

A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO PROMOTING STUDENT ENGAGEMENT:
CASE STUDIES OF SIX REFUGEE STUDENTS IN UPPER ELEMENTARY

by

Kathleen Mullen

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies

Boise State University

May 2014

© 2014

Kathleen Mullen

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE COLLEGE

DEFENSE COMMITTEE AND FINAL READING APPROVALS

of the thesis submitted by

Kathleen Mullen

Thesis Title: A Holistic Approach to Promoting Student Engagement: Case Studies
of Six Refugee Students in Upper Elementary

Date of Final Oral Examination: 19 December 2013

The following individuals read and discussed the thesis submitted by student Kathleen Mullen, and they evaluated her presentation and response to questions during the final oral examination. They found that the student passed the final oral examination.

Roger Stewart, Ph.D. Chair, Supervisory Committee

John Bieter, Ph.D. Member, Supervisory Committee

Sara Fry, Ph.D. Member, Supervisory Committee

The final reading approval of the thesis was granted by Roger Stewart, Ph.D., Chair of the Supervisory Committee. The thesis was approved for the Graduate College by John R. Pelton, Ph.D., Dean of the Graduate College.

DEDICATION

I am enormously grateful to the families and staff at Grant for sharing their time and stories with me; to my thesis committee members for their tremendous generosity of spirit and practical support; and to my family for their consistent encouragement and for forgiving me all the nights and weekends I spent working on this thesis.

“Someday you will find yourself adrift in a place where you feel you don’t belong, with people who don’t understand who you are. You’ll feel alone and lost. And you’ll be absolutely certain that you will never, ever belong to the world again. You don’t have to be a refugee to feel lost. It happens because we are human, and because life has a way of changing the rules when we’re not looking. But if you’re lucky, someone will reach out a hand when you’re most alone and say, ‘I’ve been lost too. Let me help you find your way home.’”

Katherine Applegate, *Home of the Brave*

ABSTRACT

The pre-migration context experienced by many refugees significantly impacts their ability to develop human capital. This, combined with increased placement in areas with little immigration history, can make it more difficult for refugee students to engage fully with school. This study explores the pre- and post-migration experiences of six upper elementary refugee youth and the experiences of school staff new to working with refugee students. Staff found that these students expanded the skill range they needed to address but, like native-born youth, they were best able to engage with school when staff used a holistic focus to promote student learning.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
CHAPTER ONE: CONNECTING SCHOOL ENGAGEMENT AND STUDENT LEARNING.....	1
Study Purpose	8
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY.....	9
Analytic and Theoretical Frameworks.....	9
Research Setting.....	9
Consent Process and Participant Characteristics	10
Families.....	10
School Staff.....	12
Data Sources	13
Data Analysis	14
Credibility and Confirmability.....	16
Limitations	17
CHAPTER THREE: CONNECTING PRE- AND POST-MIGRATION EXPERIENCES ..	20
Malik.....	21
Context of Exit.....	21
Mode of Incorporation	24
Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Malik	31

Bina.....	33
Context of Exit.....	33
Mode of Incorporation	36
Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Bina	43
So Min.....	45
Context of Exit.....	45
Mode of Incorporation	50
Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—So Min	54
Viviana.....	56
Context of Exit.....	56
Context of Settlement	62
Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Viviana	67
Celeste.....	69
Context of Exit.....	69
Mode of Incorporation	73
Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Celeste	78
Lily.....	80
Context of Exit.....	80
Mode of Incorporation	82
Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Lily	88
Cross-Case Summary.....	90
Context of Exit.....	90
Mode of Incorporation	92

CHAPTER FOUR: USING A HOLISTIC FRAMEWORK TO PROMOTE STUDENT ENGAGEMENT	98
Grant Elementary	98
“Looking at Their Needs from All Aspects”	100
Starting a Program for Refugee English Language Learners	103
Staff Learning Curve.....	104
Trauma and Trust.....	109
Using a Holistic Framework with Refugee Students	111
Moving Students Forward Academically	117
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION.....	122
Key Findings and Recommendations	124
REFERENCES	128
APPENDIX A:.....	150
Family Recruitment Flyer.....	150
APPENDIX B	153
Parent Telephone Script.....	153
APPENDIX C	155
Parent Consent Form.....	155
APPENDIX D	158
STUDENT ASSENT FORM.....	158
APPENDIX E	160
Staff Consent Form	160
APPENDIX F.....	164
Parent Interview Transcript.....	164

APPENDIX G	168
Student Interview Transcripts	168
APPENDIX H	174
Teacher Interview Transcript.....	174
APPENDIX I	177
Interview Transcript for Other School Staff	177
APPENDIX J	179
Field Visit Class Observation Tally Log	179
APPENDIX K.....	181
Field Visit Student Observation Tally Log.....	181
APPENDIX L	183
Field Visit Days of the Week Tally Log.....	183
APPENDIX M	185
Field Visit Interview Schedule.....	185

CHAPTER ONE: CONNECTING SCHOOL ENGAGEMENT AND STUDENT
LEARNING

Malik: Mrs. S, do you get your back checked today?

Mrs. S: No, they don't do that for adults, just for when you're still growing. Did they do that today? I did that when I was your age. It was easy. It was over pretty quick.

Viviana: Everybody was scared.

Immanuel: How come only girls do it? It's weird that only girls get it.

Mrs. S: Sometimes, Immanuel, sometimes, what's the bone in the center of your back called?

Viviana: Spine.

So Min: Vertebrate?

Mrs. S: Sometimes those bones can grow a little crooked so they just want to check to make sure that it's growing okay.

Malik: I don't have it [scoliosis]....I don't know how we have bones inside our body.

Immanuel: If you didn't you'd be like this [Immanuel walks really wobbly, like a jellyfish.]

Mrs. S: If you didn't, Immanuel, what would happen if you didn't have bones inside your body? [Immanuel does the jellyfish walk again and all the kids giggle.]

Mrs. S: Are there any animals we know of that don't have bones in them?

Viviana/Immanuel: Snakes.

Viviana: Oh, no. Snakes do.

Losha: Snakes do on their back.

Malik: Birds?

Mrs. S: Birds have bones. Snails don't have bones.

Immanuel: Worms.

Mrs. S: Worms.

Losha: Fish.

Mrs. S: Fish have bones.

Malik: Sheep doesn't.

Viviana: Yeah, they do.

Malik: No, they don't.

Viviana: Yes, they do. Then how does it stand up?

Mrs. S: Anything that walks has bones.

Viviana: Fishes, some of them don't have bones 'cause they can go like this [she bends sideways from the waist.] Um, if I had that picture, I could show you.

Malik: Does the bones inside us, does the face look scary?

Mrs. S: Have you ever seen a skeleton?

Malik: No.

Mrs. S: You haven't?

Malik: Yeah, can we?

[Mrs. S uses the Smartboard to pull up a computer graphic of a human skeleton.]

Mrs. S: Malik, this is a picture of a skeleton.

Malik: Is that how our head's like inside?

Mrs. S: Yeah.

Malik: Ewwwwww.

Malik's "ewwwww" moment took place in a classroom of fifth graders, each of whom arrived in the United States as a refugee. There is no single refugee journey and the circumstances leading to resettlement differed for each student's family. Malik's family arrived in the U.S. from her father's homeland of Iraq. So Min's parents fled their native Burma for Thailand and lived in a refugee camp for two decades before their family was resettled in the U.S. Viviana's mother fled tremendous violence in her native Burundi during the early 1970s and then in her adopted country of Rwanda during the early 1990s. She and her children lived in many refugee camps, some intensely unstable

and violent, before resettlement. Despite differing contexts of exit, refugees leave their homelands due to a well-founded fear of persecution related to race, religion, political views, or membership in a particular social group (UNHCR, 2007b).

For children whose lives have been disrupted by displacement and violence, school can provide constructive social interactions and a means to develop the knowledge and skills they will need for their future (Crisp, Talbot, & Cipollone, 2001). School also provides opportunities to learn about the majority culture and build relationships with staff and peers (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Malik, Viviana, and the others have a tremendous amount of learning to do and their families see education as an important source of opportunity.

They have arrived, however, in a country in which one-quarter of youth leave high school before earning a diploma (NCES, 2012b). Dropout rates are even higher among low-income students, minority students, English Language Learners, and students new to the U.S. (NCES, 2012a, 2012b; Rumbaut, 2005).¹ These statistics deserve our attention because the level of education youth attain is powerfully associated with later social and economic outcomes. Over time, dropouts demonstrate higher rates of

¹ This statistic is based on the Averaged Freshman Graduation Rate (AFGR). AFGR data disaggregated by income, minority, and ELL status are currently available only at the state level and are not yet available at the national level. For the most recent state-level data, see <http://www2.ed.gov/documents/press-releases/state-2010-11-graduation-rate-data.pdf>. The AFGR uses data from the Common Core of Data at the National Center for Education Statistics and accounts for 9th grade retention by using aggregate student enrollment from 8th grade of one year, 9th of the next, and 10th for the next, and then divides by three. The AFGR thus allows for an estimation of the proportion of students who graduate on time with a regular diploma. It does not include students who have earned an alternate credential such as the GED and is thus intended to be a measure of the performance of American schools rather than an estimate of broader levels of educational attainment within a community. The rate for students new to the U.S. is based on data from the U.S. Census, looks at educational attainment among 25 to 39 year olds, and thus includes students who have earned an alternate credential such as the GED. AFGR data are not currently disaggregated by newcomer status. There has been extensive debate about how best to measure dropout rates (Heckman & LaFontaine, 2010; Miao & Haney, 2004).

unemployment, earn less, and are more likely to live in poverty (Autor, Katz, & Kearney, 2008; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013; Day & Newburger, 2002; NCES, 2012c).² They are also less likely to have health insurance (Moonesinghe, Zhu, & Truman, 2011), typically have shorter lifespans (National Center for Health Statistics, 2012), and are overrepresented among prison, jail, and probationer populations (Ewert & Wildhagen, 2011; Harlow, 2003).³

Dropping out often represents the final stage of a long process of disengagement from school (Dynarski et al., 2008; Rumberger, 2011), with engagement viewed as a significant contributor to persistence and achievement (NRC/IM, 2004). The construct varies across the research base (Appleton, Christenson, & Furlong, 2008) but is perhaps best understood as involving “[t]he extent to which students are connecting to what they are learning, how they are learning it, and who they are learning it with” (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008, p. 42). Student engagement is thus a dynamic and multidimensional process, resulting from the interaction between the student and their school environment (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004).

Connection to and investment in academic work, self-regulation, and establishment of learning goals are often conceptualized as *cognitive engagement* (Fredricks et al., 2004). Specific actions directed toward school and learning such as

² Bureau of Labor Statistics poverty data taken from United States Census Current Population Survey. Tables downloaded for 2002-2011, below 100 percent of poverty.

