversity in classrooms and support this diversity in instruction by accepting and valuing differences, accommodating different learning styles and building on cultural backgrounds (Sparks, 1989) (see Chapter 7).

Hyder (1998) indicates that teaching which values diversity is critical in the preschool and early years of schooling because it sets the tone for both the refugee and home country students in terms of their views on cultural differences. Clark and Millikan (1986) suggests the use of "home corners" as an important part of any early years setting. "Home corner" are parts of the classroom which have been designated to represent the "home" of children within the classroom. They are useful because they can reflect a variety of homes as well as offering opportunities for children to act out situations they have experienced, e.g., airports, hospital, etc.

Teachers may require extensive support in their attempts to support and encourage cultural diversity within their classrooms. Given the nature of teaching and schools, there may be many instances in which teachers will be so overwhelmed with existing duties that they may not readily jump into learning new approaches to teaching. Humpage (1998) found that teachers in secondary schools in Christchurch possessed cultural blinders in that they actively resisted the idea that they needed to know more about the circumstances of refugee students (from Somali). These teachers already felt it was difficult to make decisions around student needs and introducing another variable based on the refugee experience would add to the complexity of teaching.

In addition, teachers may require much support and understanding in that they may experience feelings of isolation and helplessness, i.e., unsure of how best to deal with trauma and cultural diversity (Melzak & Warner, 1992). Bolloten and Spafford (1998)

suggest that schools "identify an experienced member of staff to liaise with outside agencies and refugee communities, co-ordinate in-service training and staff development, make available information about refugee communities and ensure a consistent approach is shared by all workers, including ancillary and non-teaching staff."

A safe school environment free from racism and bullying

In order to create a positive educational framework which will allow refugee children to integrate easily into a new school environment, they need to feel safe and comfortable. Richman (1998) and Wagner and Lodge (1995) indicate that both the development and enforcement of clear policies on racism and bullying are a critical feature of a safe school environment for refugee students. In addition to integrating their experiences in the curriculum, refugee students will appreciate and value teachers who take racism seriously (Melzak & Warner, 1992). Humpage (1998) in her review of Somali refugee students integration into Christchurch secondary schools documents the ordeals which occurred within schools which involved racist comments and which alienated the students from the educational culture and NZ society.

Rutter (1994) in her review of refugee education initiatives within Great Britain summarises approaches, in a case study format, taken by schools who were particularly effective in dealing with and preventing refugee education problems. In addition to extra academic support for students, teacher support, use of a dedicated support person, and well developed induction policies and procedures, the school curriculum in these effective schools included issues such as human rights, racism and bullying. This proactive approach can potentially eliminate difficult problems and situations, which may arise during the integration of refugees into schools.

In addition, Cole (1996) suggests that we need to build multicultural school communities which promote a multicultural perspective and address the needs of both immigrant and refugee families. Such programmes include such initiatives as a multicultural curriculum, integration of multicultural community services, translation services, English language courses, and multicultural training for teachers. For many schools, transformation into a multicultural community will require multilingual services and staff professional development. Although teachers may already be very familiar with and have adopted a view which can accommodate and value individual differences within the classroom, refugee students may well stretch the teacher far beyond their capabilities. In order for comprehensive multicultural school-based programmes to be instituted schools will need to adopt an ecological orientation to education (Cole, 1996). An ecological multicultural perspective requires that schools and teachers move away from viewing any socialisation or academic student problem as reflective of some underlying dysfunction on the part of the child to viewing these problems as being indicative of a poor fit or interaction between the school environment and the individual student (see Chapter 7). The focus of interventions should be on making the school environment more suitable to the needs of the child.

Integrated use of multiple service providers

As indicated in Chapters 1, refugees arrive in a new country with a plethora of needs and will require a variety of services (educational, medical, vocational, etc.) in order to ease their way into the new cultural environment. The focus of this chapter was

primarily on the interactions between the child, teachers, schools and families. It is, however, critical to note that other systems in the sphere of the child can dramatically increase the child's comfort in adapting to the new school environment. Health providers, government support services, private refugee support services, career and vocational development services, and housing authorities will all play an important part in creating a productive educational environment. One of the critical facilitators for an integrative approach to refugee services would be a national policy on refugee education and services.

Currently within New Zealand, there is no national educational policy relating to refugees. In addition, Humpage (1998) indicates that educators in Christchurch believe there is a need for an improved policy specific to refugee and NES13 students, a National Policy on Languages and a school curriculum specifically for ESOL students. A nation-wide policy on refugee resettlement and education should be established, with adequate funding provided so that the real needs of refugees can be met. Within the context of this policy and funding should be efforts to create a framework or overall mechanism which would integrate the variety of players within the refugee service community. However, without government support and the development of a national policy it will be difficult to engage all the major contributors in an integrated and efficient coordination of services.