³ The analyses of employment, wage, poverty and health outcomes draw on data from the U.S. Census Bureau. These data are collected at the community level and count individuals who have completed an equivalency, such as the GED, as high school graduates. These data are thus intended to provide information on final educational attainment within a community rather than of the performance of American high schools. The wage analyses by Autor et al. (2008) did draw on CPS data but were based on the number of years of schooling completed, rather than whether a diploma/equivalency had been earned.

involvement in academic tasks, following classroom norms, and participation in extra-curricular activities are all considered to be aspects of *behavioral engagement* (Finn, 1993). The extent to which students feel connected to and able to elicit tangible assistance from teachers and peers are referred to as *relational engagement* (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

Beyond this framework of individual effort and school context, external factors impact student engagement (NRC/IM, 2004). Events and processes in the wider environment, including the neighborhood, community, and society interact with student- and school-level characteristics to influence children's learning and development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; NRC/IM, 2000). Circumstances such as economic hardship, childhood trauma, individual or family health issues, discrimination, and frequent moves are each linked to student dropout (Ashby, 2010; Behnke, Gonzalez, & Cox, 2010; Bickerstaff, 2009/2010; Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007; Hondo, Gardiner, & Sapien, 2008; Porche, Fortuna, Lin, & Alegria, 2011).

For immigrant and refugee students, empirical evidence supports the notion that adaptation and educational outcomes are informed by interactions between the human capital families bring with them and their context of resettlement into the host community (Portes & Rivas, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993).⁴ Human capital refers to parental levels of education, occupational skills, and knowledge of English. The resettlement context involves attitudes of the host government (whether newcomers are

⁴ The literature generally focuses on differences in adaptation between first generation immigrants/refugees (born abroad and arriving at age 17 or older) and the second generation (born in the U.S. of foreign-born parents.) The students who participated in this study represent the 1.5 generation, i.e., they arrived between the ages of 6 and 12, and are considered to be sociologically closer to the second generation (Portes & Rivas, 2011; Rumbaut, 2004)

allowed to settle and work legally), the attitudes of the host community (whether newcomers experience discrimination), and the degree to which coethnic communities can provide practical resettlement assistance.

Youth whose parents arrive with low levels of human capital, and/or experience a negative context of reception, are less likely to complete high school or pursue education beyond high school (Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011; Rumbaut, 2005). Many youth, however, have been able to succeed despite these disadvantages when their parents are able to connect them to rigorous and engaging academic supports; when they have access to knowledgeable adults who can serve as cultural brokers; when they attend schools staffed by caring adults and academically-oriented peers; and if they are motivated to work hard and feel they can receive practical assistance from friends, peers, and school staff (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

An emerging literature suggests, however, that newer refugee groups may face a more challenging adaptation process. The number of protracted refugee situations has risen since the 1990s, with the most recent estimates placing the average duration of exile at 17 years (UNHCR, 2004). Individuals in these situations are often placed in camps, typically in remote and insecure areas; allowed limited opportunity to leave; and receive limited access to agricultural land, labor markets, or educational opportunities (UNHCR, 2008a). These refugees often find access to education particularly limited at the secondary level and for girls, and available programs are generally of low quality (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Moreover, inadequate nutrition, a general lack of health care, exposure to a wide range of diseases during flight and in camps, and possibly to conflict-related trauma, can impair refugee health prior to arrival (Haines, 2010).

These circumstances combine to impose severe constraints on refugees' ability to develop human capital. Adults may thus lack education and training relevant to a knowledge-based western economy (ORR, 2011, 2013c). Both adults and children may have severely interrupted or no formal schooling, limited first language literacy, and limited familiarity with English (Dooley, 2009; Roy & Roxas, 2011; Woods, 2009). Children without well-developed literacy in their first language must work harder to learn English (Riches & Genesee, 2006) and competence in academic English is highly predictive of both GPA and performance on standardized tests (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Beyond language, youth arriving with minimal formal education have missed critical years of school experience (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) and may lack exposure to academic concepts familiar to their native-born peers (Dooley, 2009; Roy & Roxas, 2011; Woods, 2009).

Newer refugee groups may also find it more difficult to connect to academic and other assistance often provided by established ethnic communities. This is because they originate from a wider range of countries than in the past, often arrive in relatively smaller numbers, and increasingly settle in areas with a limited history of immigration (Mott, 2009; ORR, 2011, 2013b; Singer & Wilson, 2006; Zucker, 1983). This absence of an ethnic base that can provide guidance to disoriented newcomers has presented difficulties for more recent, smaller refugee populations (Haines, 2010). The existence of a formal refugee resettlement system may be considered a replacement for such supports but local programs sometimes lack adequate staff and funding, leaving refugees to struggle with fundamental issues such as unemployment or underemployment, food insecurity, or homelessness (Adess et al., 2010; Harkins, 2012; Mott, 2009).

Collectively then, the literature tells us that achievement of a high school diploma is strongly linked to later social and economic outcomes; that student engagement is important for academic success; and events beyond the classroom interact with student and school factors to influence whether youth make it to graduation. The circumstances under which many newer refugee groups experience exile often limit their ability to develop important human resources and, combined with their increased placement in communities with little history of immigration, amplify the challenges associated with earning a high school diploma. Because indicators of dropout risk may appear well before high school, an exploration of the aspirations of and difficulties Malik and the other students faced, as well as the experiences of school staff new to working with refugee students, can provide insights into how to assist both refugee and native-born students on their road to graduation.

Study Purpose

The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of: 1) The pre-migration experiences of six refugee families, with a focus on access to basic health and educational infrastructures, opportunities to develop occupational skills, and exposure to violence; 2) The levels of the participating refugee children's behavioral, cognitive, and relational school engagement in the U.S.; and, 3) The experiences of school staff who are new to working with refugee students and the strategies they employed to promote school engagement and academic achievement.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Analytic and Theoretical Frameworks

The construct of engagement (Fredricks et al., 2004) and the theory of segmented assimilation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993) provide useful analytic tools for understanding the academic outcomes of refugee students. The engagement literature focuses on the multidimensional and interactive relationship between students and their school environment, thus allowing for a more robust exploration of children's experiences than would be possible with a focus on children or schools alone. The theory of segmented assimilation draws on years of empirical data to demonstrate the relationship between immigrant and refugee families' human capital, their context of reception, and children's academic outcomes. This analysis is embedded within an interactive case study approach because case studies allow the opportunity to consider the complex nature of teaching and learning within a real life context (Yin, 2003) through a focus on "the richness of singular experiences" (Dyson, 1995, p. 178). An interpretive approach emphasizes how people make sense of their experiences, both individually and within their social environment (Heck, 2006).

Research Setting

The students who participated in this study attended Grant Elementary, a suburban elementary school in the Mountain West during the 2011-2012 school year. Grant is a medium-sized Title I school with more than 80 percent of the student

population eligible for the federal Free or Reduced Lunch Program. The majority was white⁵ and 19 percent were identified as English Language Learners. The school began its ELL program in the fall of 2008 in response to increased district enrollment of international refugee students. Refugee students originated from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and represented 19 different languages. School staff were predominately white and female, had an average of 14 years of experience, and 55 percent held a Master's Degree. I selected Grant for this study because it had a history of high academic standards and its refugee population was comprised of students of diverse national, ethnic, and linguistic origins.

Consent Process and Participant Characteristics

Families

After receiving authorization from both the school district research committee and the university's Internal Review Board, potential participants were contacted via flyers distributed to select students in the school's ELL classroom. The ELL teacher knew that some families had suffered extreme trauma prior to resettlement. We thus agreed that these families would not be included in the invitational process out of concern that participation might trigger memories of past trauma. In addition, because there were so many languages represented at the school and many refugee parents were not literate in their native language, flyers were only given to students in upper elementary who spoke

⁵ Demographic data were requested from the school district but provided data were incomplete. It was thus not possible to report disaggregated student race/ethnicity information.

English well enough to understand that they were being invited to participate in a study that hoped to learn how to help refugee students do well in school. (See Appendix A.)

A translator contacted via telephone any parent who responded affirmatively to the flyer.⁶ The translator explained the study in the parent's native language and asked if they were still interested in participating. (See the telephone script in Appendix B.) If the parent confirmed interest, interviews were scheduled at a time and place that accommodated the schedule of the parent, the translator, and the researcher.

Six parents agreed to participate in the study. Consent forms were translated into each family's native language but four of the six parents were not literate. Because of this, translators helped verbally guide the parents through the consent process. (See the English version of the consent form in Appendix C.) I applied for several grants to help cover costs associated with translation, interpretation, and family gifts but was unsuccessful and thus covered expenses myself. I gave each parent a \$25 gift certificate from a popular grocery store as a gesture of appreciation. Three parents were male and three were female. Four households included both parents and two were headed by single parents. One family arrived from Iraq, one from a refugee camp in Nepal, one from a refugee camp in Thailand, and three from refugee camps in Tanzania. The families had lived in the United States for between 1.5 and 5 years at the time of the study.

⁶ Central school district staff were very helpful in locating interpreters/translators. It was relatively easy to find an interpreter/translator for Arabic. It was more difficult to find individuals for the languages of Karen, Nepali, Kirundi, and Swahili. Many initial contacts were verbally fluent but not able to translate the consent forms in writing so it took quite some time to get translated consent forms for the interviews.

English language assessment scores indicate that most of the participating students possessed good verbal English skills and were asked to sign a more informal version of the parental consent form. (See the student assent form in Appendix D.) Bina, a fifth grader from Nepal, was asked if she would like us to use an interpreter for the interviews as her assessments indicated high oral comprehension but lower speaking skills. She initially declined but, after completing the final interview, asked to do the interviews again with a translator. Bina was much more reserved with the translator present and provided less detail than during our one-on-one interviews but her answers were generally the same. In appreciation for their time, students were asked to choose two items from a selection of snack bars, fruit, or colored pencils before each interview. Two sixth-grade girls, three fifth-grade girls, and one fifth-grade boy participated.

School Staff

The ELL teacher was a key participant and facilitated contacts with both students and staff. At a staff meeting, she explained the purpose of the study, asked whether there were any concerns regarding observations in focal student classrooms (there were not), and let people know I would be requesting interviews. All of the focal students' teachers consented to participate in the study. One teacher became seriously ill, however, was subsequently away from school for an extended period of time and thus not able to participate in interviews.

I asked additional staff to participate based on findings from field visits. In all, interviews included building-level administrative staff, classroom teachers, paraprofessionals, and ancillary staff. I asked each staff member to sign a consent form prior to the interview and offered a \$5 gift card from a nearby coffee shop. (See

Appendix E for the staff consent form.) Ten staff were interviewed, all were white, and eight were female.

Data Sources

Data sources included verbatim transcriptions of recorded interviews; observations of focal students in classrooms and at school events; and documents such as e-mails, school flyers, and photos. Field data were collected between January and July of 2012. Data are also included from two small IRB-approved pilot studies that took place during each of the two prior school years. The interviews were semi-structured and questions were largely drawn from the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation (LISA) study (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). The interview questions for the LISA study were developed with immigrant and refugee populations, although from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds than the students in this study, and for staff at their schools. The questions addressed work, language and schooling experiences, school engagement, and future aspirations, as well as staff perspectives on and experiences working with refugee students (see Appendices F through I.) Use of semi-structured interview transcripts allowed for consistency across interviews and opportunities for new concepts to arise.

Each parent participated in one interview lasting between 35 and 58 minutes. Each student participated in two to three interviews. Some students were quite chatty while others were a bit shy so some student interviews were long and others were short. Each lasted between 8 and 50 minutes and the total amount of time for each student interview ranged from 21 to 80 minutes. Given the history of trauma among refugee groups, I minimized follow-up and probing questions with both parents and students.

The ELL teacher participated in two formal interviews lasting a total of one hour but also occasionally shared insights during observations. Other staff participated in one interview, each lasting between 25 to 51 minutes. An additional district ELL teacher who had worked with focal students also participated in a brief, 15 minute interview. In all, participant interviews totaled 14.6 hours.

Observations were spread out over each focal student's grade level classes, their ELL classes, and other school events, as well as across days of the week and times of the day. Students at this school rotate frequently between grade-level classes, supplementary programs, school activities, and for ELLs, English Language class. Sixth graders in particular attended a number of field trips, including to the local university, to job shadows, and social events such as ski school, and were away from class more often than 5th graders. The number of observation hours per focal student thus ranged from a low of ten hours for the 6th graders to a high of 16 for some of the 5th graders. The total number of observation hours totaled 43.75. I tracked all major fieldwork activities in fieldwork logs (see Appendices J through M.)

Student performance data from a statewide reading assessment, disaggregated by NCLB reporting categories, were requested from the school district multiple times but I did not receive complete files.

Data Analysis

Drawing on the work of Miles and Huberman (1994), I drafted a Contact Summary Sheet (CSS) after observations and interviews as a form of first-run data analysis. The CSS supported my efforts to identify main issues or themes that arose

during the contact, summarization of information that addressed target question(s), notation of anything that seemed especially salient or illuminating, and identification of any missing information or items that need follow-up. I then transcribed interviews and observations, adding clarifying thoughts, initial insights, and questions that arose. I identified these as *Reflective Remarks* (RR).

I imported transcripts into Nvivo 9 for further analysis. For student and parent data, I created two lists of general pre-structured codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The first list integrated interview questions and major themes from the literature on immigrant adaptation. The second list integrated interview questions with major themes from the literature on student engagement. These initial lists allowed me to explicitly connect data and literature to the study purpose but were intended to be revised in response to both field data and continual review of the literature (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

Once I had coded all the student and parent data, I used Nvivo's *Framework Matrix* feature to create thematically clustered matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) organized by case and theme. The framework matrix allows for the capture of all data coded for a case, e.g., *Malik, Bina, So Min*, at a particular theme, e.g., *Parents' prior education, Student school prior*, etc. I then exported the matrix into MSWord and refined the summaries to create a student account. I used a similar process for the cross-case analysis but drew from the synthesized student accounts to create the framework matrix, rather than the raw data, condensing the data summaries even further. I then compared these condensed summaries across students, noting similarities and differences for the final cross-case summary. For school staff, I did not begin with a pre-structured code list but developed a coding framework by first searching through transcripts to identify

elements relevant to the study purpose, i.e., open coding, and then through re-reading the data, grouped related codes, and established themes, i.e., analytic coding (Merriam, 2009).

I refined, deleted, or added to codes and code definitions over the course of the study, with a focus on ensuring saturation, internal consistency, and external divergence (Toma, 2006). I used memos to document questions that arose during coding or to clarify ideas, to make connections between fieldwork events, between fieldwork and literature, and between various pieces of literature (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I also reviewed evolving coding frameworks at regular intervals with my thesis Chair and tracked significant methodological decisions that arose from this process in a methodological log.

Credibility and Confirmability

I used several common procedures to maximize credibility of the analysis in this study. I paid attention to my role as a researcher, recognizing that it is impossible to conduct any aspect of research except from some point of view (Peshkin, 2000) and that one's own circumstances, experiences, and values interact with the research setting in important ways (Maxwell, 1996; Peshkin, 1988). Attention to the expectations and identifications one brings to a study, the relationships with study participants, field experiences that felt more and less positive, and instances in which one might be inclined to act beyond what was strictly required allows the researcher to be aware of their own subjectivity and how it may influence the investigation.

In order to identify important aspects of my own experiential context, I drew from Maxwell's (1996) guidance on questions to consider prior to study outset and responded in an initial memo. My experience as a first generation college student and my

recognition that earning a college degree has allowed me opportunities that I would not have otherwise had informed my interest in high school graduation. I am keenly aware that educational experiences in grades K-12 can either open or close doors to postsecondary opportunity. Over the course of fieldwork, I paid attention to my relationship with participants and my reactions to field experiences, summarizing these in a synthetic memo.

To further promote credibility and confirmability, I established an audit trail through creation of a field journal to document research activities on-site; a methodological log to document major research activities, questions, and issues as arose in the field and during analysis; a log of literature reviewed over the course of the study, including databases and key words used; and a summary of data selection/collection activities, including note of which piece of data led to other explorations (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Heck, 2006). My committee Chair was an important resource for debriefing as the study progressed. I also triangulated data across individuals and settings, using a range of methods in order to minimize systematic bias, and solicited feedback from key staff as to whether the overall accounts seemed realistic and accurate (Merriam, 2009).

Limitations

The ELL teacher and I deliberately limited the participant sample process in two ways. First, we did not invite families that she *knew* to have suffered extreme trauma. The study involved some questions about pre-migration experiences and, while those questions seemed fairly simple, we did not want to risk traumatizing families further. Second, given that there were so many languages represented at the school and many

refugee parents lacked native language literacy, invitational flyers were given only to students who spoke English well enough to understand that they were being invited to participate in this study. Interpreters did follow-up with parents in their native language and the families that did elect to participate represent a range of pre-migration and settlement experiences, but these sampling decisions and the fact that families volunteered to participate means that their experiences may be different from other refugees in important ways.

In addition, the sections on pre-migration experiences include some detail provided by families but also include general information from the literature. Overall, peer-reviewed literature on access to health, educational, and vocational supports in the camps was very limited, particularly for the Great Lakes region of Africa. This information is included in the case studies to provide a broad general context of the types of circumstances families likely faced, rather than a detailed account of each student's personal experience.

Also, the interview questions were originally developed with students from Central America and China so may be less culturally relevant to my study (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Some of the students, for example, needed additional explanation of the questions that asked them to rate statements on a Likert scale and on what it would mean to have a good life. I also relied on translators to communicate with parents and they varied in their level of dual-language fluency.

The amount of time I spent observing each student in the classroom ranged from 10 to 16 hours. My narratives thus represent only a snapshot of their experiences over the course of the school year. More time would be needed in each classroom and with

each student in order to achieve greater certainty that observed behaviors and practices were common. The limited time spent with each student also precluded exploration of each student's sense of competence and intrinsic motivation, important components of student engagement (NRC/IM, 2004). Finally, I was less likely to ask follow-up or probing questions with refugee participants than with staff, given their past experiences, and this may mean that I failed to understand important aspects of their stories. More time would need to be spent with students' families to establish the rapport necessary for deeper questioning.

CHAPTER THREE: CONNECTING PRE- AND POST-MIGRATION EXPERIENCES

This chapter presents a case summary for each of the six students who participated in this study and then presents a cross-case analysis. Given the importance of the interaction between human capital and community reception (Haller et al., 2011; Portes & Rivas, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993), a general comprehension of these students' pre-migration experiences is important for understanding the work that lies ahead for them and for the school staff supporting them. I explore the circumstances that led to each family's displacement, focusing on access to basic health and educational infrastructures, familiarity with English, opportunities to develop occupational skills, and exposure to violence. These sections include both detail provided by families and general information from the literature. Peer-reviewed literature on access to life in the camps is limited. I have included this information in order to provide general context rather than a detailed account of each student's personal experience. I then move to the mode of each family's incorporation into their new community, paying special attention to community supports, parental employment, language development and use, school engagement, and future aspirations. I have presented student and parent interviews verbatim, without corrections to language.

Malik

Context of Exit

Iraq

In fifth grade at the time of this study, Malik, her parents, and her two younger brothers arrived from Iraq during the summer of 2010, representing just a few of the 1.7 million Iraqis who left their homes as refugees that year (UNHCR, 2011). Malik was a year old in 2003, the year that the U.S. occupation began (Sanger & Burns, 2003). That invasion marked the second major military conflict for her mother, Aasima, originally from Kuwait. Aasima's older brother moved the family to Iraq when she was 15 during what she called the "Kuwait-Iraq War." She did not want to leave Kuwait and, although she eventually married and started a family in Iraq, she never liked living there and never considered herself Iraqi. Sectarian violence escalated across the country during 2006, following the bombing of an important Shiite shrine in the central Iraqi city of Samarra (United Nations News Centre, 2006). Militias and death squads ramped-up indiscriminate targeting of civilians and sought to displace people living in mixed Sunni-Shi'a communities.

Malik talked about conflict in Iraq and shared a memory of someone setting fire to the house of a family friend. "They almost didn't wake," she explained, "Almost the house fell on them." She also talked about police inspecting people's homes:

But sometimes the police come, like, they don't have a police car like we do here. They come and they check your houses if you have a gun or something. We don't have so they check everything. Last time, they took a people, they were sleeping, and they took the door and then saw a gun there. So they took them to jail 'cause they think they might kill people.

But they don't. So they took them to jail and after a while they took them out.

By the time Malik's family left their home country, many Iraqis had experienced air bombardments, rocket attacks, intimidation and harassment by militias, forced conscription, blackmail, kidnapping, rape, torture, or the loss of someone close to them due to death or disappearance (Ghareeb, Ranard, & Tutunji, 2008; Webster, 2011).

Health

Iraq's medical system produced some of the region's best doctors and public health indicators during the 1970s and early 1980s (Ghareeb et al., 2008). However, the combined impact of the Iran-Iraq War, the First Gulf War, economic sanctions, and the Second Gulf War severely damaged the country's infrastructures for electricity generation and distribution, sanitation systems, as well as educational institutions, and health care facilities (UNESCO, 2003). By the time Malik and her family left in 2010, 40 percent of primary health care clinics lacked physicians; rates of communicable disease were high; average life expectancy declined; maternal mortality and mortality for children under five increased; immunization rates for children dropped significantly; and the country witnessed a steady increase in the number of people learning to live with conflict-related injuries (Webster, 2011).

Work

Malik said her father initially worked for one of Iraq's state utilities but the family later opened a bakery. They sold decorated cakes, cookies, and other sweets, as well as fireworks. After the bakery, her father found a job in what she called "that American place" and worked with computers. The family underwent a year-long application and

interview process for refugee status, eventually learning they would receive asylum in the U.S. They sold their home, went to Baghdad to get shots, and prepared to leave, only to be told that a mix-up meant they would not be going. The family had to look for a new place to live and spent another year sorting out their resettlement application.

Education

As with healthcare, the Iraqi educational system had been considered one of the best in the region but the cumulative effects of wars and economic sanctions left significant numbers of schools impacted by both bombings and falling student enrollments (Ghareeb et al., 2008). The educational system lacked a sufficient number of school buildings and many were damaged and needed repair (UNESCO, 2003). Schools faced acute shortages of desks, chalkboards, chalk, texts, and other foundational learning materials. Qualified teachers left the education sector because of low wages. Despite the chaos, Malik was able to consistently attend school through third grade, learned how to read and write in Arabic, had some exposure to English, and earned top marks.

Malik's mother did not like her daughter's school, describing it as dirty and crowded, with four children sharing a desk, and said that teachers pressured children to buy lunch from the school rather than bring a lunch from home. Malik, however, enjoyed school and described an environment and routine that would sound familiar to many American children. Students sat at desks and the teacher stood at the front of the class, posting lessons on a chalkboard. Students went outside for recess and lunch. She studied many of the same subjects as American students do, although she said they did not have physical education or science, and also had special classes on Iraqi culture. One major difference was segregation of students by gender. Boys and girls learned in separate

classrooms and the girls received instruction only from female teachers while boys received instruction for both male and female teachers.