Summary, conclusions and best practice

We have taken the view that one cannot understand and, therefore, develop appropriate interventions for helping better educate refugee children if one isolates the different player within this context, i.e., the child, school, family, community, and service providers. The aim needs to be co-ordination of these different entities in order to create a well-orchestrated mutually supportive environment. The key to developing schools, which effectively educate refugee students, is to create mechanisms that facilitate and foster positive and supportive interactions between the different systems (parents, teacher, schools, community and service providers) with the child as the focal point. In order for this to happen, all parties need to have a better understanding of the nature and needs of each other and methods to negotiate mutually satisfying ways of meeting all needs. Specifically, we need to know how to prepare and support teachers and schools to better meet the needs and interest of refugee children and their families? In addition, we need to know how best to prepare and support refugee parents and children to take advantage of the educational and supportive experiences and services that exist within our schools, community and society?

Within this chapter, we have focused primarily on the interactions between the child, school and family. The thread that runs throughout the following issues for consideration is that we need to create a safe and nurturing environment for refugee children. Although we would hope that all schools would meet these criteria, the integration of refugee children into schools requires special consideration due to the multitude of extraordinary issues and experiences that are brought to the educational context by all those involved. It is these extraordinary experiences that can interfere with the development of a safe and nurturing environment.

Effective leadership

Principals play a critical part in the advancement and support of both the development and implementation of within school alternative approaches to teaching refugees as well as the co-ordination and integration of the multiple service providers who contribute to the overall well being of the refugee child. Every effort must be made to get principals on board and well-informed about the needs of refugee children and parents and the variety of services that are available to support refugees. This can take the form of professional development initiatives, workshops and/or booklets that present an overview of services as well as ways to support the implementation of innovative approaches within their schools (cf., van Hees, 1994).

Teacher development

In addition to the acquisition of skills for teaching potentially traumatised children, teachers need to acquire more knowledge about the different cultures represented by refugees and the refugee experiences (e.g., human rights, flight, loss, displacement, etc.) Professional development initiatives aimed at increasing teachers' skills and knowledge would be the best vehicle for accomplishing this. These initiatives should also be used to expand teachers' skill in creating classrooms which are accepting of all cultures and which values and embraces diversity.

Student development

Just as teachers need to expand their knowledge of different cultures, the importance of diversity within classroom, and the plight of refugees, similar initiatives aimed at students should be developed and implemented. This should take the form of new curriculum guidelines and content aimed at helping students from the host country acquire these outcomes. If we focus only on influencing teacher views, attitudes and knowledge within this context, we will be fighting a losing battle. Host country students play a critical role in the development of a safe and supportive school environment for refugee students.

Communication channels

An inability to communicate due to lack of language facility or to a clash of cultural values and beliefs as the potential to disrupt the exchange of information between schools, children and parents within this context. Every effort must be done, therefore, to make sure that parents are able and encouraged to get involved in school activities and their child's education. This requires a multifaceted approach to increasing parental involvement which should include a well-developed induction process, school initiated programmes aimed at supporting parental efforts to increase their language proficiency (adult language classes as well as child-support opportunities), and a dedicated bi-cultural mediator or interpreter whose prime responsibility is the development of links between the family, child, community and schools.

School policies and procedures

Given the potential for discrimination, racism, and bullying which can occur when individuals from different cultures clash, schools should be sure to have very clear anti-racism and anti-bullying policy and procedures developed and disseminated to teachers and students. It is also imperative that teachers take these policies and procedures seriously and are diligent about applying the procedures when racist or bullying situations occur. In addition, schools should include in charters and mission

and visions statements a focus on inclusion and valuing diversity at all levels within the school and community.

Chapter 7

Conceptual and policy issues

The primary purpose of this review has been to distil from the literature suggestions of best practice to facilitate the safe and effective inclusion of refugee students into our schools. Our brief carries a dual focus; a focus on refugee students and factors which may effect their ability to adapt to their new schools on the one hand, and a focus on the ecological factors which impact the school's ability to maximise the successful non-traumatic transition of the refugee into a new culture / learning environment. Discrete but inter-related research has been reviewed considering the impact of trauma and grief, language differences, resilience factors, teacher and school effects, and culture on this process, and a model of the inter-relationships of these factors.

A common theme throughout the separate literatures we have considered is a focus on the child-in-context and a degree of apprehension and concern regarding the destructive power of deficit-model reasoning (based on the assumption that when children fail to learn this is due to a deficit in the individual child) that pervades so much of contemporary educational practice. Clearly, a range of pre-migration, personal, and post-migration factors suggest that refugee children are an identifiable group of students with special educational needs though they may not fit the conventional criteria for Special Education assistance (Cole, 1996). In this light, instructive parallels may be drawn with deficit model thinking in the provision of Special Education whereby many non-conventional background students have been excluded from participating fully in the regular classroom discourse.

Special Education: Deficit or differences

Forness (1981), Moore, et al. (1999a) and others in reviewing the special education literature have identified two major currents, which have resulted in a sea change in the resourcing and provision for special needs related to behaviour and learning in education in recent years. The first of these is a shift in values throughout the western world toward greater equity for all, and the second is a change in our theoretical understanding of the processes involved in learning and in the way we view children with learning and behaviour problems. These changes deserve some consideration.