Mode of Incorporation

Resettlement agencies have placed more than 100,000 Iraqi refugees in the U.S. over the past 30 years but more than half arrived in just the past five years (ORR, 2013a)⁷. Iraqi refugees currently live in most of the 50 states, with the largest numbers in California, Michigan, and Texas. Fewer than 1,000 were resettled in the state in which this study took place and, as with the national trend, nearly half were placed within the past five years. Malik's family arrived most recently among study participants and was the only family that had not lived in a refugee camp prior to U.S. resettlement. Perhaps because she had been in this country for a fairly short period of time, she shared more information than the other students about her initial experiences.

Malik explained that two staff from one of the local refugee resettlement agencies met her family at the airport. They took the family to an apartment, which Malik described as "really dirty," and she and her mother cleaned the apartment while one of the agency staff took her father to a halal⁸ market to buy food. Her father eventually found a better apartment, one with an on-site community center that offers after-school activities for children who live in the complex. The center includes a small computer lab that students can use for their homework and that adults can use to practice their English. A

⁷ Arrival data for all refugee groups drawn from tables received from the Office of Refugee Resettlement for the years of 1983 through 2012, reflecting arrivals by country of origin and state of initial resettlement.

⁸ Halal foods do not include pork or pork byproducts, blood or blood byproducts, or meat from animals that were not raised and slaughtered according to Islamic tradition.

teacher comes three days a week to help with homework and set up science and art projects but he also leaves time open for computer games and the occasional pizza party.

Malik has attended two schools since arriving in the U.S. When asked about Grant Elementary, she said she really likes the couches and stuffed animals placed in the lobby and halls and, "That they have playgrounds, like you know there's games there you can play, jump roping." She enjoys having different teachers for different subjects. Geology is her favorite subject so far and she especially enjoys the hands-on science activities:

We have to investigate about the rocks. Where do they come from and how do they look? I like how my teacher, like, do fun things. Like, we had to make, um, um, hot air balloons. And we had to, each of us had to bring a pumpkin and then spread, um, take out the seeds and clean it....and then the teacher cooked it, and a couple of the students. And so they brought it to the school and we all shared it.

She also said she likes the teachers at Grant because they are nice, explaining, "Here, if you do something not right the teachers will help you....in my old [American] school, a couple of them were, like, mean..."

Malik's parents raised her to dress according to traditional Muslim understandings of modesty, or hijab, so she covers her hair and does not wear short sleeve shirts, short skirts, or form-fitting clothes. Although her mother prefers that her daughter does not wear pants, she permits Malik to wear them on occasion. Malik's mother strongly believes that boys and girls should be educated separately and especially dislikes co-ed P.E. She worries about negative cultural influences and, if her children misbehave, she threatens to keep them home from school as a form of punishment. Malik's mother feels uncertain about letting her daughter participate in Grant Elementary's new July summer

school program because of the afternoon co-ed recreational component but eventually agreed to let her attend the morning academic sessions.

Malik is an eager student but did not always enjoy school here. At her first school in the U.S., she was one of only a few girls to wear hijab. Other Iraqi students who chose to dress in a more western style teased her for her conservative clothing. Her mother said it got to the point that Malik did not like going to school. Malik said things changed when she transferred to Grant because more students dressed like her, "When I came to Grant Elementary, I saw a lot of Arabic people. And a lot of people were wearing hijab like me and so I became friends with them."

School Engagement

Malik always received high marks in Iraq and grades are also very important to her in the U.S. For example, one day her ELL teacher gave the students a quick assignment in which she asked them to write out the *who*, *where*, *first*, and *then* of a short story they read in class. Malik started scribbling right away, stopped at about a quarter of a page and asked her teacher to check what she had written. Later, after everyone finished, Malik asked, "Can you tell us everybody's score?" A few days later, as her ELL teacher described an activity for practicing how to identify parts of speech, Malik asked, "Do we get points?"

In both her homeroom and ELL classes, Malik is overtly engaged. In her homeroom class, she participates in activities that require exchanging facts with her neighbor, using hand signals to indicate agreement or disagreement with a statement, reciting a portion of the Declaration of Independence, working on a display board for an upcoming learning fair, or working quietly at her desk. She also sometimes volunteers to

present her work in front of the class. In her ELL class, she is often the first to respond when her teacher asks questions and she volunteers to read out loud. She verbally summarizes main ideas from class activities, brings up connections between classroom conversations and things from her own life, and asks for clarification about major points.

Both Malik and her mom say she is able to turn in most of her school assignments and her homework on time. Both her homeroom teacher and her ELL teacher keep classroom logs for Malik to track her work and she is responsible for completing work for different subjects each day. Her mother said she likes to do her homework and Malik said she spends about one hour on homework every day. She sometimes attends Grant Elementary's after-school program on Wednesday, a homework club staffed by students from the local university as part of their service learning requirement. She does not participate in traditionally defined extra-curricular activities but signed-up for a school job in which she helps one of the first grade teachers check students' homework. She is rarely absent and said she missed school only once or twice, either due to illness or in observance of a Muslim holiday.

Her relationships with peers and school staff are generally positive. With her peers, she offers to bring other students up to speed when they miss out on part of an assignment, tracks down materials for group projects, and is friendly to new refugee students. She is confident about her academic work but less so when it comes to art. She looks to her friends Viviana and Dhakirah for help with class assignments that involve drawing. Malik also turns to her friend Viviana if she needs help with homework.

Her homeroom teacher established a group of student volunteers who help their peers with assignments and, although Malik seems confident that these students are a

source of assistance, in the one instance I observed, the "volunteer" was less than helpful. The class worked on vocabulary and broke into groups. The teacher asked a student, Kylie, to go over the vocabulary with Malik and Viviana and answer any questions while the teacher worked with other students. Viviana and Malik walked to the table at the back of the classroom and started looking at the vocabulary list. Kylie walked over and, without saying anything to the other two girls, started reading the words off the list. Viviana replied, "We already know how to read the words but..." Kylie ignored her and kept on reading. Then she asked, "What are you working on?" Kylie did not give them much of a chance to respond before she said, "Adding -ing." Viviana and Malik said, "Okay," and Kylie walked away. This interaction, however, did not typify the peer-to-peer interactions in this classroom.

Her relationships with staff are also positive and Malik said she feels that teachers at her school care about her future. In this respect, she specifically mentioned the school's career information programs and information the school provides about what to expect in junior high. She said that she's learned more English at this school than at her prior U.S. school and attributed this to staff who are nicer, speak more slowly, and help her with her reading. She also attributed her improved English to having more of an opportunity to talk in class. Malik also feels she can talk with adults at school about troubles she may have, noting a video the school counselor showed to her class about bullying and the subsequent class discussion about the importance of talking to a trusted adult, counselor, or teacher, about problems.

Her positive school relationships are most evident in her small ELL class. Here, she shares facts about her family, life in Iraq, and asks her teacher questions about non-

academic topics such as the school's annual scoliosis exam, as highlighted in the opening vignette. The conversation that followed shows that her teacher was able to draw on the high level of trust that had been created in the classroom environment to extend a question about the scoliosis exam into a discussion of the human skeleton.

Language and Literacy

Iraqi refugees generally arrive with higher levels of education and some familiarity with English (ORR, 2013b). Both of Malik's parents read and write in their native Arabic. Her father is bilingual in English and Arabic and found work as an interpreter, a position that locally pays about twice the minimum wage and thus keeps the family out of poverty. Malik can speak, read, and write in Arabic well, even if she sometimes forgets certain words. She learned some English at school in Iraq but did not understand much when she first came to the U.S. She described her first day at school by saying, "Like, when I went to my, um, the first school, the first day there was a boy speaking to me and I was just like this [she sits up very straight, very still, and with wide eyes.] I didn't even understand what he's speaking."

Malik's English language assessment scores identify her as reading, writing, and understanding spoken English at a beginner level but speaking English at an advanced-beginner level. She said she typically uses English with her friends and with the older of her two brothers, a third-grader. She sometimes translates for Arabic-speaking guests who visit the school and she often translates for her five-year-old brother who is still learning English. Her mother does not speak English and does not have an opportunity to interact with native speakers outside of the occasional doctor's appointment. When speaking with her mother, Malik sometimes forgets words in Arabic so her father

translates for them or Malik uses their computer's Arabic-English dictionary. Her mother would love for Malik to have an opportunity to learn Arabic at school, in addition to English. Everyone at Malik's house reads, either in English or in Arabic. Malik reads for school assignments and she reads about thirty minutes per week just for fun, bringing leveled readers home from her classroom or sometimes going to the library with her family.

Aspirations

Malik's mother views education as important for her daughter's future but does not know what it will take for Malik to reach her goals, explaining, "I have no idea about the education here." Her mother feels that the fact that English is not Malik's native language could be an obstacle. She also worries that educating boys and girls in the same classroom could lead to future problems. Most importantly, she wants her children to be good people and lead a good life. Speaking through an interpreter, she explained:

If I teach them good way, to use a good way, then maybe in the future they have everything good with them. They have no problems. I have seen a lot of families here, some families have kids, they have job, they have kids, they go to school but sometimes they have no school, they just wander around on street. Yeah, they have a lot of problems with the police, with something like that.

Despite her mother's worries, Malik seems to have internalized her messages on the importance of good character. To be successful in the United States, Malik said one should, "Like, be responsible. Show respect. Be honest." She said school helps her be successful because teachers and the principal talk with students about treating people with respect. Malik shared a story of the principal coming to talk to her class about a boy

at their school who was being bullied on Facebook and about students who were passing mean notes around in class.

She thinks she would like to work in medicine. She wants to, "Like, go to college and start looking for a job. So, I can help my family." A friend of her mother's had a baby a few months ago and they went to the hospital to visit. Malik found the people who came in to check on the baby very interesting and thought she might like to do that kind of work. She also thought she might like to be a family doctor or a medical translator. Through Grant's career counseling program, she visited the junior high and high school she will attend and learned about the number of years of college she will need in order to pursue her goals.

Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Malik

Malik's family left a country that experienced decades of military conflict, disintegration of basic service infrastructures, and a rise in sectarian violence in which militias deliberately attacked civilians. Despite this, her parents arrived with important sources of human capital that they could leverage as they build a new life in the U.S. Her father's bilingual skills and computer experience allowed him to earn enough to move his family into a better apartment. This not only meant improved living conditions but, in an area with a relatively small Iraqi community to offer academic supports, access to a community center and homework help for his children. He is able to help Malik develop competence both in her native Arabic and in English. In addition, Malik's mother completed a basic education in Kuwait and is literate in Arabic. Malik was able to consistently attend school until she left Iraq in third grade. She developed basic literacy

skills in Arabic, had some exposure to English, earned top marks and generally seems to have enjoyed school.

In the U.S., her family has had to adjust to co-ed classrooms but she likes school and engages overtly in the classroom. She participates actively in class activities, completes assignments and homework, and collaborates productively with other students. She reads books in English beyond what is required for her school assignments. This is likely to support her academic goals as exposure to print correlates positively to reading comprehension, this relationship increases as children get older, and is stronger among students with lower reading levels (Mol & Bus, 2011).

Although the “help” she and Viviana received from Kylie suggests that peer assistance has its limits, Malik identifies her relationships with both peers and teachers as positive. She turns to school staff for guidance on questions that are not strictly academic, such as the scoliosis exam, how to handle bullying, and how the U.S. educational system works. Her mother does not understand the educational system in the U.S. but the career-counseling programs offered at Grant gave Malik an idea of what comes after elementary school and how it links to her current aspirations to work in the medical field. Still learning how to navigate life in this country, she and her family will likely need continued guidance as she works to pursue her goals.

Bina

Context of Exit

Bhutan

Bina was in fifth grade at the time of this study and she, her parents, and her five siblings arrived during the summer of 2009. Bina's parents belong to a group of more than 100,000 ethnic Nepali who fled Bhutan in the early 1990s. The majority descended from Nepali who settled in the south of Bhutan during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and were granted citizenship in 1958 (Hutt, 2003). Starting in the late 1970s, the government began implementing policies and laws intended to promote a cohesive national cultural identity, out of concern that Nepali political movements in neighboring regions would cross borders (Amnesty International, 1992). The Citizenship Acts of 1977 and 1985, the Marriage Act of 1980, and censuses conducted beginning in 1988 had the effect of demoting many Bhutanese Nepali to one of six status categories that did not confer full citizenship. The government also passed laws in 1989 requiring adherence to the language, dress, and customs of the majority Druk ethnic group, and discontinued Nepali curriculum and language instruction in schools.

During the fall of 1990, large-scale protest marches took place in every district in southern Bhutan during and, in response, government soldiers began routine raids on Bhutanese Nepali homes, arrested occupants, and held them without charge or trial (Amnesty International, 1992; Hutt, 2003). Many were subjected to severe beatings, denied food and water, raped, or subjected to other forms of torture. Many reported that they, or their relatives, were only released once they pledged in writing that they would leave the country. By the end of the year, government officials announced that any

Bhutanese Nepali who could not prove residence in 1958 would have to leave the country (Raynard, 2007)

Nepal

The majority exiled from Bhutan fled to Nepal and ended-up living as refugees in seven camps in the eastern part of the country (Raynard, 2007). Because most residents arrived after the initial conflict of the early 1990s, with relatively few new arrivals in subsequent years, the camp population was uniquely stable (IOM, 2008). Refugees created social ties in the camps, established a democratic model for self-governance, and largely assumed responsibility for running camp services. Despite their efforts, however, they largely relied on external assistance to meet basic needs and generally reported a high level of grief, worry, and stress (Schinina, Sharma, Gorbacheva, & Mishra, 2011).

Health

Transportation of fresh produce and meats to refugee camps is generally both difficult and costly and rations in the Bhutanese Nepali camps typically did not contain enough important micronutrients such as iron, vitamin C, and riboflavin (Abdalla et al., 2008). Individuals living in the camps could grow small gardens to supplement rations and many men were able to travel outside the camps to work and earn an income (IOM, 2008). However, limited food diversity and frequent illness contributed to overall poor nutrition for refugee children and efforts to improve child health had mixed results (Bilukha, Howard, Wilkinson, Bamrah, & Husain, 2011). In 2010, researchers found that 20 percent of children aged 6 to 59 months had an acute respiratory infection, 40 percent were anemic, 23 percent were chronically malnourished (i.e., stunted), and 9 percent were acutely malnourished (i.e., wasting).

In addition, between 30 and 60 percent of Bhutanese Nepali resettled in the U.S. were found to suffer vitamin B12 deficiency, a diet-related deficiency that is rare in this country and can result in permanent neurological issues (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). Bhutanese-Nepali refugees, however, were considered to have greater access to quality health and educational services than was common in most refugee situations (Crisp et al., 2001). The arriving health status of Bina and her family may thus have been better than that of those arriving from other refugee contexts.

Work

Prior to exile from Bhutan, the majority of camp residents made their living as farmers, although some worked as civil servants or government officials (Raynard, 2007). In the camps, some reported working as teachers, social workers, tailors, or weavers and some were able to work outside the camps (IOM, 2008). Bina's father said he worked in construction as a stone mason. In partnership with UNHCR, camp residents eventually established vocational training programs in the construction trades, computer or cell phone repair, and sandal making but these programs did not necessarily prepare people for the higher occupational standards found in the West.

Education

Bhutanese-Nepali refugees placed a high value on education at both the individual and community level and there were a few trained teachers among them who initiated development of educational programs in the camps (IOM, 2008). Camp residents largely came to run the programs themselves and earned a reputation for relatively high educational standards and strong student academic performance (Crisp et al., 2001).

Parents built and provided maintenance for classrooms made out of bamboo and grass, and each school had a small library. The majority of teachers completed school through grade 10 or 12 but lacked instructional certificates or degrees. The system for developing teacher capacity through in-service training was extensive but teacher turnover was high as individuals left to pursue higher education or better-paying jobs inside Nepal.

Teachers instructed an average of between 60 to 65 students per class. The proportion of eligible students enrolled in school was high and absenteeism was low. Children began school at age five or six, attended for about five hours per day Monday thru Friday, with a half-day on Saturday, and participated in sports and cultural activities. Students went home each day for lunch.

Children in lower grades typically sat on mats on the ground and teachers used an easel-mounted blackboard at the front of the classroom (Crisp et al., 2001). Students learned both English and Nepali (Raynard, 2007). Teacher training programs encouraged child-centered instruction but large class sizes, shortages of instructional materials, and cultural values emphasizing teachers as revered leaders meant that instruction generally used rote memorization and recitation (IOM, 2008). Bina attended school consistently through third grade, learned to read and write in Nepali, and learned some English.

When asked about school at her camp, said that she liked socializing with her friends but little else. She said she felt this way because the schools were dirty and crowded, she did not like having to sit on the ground, teachers used corporal punishment, and elephants occasionally ran through the camps and sent everyone scattering.

Mode of Incorporation

Bhutanese Nepali refugees began arriving in the United States in 2008 (ORR, 2013a). Just over 60,000 arrived by the end of 2012, with half arriving between 2010 and 2012. They have been resettled in 38 states with the greatest number in New York and Georgia, and roughly 1,200 settled in the state in which this study took place. Bhutanese Nepali were so new to this community that locating a dual-language interpreter for the family interview took several months. This leaves one to wonder of the challenges faced by non-English speaking Bhutanese Nepali refugees and staff at resettlement agencies, schools, and health care organizations.

During the family interview, Rohit seemed to feel very isolated and worried about his ability to properly care for his family. Neither he nor his wife had been able to complete a basic formal education, neither is literate in their native Nepali, and neither speaks English. Rohit studied English for four months after arriving in the U.S. but became too ill to continue attending. The family initially received five months of assistance from the refugee resettlement agency but the benefits ended and he and his wife needed to find work. She found a full-time job and he found a part-time position at a local grocery store. He said he had been unable secure a full-time position due to his limited English.

Explaining through an interpreter, Rohit said he knows just a few words in English, "Very simple things like come, go, get that." He worries about what he will do if he loses his job, "If somebody fire him, he doesn't know where to go. He doesn't speak anything...So, if they fire him, he say he doesn't have anything to do, anywhere to

go.”⁹ He knew of other Bhutanese Nepali families that received guidance from community volunteers but his family had not had access to a volunteer and he felt overwhelmed by what he did not know. The interpreter explained:

He needs help because he doesn't read, how to understand. Even though he doesn't read the sign, where to go. So, he's, like right now, like paralyzed. So, he doesn't know where is mall and where is downtown. All those things. And he doesn't know how to speak, if he goes somewhere. He doesn't know. So scary inside his chest.

Childcare needs also created limitations. All of his six children were under 18 and he was told that he cannot leave them at home alone. This meant he had to go straight home after work to watch the children so his wife could be at her job by 2:00. Although his daughter's school offers a weekend English program for parents, he works on Saturdays and cannot attend.

Rohit describes Bina as an average student, both in Nepal and in the U.S., and said she rarely misses school. He would really like for her to be at the top of her class but he is very happy with how much she is learning. He tells her to do her homework but, since he cannot read or write in English, he does not know whether she does it. He is unsure whether she submits her assignments on time and he does not know whether anyone at school helps her with homework.

Bina attended a different school when she first came to the U.S. and transferred to Grant Elementary during the 2011-2012 school year, just after fall parent-teacher conferences. School staff conducted home visits over the summer and interpreters

⁹ Interpreters are typically expected to translate into the first-person. The Nepali interpreter who facilitated the interview with Bina's father used the third-person. Grammatical errors have not been corrected.

assisted at the fall parent-teacher conferences but, because of the timing of her transfer, Bina's parents did not participate in these events and had not yet met any of her teachers. Her father was anxious to talk to someone about her academic progress but did not know how to do so because of his limited English. The family moved again during the school year so Bina no longer lives within Grant's boundaries. Bina's ELL teacher explained that the district busses Bina to Grant so she can finish her 5th grade year at one school but she will need to attend her neighborhood school next year. This means that Bina will attend three schools in three years.

School Engagement

Bina's interview responses and classroom observations suggest neither high nor low engagement with school. She is typically very quiet but could make herself heard when the occasion called for it. For example, a classmate brought birthday cupcakes to share one day and she very clearly and audibly let him know that she preferred chocolate to vanilla. She was bolder when you talked to her one-on-one, reading aloud off my interview script, asking me questions, telling me she did not mind missing music class but did not want to miss P.E., and even inviting me to her uncle's upcoming wedding.

Although she said she did not really like school in the refugee camp in Nepal, she said she did like school at Grant. Her favorite subjects are English and math and she said she liked her teachers. When asked what she liked about math, she responded, "All of it." When asked what she liked about her teachers, she replied, "They teach English." Bina also enjoys science and singled-out a recent class project in which students made a model of a cell out of modeling clay. The class learned a lot of new science-specific

vocabulary that day, e.g., mitochondria, cytoplasm, etc. When I asked her what she thought about the lesson, she replied, “Okay. It’s easy to learn that.”

In class, Bina’s responses were typically brief. She seemed most likely to answer questions during math and this may have been because it was one of her favorite subjects. She seemed to follow class discussions but rarely contributed to them unless supported by a teacher. In the following example, Bina’s ELL teacher asked her to share the results of a short classroom writing assignment. All the other students presented their stories and she was the last one. They all sat at the front of the room and Bina sat next to the teacher.

When her teacher asked if she was ready, she smiled and politely replied, "No." Her teacher laughed and gently said, "It's time to go. Tell us what you have." Viviana interrupted at this point with a question about stamps and the teacher replied that they will wait until after Bina had her turn to make her presentation. She asked Bina, "Do you want me to help? Okay, so let's say it from here. First of all..." There was a pause and then Bina began to read but spoke very, very softly, too softly for others to hear. The teacher initially repeated what Bina said so that the other students could understand her. “Okay, this story is about her friend.” Bina spoke again very softly. “The store...” There was a long pause. Although a capable reader, Bina was too shy to continue. The teacher offered to read for her:

Okay, do you want me to read it? First we go to the store. There's lots of things. We went to the ice cream store. Then we buy ice cream, ice cream made from milk. We don't need to pay because my mom buys ice cream for us. Then we go home.

When she finished, Bina's classmates applauded just as they had for each of the other students after they presented.

She was not unfriendly to her peers but generally kept to herself in the classroom. She would choose to sit alone when given the option to work with other students but did not resist when approached by another student for collaborative work. She said she felt she could count on people at school, including teachers, staff, other students, and school volunteers like Grandma Mandy. She volunteered to bring Nepali food from home for a class celebration and volunteered for helper activities such as passing out napkins during snack time.