The shift in values is evident not just in the context of education. The civil rights movement in the United States, changes in the status of women and the working class over the past 40 years, and the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, all testify to an increased appreciation of the rights of individuals within society. The passage of the Human Rights Act on 19 August 1993 codified this change in cultural values in this country, acknowledging that race, gender and ability are not grounds for discrimination, including exclusion from mainstream education. This groundswell shift in cultural values is reflected by changes observed in many countries in the provision of education for people with disabilities, moving from no special provision at all, through segregated settings towards integration into the mainstream school, and then inclusion (Miron & Katoda, 1991). This significant change in values dictates a

new discourse, a new way of thinking about special education (McLeskey & Waldron, 1996).

The second change has been characterised by some as a broadening of our conception of the individual (Brinker, 1990; Schmid, 1987), or at least as an extension of our understanding of the variables which should be subjected to analysis in diagnosis, assessment and intervention planning (Barnett, Lentz, Bauer, & Macmann, 1997). Through the 1960s and 1970s special education practitioners and researchers generally tacitly assumed that any and all problems of students were located within the students themselves (see for example Deno, 1970). At that time educational psychologists and others involved in assessment for special education were typically focussed primarily on the identification and classification of students in need of special instructional programmes. Such assessments were directed in the main on the academic and social skills and deficits of the individual, to discover underlying disabilities or dysfunctions, cognitive strengths and weaknesses in individuals, which could then be remedied through special educational techniques. Influenced in part by the applied behaviour analysts (Nelson & Polsgrove, 1984), ecological psychologists (Barker, 1968; Willems, 1973) and social learning theorists such as Vygotsky and Bronfenbrenner, the field has moved over time to the point where learning is now usually conceptualised in the literature as an interactive and contextualised process (Will, 1988). The environment, both social and physical, is recognised as a powerful determinant of learning and behaviour (Barnett et al., 1997; Cullinan, Epstein, & Lloyd, 1991; Landesman & Ramey, 1989). As a result we see an extension of our understanding of what should be considered in attempting to understand learning and behaviour (Barnett et al., 1997). Adequate assessment and intervention is now understood to involve the examination of both the performance of the individual and of the quality of the ecological context in which learning is to occur (Ysseldyke & Christenson, 1993). As was noted by Schmid (1987) this ecological perspective has changed the focus of interventions in special education “from treatment to teaching and to learning rather than personality change” (p 5).

The two strands described above, in combination, have produced a considerable ethical, philosophical and political press towards educational practices reflecting naturalistic interventions, equity, placement in the least restrictive environment and the inclusion of all students with peers in regular settings. The traditional conceptualisation of special education with its emphasis on classification and individual remediation does not foster the development of these new kinds of solutions. A new paradigm is emerging, based on an inclusionist / ecological perspective of learning and behaviour. This perspective increasingly challenges the traditional assumptions of internal causation and subsequent remediation of identified deficits. This new paradigm postulates that the primary problems facing people with disabilities are external rather than internal (Moore et al., 1999b). The task of educators working within this paradigm is to alter, adapt and improve educational organisations and environments to meet the needs of all students. Such adaptation of environments is a necessary pre-condition for the successful inclusion of all students in regular education (Udvari-Solnar, 1994; Udvari-Solnar, 1995).

Paradigm shift to inclusion

Skrtic (1995) argued that adequate understanding of the concept of inclusion involves such a paradigm shift from individual classification and remediation to creating more

inclusive classroom environments. He deliberately labelled this as a shift in paradigm, rather than simply an issue of implementation, because it requires a new way of thinking about the education of students with special needs. Conceptual paradigms determine the arena of inquiry and by their nature constrain one's perspective and determine the kinds of questions asked or solutions sought (Kuhn, 1970). At present, there are two paradigms operating in special education or, as Meyen (1995) puts it, special education is currently "between stories"; between the time honoured beliefs and assumptions about individual deficit (the functional limitations paradigm) and the emerging inclusive / ecological paradigm (see also Hahn, 1989).

Advocates for inclusion (Gartner & Lipsky, 1987; Reynolds et al., 1987; Stainback & Stainback, 1990) argue that the issue is not how to fit students with special needs into regular schools but how to develop schools that fit, nurture and support the educational and social needs of every student. Stainback and Stainback (1990) argue that, "To achieve inclusive schooling general and special educators must come together in a unified, consistent effort" (p.3). Thus it can be seen that this paradigm shift in special education reflects a larger development in general education and indeed in society - a questioning of the basic beliefs that shape education and social practices. The inclusion movement in special education can rightly be subsumed under the umbrella of the multi-cultural education movement. Multi-cultural education, also born out of the Civil Rights movement of 1960s and 70s with an initial focus on countering racism, is now a more generic term for a broad-based school reform movement addressing equity issues related to race, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic class, language and disability (Grant & Tate, 1995).

Multicultural education

Issues associated with cultural diversity in education perhaps more than any other highlight the potential harm intervention strategies based on the functional limitations paradigm might have for dealing with individual difference. Students from minority, migrant and refugee cultures frequently encounter learning difficulties arising from the mismatch between the pedagogical assumptions of the New Zealand classroom and student expectations of how instruction should be delivered. Working in this paradigm, learning and teaching difficulties associated for example with differences in oral and written English language competence within the class may be seen as a deficit, ascribed to either individual students or to the ethnic or cultural group to which they belong. Conversely, an inclusionist / ecological perspective would see this problem as being located within teacher and student interactions inside the learning contexts available. As described elsewhere in this report (see Chapter 3), effective language learning contexts build on students' strengths in their first language and expertise in their home culture, (Glynn & Glynn, 1986; Tavener & Glynn, 1989).

Education systems are slowly coming to understand that students' ethnicity and culture exert a major influence over what they learn or do not learn at school (Peterson & Ishii-Jordan, 1994). Programmes, which cater for culturally diverse instructional needs and encourage the appreciation of such cultural diversity are particularly useful in the prevention of learning difficulties and behaviour problems for these students.

The New Zealand context

Special provision for less successful learners in New Zealand was first established with the advent of special classes in 1917 and a rapid expansion of a basically segregated special education ensued through to the mid-1970s. This development was characterised by a somewhat piecemeal approach to policy development generally following practices in the rest of the western world and it was not until 1987 that official ratification of a policy of mainstreaming students with special needs within a non-categorical, needs-based system was promoted (Department of Education, 1988). In 1989 this was mandated with the passage of the New Zealand Education Act, and in 1991 the Ministry of Education recommended the introduction of a needs based system on which resourcing decisions could be based.

However, as has been pointed out previously (Thomson, 1998), these changes in special education must be viewed in the context of changes in education in general which in turn reflect changes in society. There have been major economic, social and demographic changes in New Zealand in recent years; the population has become more culturally and ethnically diverse as waves of migrant groups have been absorbed into the country, and there has also been a growing recognition of the unique position of Maori in New Zealand society with associated attempts to implement the Treaty of Waitangi more effectively.

In 1990 New Zealand underwent a major educational restructuring designed to separate policy from operations and schools from central control. The policy documents associated with these changes recognise the diversity of New Zealand society and give clear direction towards a more inclusive system of education. Every school is now a self-governing entity governed by an elected board of trustees. This board enters into a contractual arrangement with the Crown. The National Educational Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1997), form a major part of these contractual arrangements and a basis for audit and review. These guidelines are part of every school charter by law and therefore provide key indicators of the way in which education is to be managed and delivered, indicators underscoring the responsibilities of each school to provide safe and effective inclusive education for all.

The National Educational Guidelines

The guidelines have three components: the National Education Goals (NEGS), the National Curriculum Framework, and the National Administration Guidelines (NAGS). *The National Education Goals* are broad aims to guide policies and practices. These goals stipulate a legal requirement for boards of trustees to:

- ensure the highest standards of achievement through programmes which enable all students to realise their full potential as individuals and to develop the values needed to become full members of New Zealand's society;
- recognise the importance of equal opportunities for all;
- give particular consideration to those with special needs; and
- encourage respect for ethnic diversity in New Zealand.

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993), as the official policy for teaching and learning in New Zealand schools, sets out the essential learning areas and essential skills for all students and indicates the place of attitudes and values in the school curriculum. The New Zealand curriculum applies to "all

students irrespective of gender, ethnicity, belief, ability or disability, social or cultural background or geographical area" (p. 3).

The *National Administration Guidelines* indicate to boards of trustees what they must do regarding curriculum and instruction. Of particular relevance to this discussion are the requirements that boards must analyse barriers to learning and achievement, and develop and implement strategies which address identified learning needs in order to overcome barriers to students' learning. The NAGS note that barriers may arise from a number of factors such as: student characteristics, home circumstances, school systems and practices, cultural influences and environment issues. Strategies for overcoming these barriers are identified as possibly occurring at the level of classroom practice, or as involving school-wide changes and the involvement of outside agencies, parent and community groups.