Bina said she was generally able to finish her work and turn in most assignments on time. Her teachers and her friend, Megan, help with class assignments and with *checking* homework but she does not have anyone at school who can help her *do* her homework. Bina generally could not attend the before or after-school homework help programs set up by staff due to conflicts with the school bus schedule. When asked how much time she spent on homework each day she replied, "Some homework is long and some homework is short." She is not planning to attend the summer English program because she will be visiting family in a nearby state.

Language and Literacy

Bina's English assessment scores indicate that her reading skills are stronger than her skills in other language areas. She is at the intermediate stage of language development in reading, meaning that errors may hinder understanding, and at the advanced-beginning stage in listening comprehension and writing, meaning that frequent errors do inhibit understanding. She is still working on basic skills in spoken English.

She speaks both Nepali and English on a regular basis. She said she uses Nepali at home, speaks both English and Nepali with her friends, and speaks mostly English at school. She no longer reads or writes in Nepali. When asked whether their children have access to reading materials in their native language, both parents laugh. The interpreter explains for the father, “Only English. He doesn’t care if she read Nepali or whatever.” Later he added, “He wants his daughter perfect English-speaking. He doesn’t want her to be like him. Everything good with English language. Like, he is waiting to get high school for her so if somebody asks him question, his daughter can explain everything.”

Bina said that neither her parents nor any of her five siblings read for pleasure. As for her, she said, “I don’t read anything. I only read my homework and do my homework and go to play.” Grant Elementary does have a school library and each of her teachers established classroom libraries but Bina said that she never checks out books and seemed to be under the impression that students are not allowed to bring books home. Follow-up with school staff indicates that students are able to take books home but may not be able to if they are using a particular book for a research project. It was not clear whether Bina understood this distinction.

Aspirations

For Rohit, being successful in life means “doing good.” He sees school as important for Bina’s future in the United States because it is there that she will learn English. He sees his role as trying to make sure she improves her English skills. As for Bina, being successful in the U.S. means getting good grades, going to college, and becoming a doctor—any kind of doctor. She learned through Grant Elementary’s career education program that she will need to study science and go to college for eight years to

do so. She is striving to improve her English and knows that she will need to get good grades in order to pursue her career goal.

Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Bina

Bina's family arrived from camps with a fairly stable population, in which residents organized and ran most programs, and which offered better services than is typical for refugees. Her parents, however, lived as marginalized exiles for more than twenty years in circumstances that compromised health and offered few opportunities to develop their human capital. Upon arrival in the U.S., Rohit experienced health issues that prevented him from attending initial English language classes. Rohit's current job offers just part-time hours and he feels he will not find a better position without improved language skills. His work schedule and the family's childcare needs currently make that very difficult. He views education as very important to Bina's future and encourages her to do well in school but feels constrained in his ability to help.

Bina was able attend school consistently in the refugee camp in Nepal. She learned to read and write in Nepali and had exposure to English. In the U.S., she engages less overtly in class activities than her classmates. She is generally quiet, typically prefers to work on her own, and does not participate in extracurricular activities. Her reserve in the classroom might be a result of personal temperament or of cultural differences. However, while she is shy about reading aloud in class, she is bolder during math lessons, unfazed by challenging science vocabulary, and much more talkative one-on-one.

Resettlement certainly brought significant change for Bina, as it did for all the students in this study. In school in the Nepali refugee camp, she was accustomed to

much larger classes, greater instructional use of memorization and recitation, and teacher use of corporal punishment. She is adjusting to life in a new country and learning academic content in a new language. She relies on school-day relationships to get help with homework, as family members are unable to provide concrete assistance and she generally cannot attend Grant's out-of-school time programs. Her experiences highlight the interactive, dynamic nature of engagement and the significant link between positive school relationships and student learning.

It is unclear whether Bina's confusion about bringing library books home limits her independent reading. Greater amounts of reading correspond positively to reading comprehension (Mol & Bus, 2011) and, while good reading skills do not guarantee academic success (Snow, Porche, Tabors, & Harris, 2007), she has a tremendous amount of work to do to catch up to native speakers of English (Gersten et al., 2007). She and her family have set high aspirations and she needs access to a wide range of rich language experiences to support her literacy development (August & Shanahan, 2006; August & Shanahan, 2010; Lesaux & Geva, 2006). Having arrived with little in the way of human capital, a short duration of assistance from the resettlement agency, and facing significant social isolation, Bina's parents are working to find their footing largely on their own. These factors make school-based staff and programs especially important as the family works to successfully adapt to life in their new community.

So Min

Context of Exit

Burma

So Min was in fifth grade when his family participated in this study. His family are ethnic Karen from Burma¹⁰ and came to the U.S. five years ago from the Mae La refugee camp in Thailand. Mae La was the largest and oldest of nine camps along the Burma-Thailand border and home to roughly 40,000 refugees when So Min and his family were resettled in 2007 (UNHCR, 2007a). This area represents one of the world's most protracted refugee situations with some residents living in the camps for more than 25 years (Barron et al., 2007).

Burma fell into civil war shortly after gaining independence from Britain in 1948 and the Karen are one of several minority ethnic groups that fought a decades-long insurgency against a violently oppressive government (Crossette, 1985; Mydans, 1996). The country came under military rule in 1962 and, after a significant defeat of Karen fighters in 1984 and a crackdown on large-scale protests in 1988, large numbers of Karen started crossing into Thailand to escape government military offensives against minority groups (Barron et al., 2007; Huguet & Punpuing, 2005). Burma began a transition to civilian government in 2011 (Fuller & Landler, 2011; Myers & Mydans, 2012) but rights violations continued and decades of military conflict have resulted in more than two million people fleeing to neighboring countries (United Nations News Centre, 2013; U.S. Department of State, 2011a, 2011b). Documented government abuses of human rights

¹⁰ Burma is also referred to as Myanmar.

include military attacks on ethnic minorities, forced relocation, forced labor, indefinite detention without charges, incommunicado detention, imprisonment in life-threatening conditions, human trafficking, recruitment of child soldiers, systematic rape, torture, and extrajudicial killings (Mydans, 2003; U.S. Department of State, 2011b).

Thailand

Thailand has hosted nearly three million refugees over the past three decades (UNHCR, 2007a) and, when large numbers began fleeing Burma in the mid-1980s, the country already housed hundreds of thousands of refugees from Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos (Erlanger, 1990). The Thai government pressured the U.N. not to acknowledge arrivals from Burma as refugees or to provide aid, worried that doing so would draw even greater numbers across the border. Officials eventually allowed establishment of camps in designated areas but the response to individuals from Burma has hardened over time (Barron et al., 2007). The official stance is influenced by the large numbers of people who have crossed Thailand's western border, attacks by the Burmese military against refugee camps inside Thailand, an attack by radical groups on the Burmese Embassy and a Thai hospital, and Thailand's own financial and political interests inside Burma (Huguet & Punpuing, 2005; Mydans, 1997; New York Times, 1995).

As a result, since 1984, Thai officials have alternately allowed those fleeing Burma to cross into Thailand or barred their entry, ignored them once they entered the country or jailed and deported them as illegal immigrants, allowed establishment of camps within designated areas, offered refugee status to those living in the camps but not to those living in Thailand outside the camps, or offered them money to return to Burma and never come back to Thailand, a form of coercion that violates international principles

(Brees, 2008; Erlanger, 1990; Mydans, 1997). Thailand is not a signatory to either the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees or the 1967 Protocol, is thus not obligated to provide assistance, and officially classifies asylum-seekers from Burma as illegal immigrants (Lang, 2002). The United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants estimates that approximately 361,000 people from Burma resided in Thailand during 2008 (United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). Ethnic Karen accounted for roughly 161,000 and nearly one-third lived outside the formal refugee settlements.

After fleeing Burma, many Karen refugees built houses from bamboo and thatch in forested and mountainous areas along the Thailand-Burma border (Barron et al., 2007). They quickly organized themselves into committees that manage day-to-day affairs. As the period of exile lengthened, they also established committees to address needs in the areas of health, justice, social welfare, education, and to manage relations both with the Thai government and with international donors who provided daily essentials such as food (UNHCR, 2008b). The Thai government consolidated refugee settlements during the mid-1990s, in response to attacks by the Burmese military on several camps within Thailand (Moonieinda, 2011; New York Times, 1995) and, by 2001, had suspended official admittance to all camps (Huguet & Punpuing, 2005).

Health

Camp residents could access basic services but experienced high rates of infectious disease, which were exacerbated by overcrowding and limited waste disposal options (UNHCR, 2008b). Food rations provided by international donors met short-term nutritional needs but did not offer the balanced diet needed for long-term subsistence

(Banjong et al., 2003). Many could grow their own vegetables and raise chickens or pigs but limited space existed for such endeavors and restrictions on movement outside the camps made it difficult for refugees to supplement their diets by foraging in nearby forests (Brees, 2008; Moonieinda, 2011). Individuals at Mae La with a source of income were able to supplement rations at small shops within the camp.

Overall, however, researchers found that refugees at Mae La camp were unable to sufficiently supplement food rations to avoid micronutrient deficiencies. There was thus a high prevalence of low weight and stunting among children (Banjong et al., 2003). Thirty-four percent of children under age five were underweight, 36 percent were chronically malnourished (i.e., stunted), and 9 percent were acutely malnourished (i.e., wasting). Forty-two percent of children aged 5 to 10 were underweight, 62 percent were stunted, and two percent were wasting.

The protracted nature of the conflict in Burma and restrictions set by the Thai government resulted in a progression for camp residents from general self-reliance for food and shelter to full dependence on the international community, with some self-management of camp programs (Benner, Muangsookjarouen, Sondorp, & Townsend, 2008). The traumatic conditions that triggered flight to Thailand, long-term camp confinement, restrictions in both daily activities and future opportunities, and issues of protection within the camps combined to severely strain individual and community mental health. The camps themselves have been described as generally safe (Moonieinda, 2011) but rates of domestic violence increased over time, as did reports of sexual abuse and exploitation of refugees by humanitarian workers inside the camps (UNHCR, 2008b).

Work

Relatively few job opportunities existed within the refugee settlements and those seeking work often had to venture beyond camp boundaries, even though it was technically prohibited (Brees, 2008). This tenuous legal status left refugees vulnerable to employers unwilling to pay minimum wage; demands for bribes from Thai police, border patrol, and other government officials; and, “being detained, robbed, and sometimes raped by Thai police or soldiers if caught” (Moonieinda, 2011). So Min’s father did not disclose whether he sought work outside the camps. Speaking through an interpreter, he said that he was a weaver but that he had no work when the family lived at Mae La, “We were poor. We were poor. Kids come home, they want to do something but can’t do nothing. In the refugee camp, we have no work.”

Education

Schools in Karen regions of Burma had been chronically underfunded since the military takeover in 1962 and the regime closed independently run schools when it defeated Karen nationalists in the mid-1980s (Barron et al., 2007). The majority of early refugees originated from rural areas of Burma, were largely preliterate, and many maintained a centuries-old way of life. Large numbers of educated urbanites joined the refugee ranks when the Burmese military expanded its control of Karen-dominated areas in 1995. Karen refugees thus arrived at the camps in Thailand from diverse educational backgrounds but, collectively, placed a high value on education and revered teachers highly (Moonieinda, 2011).

Camp residents established and developed the camp educational system over time and began with programs at the primary and secondary levels (Oh, Rattanasamakkee,

Sukhikhachornphrai, & Ochalumthan, 2010). They later added programs in vocational training, adult education, and higher education. Participation in elementary education was universal but dropped off to roughly 20 percent at the secondary level as refugee youth encountered learning difficulties, married as adolescents, and/or needed to help their families. Teachers faced chronic material shortages and schools experienced a high rate of teacher turnover as a result of low salaries and third-country resettlement.