Inclusive education: Implications

A number of important issues regarding the role of teachers, administrators and support personnel in regular schools implementing inclusive programmes for refugee students are considered in the literature. The first concerns assessment. Among researchers, a consensus is emerging that there is little empirical evidence to show that efforts to plan instructional interventions based on decontextualised assessment of learner characteristics makes a difference on learning and adjustment outcomes (Brinker, 1990; Ysseldyke & Christenson, 1987). There is mounting evidence that these categorising processes may disadvantage students, particularly those from culturally and linguistically different homes (Cole, 1996). Refugees fit squarely into this situational context. Not only are there concerns that norm referenced psychometric tests may not be equally valid measures for such groups and therefore likely to lead to unfair outcomes (Lam, 1995, Ulibarri, 1990, cited in Cole, 1996), the resultant label in itself may contribute to educational disadvantage (Fairbanks, 1992; Osborne, Schulte, & McKinney, 1991). Once a "reason" is identified for a child's lack of achievement, there are often no further investigations to seek alternative explanations either within the child (Kube & Shapiro, 1996; Sanmiguel, Forness, & Kavale, 1996) or the learning environment (Moore et al., 1999a). The inclusive / ecological paradigm is based on assumptions about causality which lead to assessing the suitability of the learning environment and support provided for students. Curriculum-based (Mehrens & Clarisio, 1993, cited in Cole, 1996) and performance or "portfolio-based" assessment processes attempt to identify obstacles to more effective learning. If an assessment is to provide the basis for effective intervention, it requires an analysis of the student behaviours in the problem context. This is necessary in order to identify family or school variables that may influence performance, current levels of performance for educationally meaningful behaviours, and specification of goals or expectations for performance. Within the refugee education context this will require the clear documentation and understanding of the impact of the migration experience of the refugees.

A second important issue is the acknowledgement that regular classroom teachers need support (Trump, 1990; Wilson, 1991; York & Tundidor, 1995) and training (Gavrilidou, de Mesquita, & Mason, 1993; Sloper & Tyler, 1992; Stover, 1992; Vaughn, Hughes, Schumm, & Klingner, 1998; Wehby, Symons, & Hollo, 1997), and that programmes and interventions required to facilitate inclusion need to be

developed in collaboration with schools at a local level, if they are to be utilised and implemented effectively (Gersten, Vaughn, Deshler, & Schiller, 1997). Both these concerns can be addressed by employing professionals skilled at working with schools to develop and implement required changes, who can work within the system and support regular teachers, and by ensuring that regular teachers acquire skills and expertise in inclusive assessment and teaching strategies. Refugee children will often require both psychological and linguistic interventions, consequently skilled professionals in these areas need to be drawn into servicing schools with refugee populations.

Conceptually the development of inclusive programmes is no different to any other change in school and teaching practice. The way in which any new educational innovations are introduced, however, is important if they are not to be resisted or actively sabotaged (Brown, 1992; Fullan, 1994; Fullan & Newton, 1989). Several specific conditions have been identified as likely to promote teacher acceptance of change. The new practices must be consistent with and close to existing practice and seen to benefit all students in their classes (Gersten et al., 1997). Teachers also need support in providing appropriate instruction for students with learning and behaviour problems in ways that are inclusive of the diversity of children in their classes. "Mentioning strategies is not enough. Teachers must have clear examples of how strategies work for different types of students and how to orchestrate the whole." (Schumm & Vaughn, 1995; Sindelar & Kilgore, 1995, p.352).

Where school failure is seen as a problem within the child, psychometric assessment and remedial teaching are core elements of the work of special educators. However, the inclusive paradigm requires a different set of skills. Support personnel need to be able to assess the environment and the individual in interaction, to collaborate with all other agencies involved, including parents and regular class teachers, to develop programmes, and to facilitate required systems change within the regular education setting. All these support personnel skills will be critical in facilitating the mutual adaptation of refugees and schools.

The inclusion / ecological paradigm also has implications for school leaders. It is difficult for individual classroom teachers to develop an inclusive classroom if they are not supported by inclusive practices throughout the school. It needs to be acknowledged that during the time it takes to develop inclusive school systems both principals and teachers need considerable support. This support can come via specialised funding programmes from government agencies as well as the development of national policies, ie policy in refugee education and language.

Moore et al (1999a) on reviewing the special education literature noted the seemingly marginal role generally assigned to parents, families and the community in the provision of special education for children with learning and behaviour problems. By contrast an inclusive / ecological perspective by its very nature requires parental involvement in every aspect of the educational process (see for example Eber, 1996). The need for maximum co-ordination across settings (school, home and community) involving teachers and parents in the planning and provision of services has now been clearly recognised (Wilson, 1991). For interventions to successfully address problem behaviours, the behaviours need to be addressed in all settings in which they occur (Day, Horner, & O'Neill, 1994). Schools cannot work alone successfully. The

education of refugees requires the integration of multiple initiatives aimed at increasing the child's access to schools and parental involvement in schools. One way to increase the effectiveness of educational provision is to involve parents and the community more directly (Eber, 1996; Ruma, Burke, & Thompson, 1996; Wassef, Mason, Collins, O'Boyle, & Ingham, 1996) is to involve them as full partners in the decision making process concerning the education of their children (Gorney & Ysseldyke, 1993; Lange & Ysseldyke, 1998). To this end it is important for special educators as well as educators of refugee children to develop consensus building strategies to facilitate the development of working partnerships between parents, teachers and all other stakeholders (Lange & Ysseldyke, 1994).

Several attempts to develop coordination between parents and educators (Wang & et al., 1991) have been identified. Citing a New Zealand study among others, Sanders and Epstein (1998) have demonstrated that partnerships with parents can be particularly advantageous to students with special needs, particularly to economically disadvantaged families and those from ethnic minorities. Refugees clearly for ethnic minorities as well as are often forced into being economically depressed. In this context this may present even greater problems and barriers in that refugees did not willingly leave their home where they were not the minority and often not economically disadvantaged. Sanders and Epstein (1998) believe that the school is often the most convenient and accessible institution to which such parents can turn but for this to happen schools need to develop positive, comprehensive partnerships with the families. This involves breaking down barriers to effective communication (e.g. a lack of language skills), and helping families to overcome their reluctance to use the school as a resource. Harris (1996) in discussing the processes of collaboration within a multicultural society, emphasises that developing cultural competence is important for professionals working in inclusive education. Developing effective learning and teaching strategies for students of minority cultural groups requires consultants and teachers to learn to think, explain and act according to predominant metaphors and theories of these cultures, and not simply in terms of the metaphors and theories of their own (majority) culture.

An essential feature of the inclusive paradigm is that accountability for the education of all students with special needs rests with personnel in each school. Acceptance of this responsibility within schools will require special education resourcing to address two strategies – providing for the needs of individual students and providing for changing the knowledge and understanding of teachers, parents and communities. This parallels the arguments for establishing effective multi-cultural education practices through both empowering the minority and enlightening the majority (Banks, 1988). Specifically it will require pre-service teacher education to focus on inclusive teaching strategies; continuing class-wide and school-wide support for teachers in adapting curriculum and teaching strategies; including increased teacher awareness of different cultures and their experiences, and continuing professional development support for existing teachers, boards and principals.

One final noteworthy policy challenge is the challenge to keep the intent of the policy intact in its implementation. Policy is rarely implemented as intended (Timperley & Robinson, 1997) and this policy-practice gap is particularly evident when new policy is introduced into an environment of self-managing schools (see for example Walker et al., 1999). In an absence of knowledge of, or commitment to alternatives, boards

and management are likely to use additional resourcing to support programmes based on traditional assumptions of the functional limitations paradigm with which they are familiar. Consequently policy development and implementation is likely to become compromised and contradictory. Paradigm shifts require a fundamental change in thinking (Skrtic, 1995) and an implication from this for policy makers is the need to provide an ongoing programme of professional development that supports schools and regular class teachers throughout the country to become skilled in inclusive educational practices. Skills alone are likely to be insufficient however, unless teachers also have the opportunity to develop a sound understanding of the principles and values of the inclusion / ecological paradigm and additional tools and methods to enable them to better cater for the needs of a more diverse group of students.

Chapter 8

Potential Indicators for Documenting Change: Children, Families, Communities, Teachers, Schools, and Service Agencies

As indicated in Chapter 1, our model allows us to conceptualise the process of adaptation (the task faced by refugees) with a view to the description of the array of individual and environmental factors that hinder or facilitate this process. To that end it helps us consider factors refugees bring with them to the task. It allows us to examine factors that operate currently both in terms of situations and variables that simply exist (factors that are) and those deliberately put in place (what is done, and what can be done), to consider actual and best practice. Lastly it leads to the consideration of outcomes. Chapters have identified a variety of specific factors that fit within the different phases of our model. These factors can be used to gauge and describe the nature of change in refugee children as they participate in the adaptation process as well as the nature of change which occurs in those systems which participate in this mutual adaptation (parents, community, teachers, schools, etc). Some of these changes are planned and intended, while others are not.

Critical Issues Related to Refugee Education

What They Bring (Premigration factors)

Risk and Protective Factors	language (L1 and L2), health, displacement and loss, grief and trauma
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The Task	to adapt to a new environment
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Indicators:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| • extent of trauma | - literacy - L1 and L2 proficiency |
| • degree of family cohesion | - mental health status |
| • nature of separation | - coping styles |
| • prior or lack of education | - resilience |

Factors That Are (Postmigration and moderating factors)

Ongoing Risk / Resilience Factors
including Barriers / Facilitators
to Adaptation at School

in the individual
the family
the community / school
(including policies and services)

Indicators:

- extent of loss and bereavement
 - extent of trauma
 - degree of family and community cohesion
 - parental depression
 - social and community networks
 - immigration status and family unification
- socio-demographic variables (residence and employment status, ages, religion, etc.)
 - L2 proficiency
 - availability of community services
 - governmental policies and initiatives
 - school structure and policies
 - teacher experience and attitudes
 - NZ student attitudes

What Is Done

What Can Be Done

Here the focus is on planned interventions in schools. “Best Practice” may include planned interventions in other settings and or the availability of systems and policies on a national level.