So Min's father, Eh Mahn, received little formal education, is not literate in Karen, and does not speak, read, or write English. He said that children living in Mae La learned Karen, Burmese, English, and Thai, among other core subjects. One of So Min's older brothers described camp schools as crowded, dirty, lacking basic materials such as pencils, and thus as difficult learning environments. So Min was only six when he left the camp but had already been in school for three years. He did not remember much about school except going home for lunch and teacher use of corporal punishment if students forgot something or misbehaved.

Mode of Incorporation

More than 75,000 refugees were resettled in the United States from Burma, with small numbers arriving between 2004 and 2006 and the majority arriving from 2007 forward (ORR, 2013a). The greatest numbers were resettled in Texas and Indiana with fewer than 1,000 placed in the state in which this study took place. As with the Bhutanese-Nepali, the Karen were very new to this community and it took several months to locate a dual-language interpreter for the family interview.

So Min arrived in 2007 with his mother, father, grandfather, two brothers, and his sister. His parents found work in local restaurants. So Min entered first grade upon

arriving in the U.S. and attended three different schools before coming to Grant Elementary for third grade. He said he really liked Grant because sometimes students at his other schools would “say bad words.” He worried his parents would not let him hang out with kids who used that kind of language and that would leave him without friends to play with. He felt more comfortable at Grant because, “They know me.” He added, “I’m most nervous asking people, ‘Can I be your friend?’ I don’t really do that.”

School Engagement

Eh Mahn described his son as a good student, both at the refugee camp in Thailand and here in the U.S. Generally quiet in class, he answers questions or contributes comments more often in his smaller ELL class than in his larger homeroom class. The few comments he does make suggest he thinks critically about the ideas being discussed. In one example, the students in his ELL class were talking about a lesson on native peoples of the Pacific Northwest. So Min volunteered, “They doesn’t believe in Christians. They believe in the spirit.” In a separate lesson on forces of nature, So Min made a connection between what he had learned about volcanos in his homeroom class and what he learned in his ELL class, “Do you know in Mrs. J’s class in science, um, they were, you know, um, black stuff. They say it was from lava.”

So Min rarely misses school and his interactions with peers and teachers are generally positive. He and Immanuel are the only boys in his ELL class so they typically worked together. The two of them could be quite chatty (in English) and often needed direction from their teacher to get back on track. So Min earned a reputation for strong drawing skills and often helps Immanuel with drawing projects. He likes sports and participates in both track and basketball, although he said he does not like it when

students get too competitive, “Kids fighting over stuff...Basketball. They say, ‘You’re out. You’re not supposed to...’ Like that.”

Friends provide a source of moral support and teachers help him both with his school work and with correcting any mistakes on his homework. He is not always able to finish an assignment before it is due but his teachers give him extra time, "Yeah, but it's okay. Sometimes I get all my work done. And my teacher sometime let me have a break and then I get all my stuff done and I turn it in. And then I give back on time."

As for homework, So Min said, “I struggle a lot.” When asked whether he had somebody who could help him he replied, “Uh, my, usually my grandpa. He showed me a lot of division stuff.” He added, “Sometimes he’s not at home and then I have to figure it out myself but I just do it. And then, if I get it wrong, then I come back at school and then I fix it with my teacher.” He sometimes attends Homework Club in the morning before school or Grant Elementary Tigers in the afternoon, but is not able to when he takes the bus as it either arrives too late or leaves too early. He said he does not have a friend at school who can help him do his homework.

Language and Literacy

So Min’s English language assessment scores indicate stronger speaking and writing skills than oral comprehension and reading skills. He can communicate in a variety of complex contexts when speaking and writing and any errors that he does make do not usually interfere with understanding. He is at an intermediate stage of development for oral comprehension and reading, which means that errors still sometimes impede meaning.

He speaks with his parents in Karen. He does not always understand some of the nuances in their speech, particularly when they are being silly or goofy, and he cannot remember how to read or write in Karen. His efforts at mastery of Karen may be complicated by the fact that his parents speak two different Karen dialects. The majority of Karen in Thai refugee camps speaks Sgaw Karen (Raynard, 2007). His father speaks Pwo Karen and does not understand Sgaw Karen. The two dialects are dissimilar enough in pronunciation that they can be mutually unintelligible. His mother speaks both Pwo and Sgaw Karen.

He sometimes translates for a Karen refugee student in his homeroom who arrived late in the school year but he uses English with his brothers and friends and at school. The family goes to church on Sundays, bringing him into contact with the wider Karen community and giving him a chance to speak Karen with church friends. His sister is deaf so the two of them communicate through American Sign Language. In terms of reading, his mother and grandfather are literate and sometimes read for fun but So Min does not, saying that he reads about 15 minutes a day for homework only.

Aspirations

Eh Mahn said he can do more for his family in the United States than in the refugee camp because he can work, earn his own money, and thus buy things that his children need. He is very happy with the education that his son receives and just wants So Min to go to school, get a good job, and grow up to be a good person. He feels that So Min's ability to go get an education will enable him to do more than he himself has been able to do and is happy about that. To So Min, being successful and having a good life in the U.S. means learning how to read and speak English, being a good student, and

trying to be respectful. Last year, So Min wanted to be a scientist but this year he thinks he would really like to be a mechanic. He developed a strong interest in race cars last summer but he and his father do not yet know what kind of schooling he would need to work with cars in the future.

Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—So Min

As Karen from Burma, So Min's family represents an ethnic group that fought for decades against a repressive government that systematically targeted minorities with violence and a wide range of human rights abuses. Once in Thailand, refugees saw regular population inflows for nearly twenty years until the Thai government suspended formal admittance in 2001. Those living in the camps largely organized and managed day-to-day affairs but inadequate nutrition and poor living conditions compromised health. Relatively few occupational opportunities existed. So Min and his siblings were able to attend school consistently and studied Karen and English, among other subjects, but he left Thailand before he was able to establish a strong foundation in his native language.

At the time of this study, the family had lived in their resettlement community for five years. Both parents found work despite very limited English skills. Eh Man's training as a traditional weaver does not enable him to compete in a knowledge-based labor market and he is working in a low-skill, low-wage job. He is nevertheless glad to leave behind the imposed unemployment of the refugee camp and to be able to provide for his family. He and his wife draw on the added support of So Min's grandfather and the family connects to the area's small Karen community through church.

So Min's engagement with school is not always immediately apparent. He is generally quiet in the classroom but he does occasionally contribute thoughtfully to class discussions, participates in extracurricular sports, and feels that he can get practical support from teachers and peers. He struggles with homework, however, does not have regular access to academic assistance outside of school, and is not generally able to attend Grant's before or after school programs. His teachers give him extra time to complete his assignments and help him during school hours to correct mistakes and answer questions. Given that teachers in Thailand used corporal punishment and camp residents sometimes faced exploitation by humanitarian workers and Thai police/military, he may have needed extra time to learn to trust his teachers at school.

So Min does not read beyond school requirements yet the relationship between exposure to print and reading comprehension is strongest among students with lower reading levels (Mol & Bus, 2011). Researchers of literacy development for language-minority students note that English Language Learners, "have to learn with enormous efficiency if they are to catch up to their monolingual English classmates" (Lesaux & Geva, 2006, p. 53). So Min is likely to have to work even harder because he lacks first language literacy (Riches & Genesee, 2006). His parents encourage him to work hard in school and his father sees education as a source of future opportunity yet his homework struggles and his family's unfamiliarity with how to prepare for postsecondary education highlight the importance of the guidance offered through programs at Grant elementary.

Viviana

Context of Exit

Burundi

A fifth grader when she participated in this study, Viviana, came to the U.S. five years ago from a refugee camp in Tanzania with her mother, Rosine, and three of her siblings. Rosine was originally from Burundi which, along with Rwanda, was a German colony between 1895 to 1916 and then a Belgian colony until 1962 (African Union, 2000). After independence in 1962, both countries experienced decades of violent power struggles among factions of ruling elites as well as intense communal violence between the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi ethnic groups.

Rosine fled Burundi during a period in 1972 when, in response to attacks by Hutu insurgents in which several thousand Tutsi and a number of moderate Hutu were killed, the Tutsi-dominated government retaliated against the entire Hutu population (Lemarchand, 1996; New York Times, 1973b). Civil servants and educated Hutu became special targets, including university and secondary school students, and estimates of the numbers killed range from 100,000 to 300,000 (African Union, 2000). The people of Burundi experienced seven waves of mass killings between achieving independence in 1962 and the 1994 genocide in neighboring Rwanda but the violence that Rosine fled in 1972 has been called, “one of the worst atrocities in Africa in the post-colonial era” (African Union, 2000, p. 19).

Rwanda

Rosine arrived in Rwanda around the time a military coup installed a Hutu-led dictatorship (African Union, 2000; New York Times, 1973a). Ethnic violence subsided for roughly the next 17 years but the new regime was repressive and Burundian refugees had little access to land in a country with a largely agricultural economy (International Crisis Group, 1999). Life in Rwanda became more difficult with the 1990 October invasion by Tutsi exiles who called themselves the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The invasion, plus the assassination of neighboring Burundi's first democratically elected Hutu president, allowed militant Hutu within Rwanda to leverage historical animosities to their own ends and the country collapsed into civil war (Lemarchand, 1996; New York Times, 1993a, 1993b). By 1993, 1.3 million people were displaced, fleeing either government massacres of Tutsi and communal anti-Tutsi pogroms or anti-Hutu violence on the part of the RPF (Lorch, 1994a). When the plane of the Rwandan and Burundian presidents was shot down on return from peace talks in April of 1994, radical Hutu within Rwanda increased the violence and began a campaign to eliminate all Tutsi within the country (Fisher, 2000; Lorch, 1994c).

Mass killings occurred in places where people sought refuge, including churches and schools, and a "substantial number" of teachers and other school staff either facilitated or participated in attacks on Tutsi students (African Union, 2000, p. 118). There were many cases of school staff refusing to shelter students, reporting them to militia who then killed them in front of other students, or killing students themselves. Women and girls, both Tutsi and Hutu, were especially vulnerable and rape was commonplace. Tutsi were specifically targeted for brutal sexual assault. In a little more

than 100 days, 800,000 people, mostly Tutsi, were dead and thousands more had been raped, tortured, or maimed. More than two million people, mostly Hutu, had been displaced representing, “the greatest mass flight of people in modern times” (New York Times, 1994a, p. A18).

Tanzania

Tanzania has for decades been a major refuge for those fleeing government repression, wars, insurgencies, and ethnic violence in the Great Lakes Region (Chaulia, 2003; Loescher & Milner, 2005). Many of Africa’s refugees during the 1960s and 1970s were products of independence struggles and Tanzania developed a reputation for generous refugee policies (Crisp, 2010). Conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi, however, led to the rapid influx of hundreds of thousands into Tanzania during 1994, with the small, remote town of Ngara receiving more than 250,000 refugees in just 25 hours (Lorch, 1994b, 1994c; New York Times, 1994a). More than 350,000 additional Rwandans crossed the Tanzanian border that year and, combined with the massive numbers arriving from Burundi, brought Tanzania’s refugee population to nearly 900,000 during 1994 (UNHCR, 2013).