School based interventions:
Referrals / treatment
promoting resilience

directed at: individual, families
whole schools, community

Indicators:

- teacher and principal receptivity to and support for interventions
 - increased teacher skills and awareness
 - targeted induction process
 - increased communication between schools and families
- positive and supportive school environment
 - L1 and L2 support
 - coordinated support plans which integrate child, family, school and community
 - coordinated interagency support

What Happens

Outcomes:

Individual Adaptation – as evidenced by:
Relations and Health

Child Behaviour, Learning, Peer

Whole school Adaptation - as evidenced by:

School Policies and Procedures
Teacher Development

Indicators:

- increased levels of self esteem
- appropriate academic progress
- increased L2 proficiency
- children's and parental psychological adjustment
- parental support and involvement in child's education
- increased communication between family and schools
- positive changes in teacher attitudes, knowledge and skill
- effective systems for recognising, monitoring and referring students experiencing difficulties

Chapter 9

Best Practice for Refugee Children within Schools: Issues for Consideration

The chapter will present a brief overview of best practice related to meeting the needs of refugee children in schools. There will be seven sets of issues for consideration which focus on the following areas: 1. psychological and therapeutic needs, 2. language needs, 3. fostering resilience, 4. easing the transition to a new country and culture, 5. structure of schools, school policies and teaching practices, 6. facilitating school change and teacher development, and 7. inclusive education. These issues are derived from the discussions presented in the seven chapters. Here we are highlighting specific issues within the multiple areas which can significantly influence the quality of refugee children's experiences in schools. More detailed discussions of these issues occur in the individual chapters.

1. Psychological and Therapeutic Needs

As is evident from the earlier review of literature on therapeutic needs of refugee children, this area is a multi-faceted and complex area which requires interventions which focus on multiple arenas and systems, i.e., classrooms, schools, families, communities (both here and in home country), service agencies, etc. In addition, approaches that are able to cross cultural boundaries as well as historical boundaries would be most useful.

- Assessment needs to include an awareness of culturally specific symptoms alongside validating the meaning behind particular symptoms, so that some symptoms are not misdiagnosed or do not go unrecognised.
- Consideration in the assessment of pre-exile stressors and significant events, as well as post-migration factors and critical events (see Chapter 8 also).
- It is important to discern the coping strategies used to survive traumatic experiences and current transition strategies.
- School-based, family and social and individual therapeutic interventions need to be interlinked to reconstruct a sense of social belonging.
- Narrative therapeutic interventions are helpful when working with traumatised children – the process of externalising the problem so the child and the child's problems are not one.
- Restoration of a sense of safety is a priority. There needs to be the creation of safe collegial environments, so children can learn from each other.
- Systemic and strategic family therapeutic interventions are helpful in redefining and reorganising roles, expectations, relationships and responsibility in the family to ensure the family continues to operate as a unit, within their cultural frame of reference.
- Therapeutic approaches need to integrate the refugee's cultural mores and values related to sickness and healing. Recognising any healthy and constructive components to cultural bereavement is critical to the healing process.
- Creating the space for collaborative input from children in defining the goals for healing.

- Increased positive and culturally appropriate liaison between schools and families, which includes programmes for parents participating in school enterprises, or school forums to foster cultural diversity and communication.
- Teachers should participate in appropriate training and in-service activities related to refugee education and the effects of trauma on children within the classroom. These activities can often be organised by specialised service providers within the community. Key staff in schools should be given training in effectively identifying cases where they would need to seek help, and in understanding what type of help to seek
- Create small group or department supportive settings for teachers to discuss sensitive issues or any anxieties they may have when working with refugee youths.
- It is critical that the principal play a leadership role in supporting and integrating teachers in developing and accessing ways to facilitate their own adaptation and the adaptation of refugee children.
- Implementation or strengthening of cross-cultural curricular topics and projects within schools could help increase levels of understanding, acceptance and mutual respect.
- Integrating a focus on human rights and refugees within the school curriculum will both inform the home country students of the needs and experiences of the refugee children and validate the importance of the refugee children's experiences.
- Schools must be provided with clear avenues for seeking and acquiring specialist support and assistance when faced with children who are traumatised.

2. Languages Needs

When it comes to best practice with respect to language needs of ESL students there are conflicting opinions. Contextual factors must certainly be taken into account, but in addition, what may be best practice for one person may not be for another. Therefore, individual variation occurs. However, there is some consensus in the literature. Much of the literature about ESL classes recommends the following:

- Assessment of both first (L1) and second (L2) language is central at entry and at regular intervals in order to develop appropriate educational experiences for the refugee child.
- Including NESB children in mainstream classes to increase their exposure to English speaking peers and to decrease stigmatisation
- Developing pull-out ESOL classes to meet specific needs of NESB students
- Linking pull-out ESOL classes to content courses to maximise relevancy
- Developing a “peer tutoring” or a “buddy system” to provide learners with knowledgeable (L2) peers
- Creating opportunities for NESB students to raise issues important to them in order to help them feel that their first language and culture are respected.
- Helping refugee children with the task of second language learning and acculturation is the responsibility of all teachers not just ESOL teachers.

3. Fostering resilience

The resilience literature offers a dynamic and comprehensive perspective to the refugee situation with a positive focus on good outcomes and possible interventions. Interventions can be put in place to enhance or add to the factors that already exist in

the environment to promote the development of resilience. School based interventions could be structured such that known environmental based resilience promoting factors could be put in place, and all would benefit. Potential school based interventions include:

- Making a caring adult or mentor available (teachers or counsellors who look out for children in need).
- Creating a nurturing accepting, and caring school climate characterised by tolerance and acceptance, including structured opportunity for social interaction (peer support programmes etc).
- Foster the development of programmes or philosophies that promote the development of personal resources, such as self-esteem, internal locus of control, and good social skills.
- Teaching the host language to both children and adults to facilitate the development of social networks and decrease the likelihood of role-reversal occurring, which could threaten family functioning.
- The development of social networks can be further strengthened by organised school wide activities, allowing refugees to meet local people, as well as each other.
- Make counsellors and teachers aware of the children's needs.
- Use group processes in class to facilitate the development of friendships for refugees.
- Make local information available to refugee families to alleviate some of the stress associated with relocation.
- Understand that maladaptive behaviour is often functional and punishment may not be an appropriate response, rather recognising it as indicative of problems that need intervention in the form of therapy.

4. Easing the transition to a new country and culture

The potential negative outcomes of unsuccessful acculturation by any groups are so far reaching and very difficult to remediate. These kinds of outcomes are largely avoidable, but this requires significant change of attitude at a population, policy and institutional level.

- Provide coordinated support for refugees on arrival (health-care, help with finding employment, access to counselling services and interpreters, and language training)
- Involve all parties in the design and delivery of programmes and services. Refugee populations should be consulted and represented on school committees as soon as possible.
- Encourage and foster maintenance of language of origin.
- Teacher training in issues related to diversity is seen as essential.
- Make pluralism an overall goal, avoiding assimilationist ideologies.

5. Structure of Schools, School Policies and Teaching Practices

The literature suggests that specific characteristics of schools, their policies and teaching practices play an important role in ensuring the successful integration of refugee children within schools. Policies and practices that ensure that they can learn and grow within a safe and supportive environment include:

- Effective communication channels between the school and home.
- Explicit and clearly developed induction process. Many children may not have had schooling prior to coming to NZ - special care needs to be directed to supporting them in their transition into schools.
- Existence and the application of policies for eliminating racism and bullying.
- Principal leadership in supporting teachers and programmes which focus on helping refugee students.
- Active participation of parents within schools.
- Teacher knowledge of the refugee culture and community.
- Professional development of teachers aimed at increasing their skills for teaching traumatised children, knowledge of symptoms and triggers of emotional relapses and confidence in referring students to appropriate services (when available).
- Students from the host country should participate in programmes to expand their knowledge of different cultures, importance of diversity in the classroom, human rights, and the plight of refugees. The most effective approach would be to develop a human rights and cultural diversity curriculum.

6. Facilitating School Change and Teacher Development

As indicated earlier in Chapter 6, principals and administrators play a critical role in facilitating the adoption of new services and curricula. In order to ensure that teachers are receptive and supportive to initiatives for teaching refugee students, principals and administrators need to:

- Emphasise the benefits of gaining new skills and knowledge for teaching refugee students.
- Help teachers tailor these new skill and knowledge to their specific classroom, their teaching styles and content.
- Create a mechanism which allows teachers to express their concerns and have those concerns answered.
- Include teachers in decisions about how best to teach refugee children within their classrooms.
- Publicly support the initiatives within the school and in the community, for facilitating the education of refugee children.

7. Inclusive Education

Education systems are slowly coming to understand that students' ethnicity and culture exert a major influence over what they learn or do not learn at school. Programmes, which cater for culturally diverse instructional needs and encourage the appreciation of such cultural diversity are particularly useful in the prevention of learning difficulties and behaviour problems for these students.

- Use curriculum-based and performance or "portfolio-based" assessment processes focused on identifying obstacles to more effective learning.
- Regular classroom teachers need training on "culturally responsive" approaches to teaching all children, i.e., skills and expertise in inclusive assessment and teaching strategies.
- Programmes and interventions required to facilitate inclusion for refugees need to be developed in collaboration with schools at a local level.

- Employ professionals skilled at working with schools to develop and implement required changes and who can work within the system and support regular teachers.
- An inclusive / ecological perspective requires parental involvement as full partners in every aspect of the educational planning, decision making process, and provision of services for their refugee children.
- Educators of refugee children need to develop consensus building strategies to facilitate the development of working partnerships between parents, teachers and all other stakeholders.
- Developing effective learning and teaching strategies for refugee students requires consultants and teachers to learn to think, explain and act according to predominant metaphors and theories of these cultures.
- National education resourcing needs to support and address two strategies for teaching refugees – providing for the needs of individual students and providing for changing the knowledge and understanding of teachers, parents and communities.
- Pre-service teacher education needs to focus on inclusive teaching strategies, methods of increasing teacher awareness of different cultures and their experiences, and the plight and experiences of refugees.
- Extensive class-wide and school-wide support for teachers in adapting curriculum and teaching strategies.
- Policy makers need to provide an ongoing programme of professional development that supports schools and regular class teachers throughout the country to become skilled in inclusive educational practices, which focus on refugees.

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