This change in the speed and scale of the refugee crisis occurred during a period in which the Tanzanian economy was declining, Western donor nations were cutting back on aid, and militias began using refugee camps as bases for raids into neighboring countries (Crisp, 2010). The Tanzanian government and international aid agencies were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers coming out of Rwanda and the refugee camps that were established were not always safe (Lorch, 1994b). Hutu politicians, soldiers, militia, and regular citizens who committed atrocities during the genocide formed part of the

massive exodus and former leaders reestablished political and military structures in the camps as part of efforts to win back power in Rwanda, "an unparalleled development in the annals of refugee flight" (Bonner, 1996, p. 7; UNHCR, 1997).

They continued anti-Tutsi violence within the camps but also created a general climate of fear and insecurity through theft of aid stocks, disruption of food distribution, intimidation, rape, and murder (African Union, 2000). Conditions were initially so unstable that aid workers in some camps were driven out by Hutu militia (New York Times, 1994b). Camp security remained such a challenge that, by 1996, the United Nations supported efforts by the Tanzanian government to forcibly repatriate Rwandan refugees, a move that contrasted starkly to the organization's long history of opposition to coercive return (Bonner, 1996). Tanzanian soldiers and police pushed hundreds of thousands of Rwandan and Burundian refugees back across the border during 1996, 1999, and 2001 (Chaulia, 2003; McKinley, 1996; UNHCR, 2013).

Tens of thousands of Rwandan refugees remained in Tanzania, however, as well as hundreds of thousands from Burundi, the DRC, Mozambique, Somalia, and other African countries (UNHCR, 2013). Rosine's two oldest children would have been toddlers during this time. Rosine did not say which camps she lived in while in Tanzania, nor did she say whether she was classified as a Rwandan or Burundian refugee. It is thus not possible to know exactly the opportunities she and her children had to access health, vocational, and educational supports. Also, the consistent mass migrations that characterized the conflicts in this region and efforts by Tanzanian officials to repatriate some refugees suggest that there were significant population movements within the camps. Some reports, however, do offer insights into the level of access Rwandan,

Burundian, and Congolese refugees had to services within refugee camps in western Tanzania.

Health

Basic services existed in all camps in Western Tanzania, although some refugees reported that some staff seemed to expect bribes (Rutta et al., 2005). Burundian and Rwandan refugees in two camps reported greater access to healthcare in the camps than in their home countries but said they experienced more problems with gastric issues, malnutrition, childhood illnesses, and mental health. They also reported that overcrowding, a monotonous diet, poor housing, and poverty made it difficult to stay healthy. Refugees experienced food shortages as well as shortages of non-food items such as blankets, clothes, cooking utensils, and plastic sheeting, with the latter making it difficult to keep tropical rains out of living quarters. A separate study of camps for Burundian and Congolese refugees found that, while refugees received distributions of corn meal, cooking oil, and beans, some older children showed clinical signs of protein malnutrition (Beltran, Cherrett, Hobdell, Freder, & Robison, 2006). A third study of a camp for Burundian refugees found that children were at high risk of anemia, due to malaria infection and hookworm infestation, as well as diet-related iron deficiency (Tomashek, Woodruff, Gotway, Bloland, & Mbaruku, 2001).

Work

Rosine said she worked as a farmer. Residents of some camps could supplement rations by either selling their labor, selling handicrafts such as baskets or wood carvings, or sometimes women sold crops they had grown on small plots (Beltran et al., 2006). A very small minority of refugees could access vocational training programs in the areas of

tailoring, carpentry, typing, embroidery, bicycle making and repair, shoe making and repair, or baking. Refugees in at least one study reported, however, that banditry within the camps led to general insecurity and that both restrictions on refugee movement and violence against women outside the camps made leaving the camps both difficult and dangerous (Rutta et al., 2005).

Education

Rosine had not been able to attend school, does not read or write in her native Kirundi, and had no exposure to English prior to arrival in the U.S. Viviana was born in Tanzania and did go to school in the refugee camps, although she was young at resettlement and only attended preschool and kindergarten before arrival. She remembered that she wore a school uniform and that instruction was in French, which was difficult because her native language was Kirundi. Her older sister remembered a lot of fighting, even among teachers. Speaking through a Kirundi interpreter, Rosine explained her children's prior schooling this way, "There, in Africa, it was hard for them. They go from home to school and sometimes the security, there's no peace. Sometimes, when there's no peace, even the kids, they can't catch stuff." She added, "In Africa, some kids, because of the war, and they don't have enough to eat, when there is a problem, like war and whatever, they just quit the school and they just do whatever they want."

Each camp in Western Tanzania gradually developed an education system (Katunzi & Ndalichako, 2004). Many Burundian parents who lived through the mass killings of educated Hutu resisted sending their children to school (Skonhofs, 2000). Yet refugees in western Tanzania came from a range of educational and professional backgrounds and former teachers and other educated adults helped to either organize or

provide educational services (Crisp et al., 2001). Teachers received low wages, with pre-school teachers receiving no payment at all, and teacher attrition was quite high. Camps were differentially affected by shortages but students generally reported insufficient texts and exercise books and teachers reported insufficient numbers of classrooms, teachers' offices, latrines, and water facilities. Despite these shortages, most camps had libraries and one camp even had a computer room with fee-based internet access.

Children were more likely to have access to primary education than education at the secondary level (Beltran et al., 2006; Crisp et al., 2001). Student teacher ratios were high, ranging from 48:1 to 111:1 but student attendance was also generally high (Katunzi & Ndalichako, 2004). Students were required to pass end-of-course exams in order to move on to the next grade and many were held back. Dropout rates became an issue as students got older, particularly for girls. Poverty meant that children sometimes needed to work to supplement family income, children did not have clothes suitable to wear to school, or access to soap so they could keep clean. As girls reached puberty, their responsibilities at home often increased, and the lack of soap and sanitary materials kept them from going out in public during menstruation. Food ration cuts at some camps meant students often went hungry (New York Times, 1998) and some students had trouble concentrating due to past trauma, continued instability in the camps, and fears of forced repatriation.

Context of Settlement

Fewer than 11,000 Burundian refugees had been resettled in the United States as of the end of 2012, with most arriving in 2007 (ORR, 2013a). The majority was placed in Texas and Arizona, with just a few hundred resettled in this state. As was the case

with the prior two families, it took several months to locate an interpreter literate in Kirundi who could help with the family interview.

When Viviana and her family arrived during the summer of 2007, they were “adopted” by a community volunteer, Stacy who continued to offer concrete assistance at the time of this study. For example, the family recently moved to a new apartment across town so Viviana no longer lives in the neighborhood served by Grant Elementary. In order for her to be able to finish her fifth grade year at Grant, her older brother drives her to school in the morning and Stacy drives her home in the afternoon. Viviana describes Stacy as “my helper.”

Rosine eventually found work as a housekeeper at a local hotel and recently started attending English classes two days per week through a program offered at a Catholic church near her house. When asked how well she understands English, she said through an interpreter, “Some I understand and some I just don’t.” She said that reading is hard and she is now trying to learn to write English.

The family still struggles with the violence they experienced in Africa. A teacher who sometimes picks Viviana up at home for club events noticed one day that one of her brothers was still asleep in the early afternoon. She asked Viviana if he felt unwell. Viviana shared that her brother suffered from terrible dreams for which he received medication. She told the teacher, “I have bad dreams but not like Enrique. My dreams don’t keep me from learning.”

School Engagement

Rosine describes Viviana as a motivated student, explaining, “She likes school. She used to read books ‘til 11 pm.” Interviews and classroom observations suggest that Viviana is academically engaged, a very active learner, and has positive relationships with both peers and staff. Shyer in her larger homeroom class than in her ELL class, she still participates in class activities, whether raising her hand to answer a question, using hand signals to indicate agreement or disagreement with a statement, or collaborating with other students on assignments. She and her friend Malik sometimes help their seatmate, a new Karen refugee who spoke almost no English, figure out how to do the assignments. Her teacher occasionally leaves a little time at the end of the day during which students can talk about things they are or will be doing and Viviana is comfortable enough during these times to share upcoming family events.

She seems to really enjoy her ELL class and is known to protest when it is time to leave. She participates in most class discussions, answering questions or making comments, even when this calls for using unfamiliar or challenging words. She makes connections between lessons in her ELL class and other classes or in her personal life. In the following example, Viviana tried to connect prior information to a lesson in her ELL class about an explorer who traveled across the ocean in a small boat:

Mrs. S: So look at the picture there. That is where he’s living the whole time, in that little square, little rectangular...

Viviana: At least he has a bed.

Mrs. S: He has a bed. He has a pillow.

Viviana: That’s a pillow? I thought that was a bag. I would sleep on that.

Mrs. S: He measures the water temperature with a special tool. [One of the students asks what a cabin is.] What’s a cabin? A cabin is a closed-in area where people live.

Viviana: Don't they have woods?

Mrs. S: Pardon me? A cabin in the woods?

Viviana: Yeah.

Mrs. S: They also call the sleeping area of a boat a cabin.

Viviana: Yeah, but isn't a cabin, how are they saying it's comfy, well this one is, but, like, the one at the woods when it has snow, doesn't it go, like there's holes in the wood, doesn't it go inside?...I read a story that had that.

Both Viviana and her mother said she is able to get most of her assignments submitted on time but Viviana said she is often not able to finish homework without help. Stacy, the family's community volunteer, sometimes helps her with her school work but is not always available. Viviana and Malik, the girl introduced in the first case study, sometimes work together on homework but Viviana said she usually does the work by herself. When asked what she does when unable to finish her work, she responded, "I just bring it back to school and then Mrs. J helps us with it."

When asked what she likes best about Grant Elementary, she replied, "You have friends. Um, you get to learn a lot of new things and you have different teachers." She finds it easy to make friends here, explaining, "People just ask you, 'Do you want to be my friend?'" In a separate interview, her mother shared her feelings on her children's schooling here in the US:

Here it's good because the government provide the transportation for kids and they offer food for them at school. And, they just, teachers [are] good here...Here the teacher, they provide enough education for the kids.... the kids, they have everything. I like that. And here, I like the way the teacher help the kids because they know all the kids. You know, people are different. There's kids, when they learn they understand easily and for other kids it's hard for them. Maybe they need extra help. The teacher, it's their job, if they know kids, it's not easy for her to understand, they just help them to understand. They have extra help at the school.

She has no recommendations for the school or the teachers, “No, I think the teachers, they know themselves what to do. The only thing I'm happy to see my daughter go to school and that's it. Going to school and having enough education. That's good for me.”

Language and Literacy

Viviana's English language assessment scores reveal fairly strong skills in listening comprehension, reading, and writing. She makes some errors but those errors typically do not hinder understanding. She is less competent with spoken English, making frequent mistakes that can interfere with meaning. She understands and speaks her native Kirundi very well but does not read or write it. This is perhaps not surprising given that her mother did not have the opportunity to attend school in Africa and does not read or write Kirundi, and the formal schooling Viviana received in the Tanzanian camps was in French. She said she uses Kirundi at home with her family, although Rosine said her daughter was more likely to use English with her siblings. Viviana's nephew, her sister's toddler, only knows English.

As for reading, Viviana said that she and her brothers all enjoy reading for fun and that she probably reads beyond school requirement for around two hours per week. Right now she really likes *Charlotte's Web* and *Little House on the Prairie*. Rosine said that Viviana used to go to the library but there is no library near their new apartment so her daughter just reads books that she brings home from school.

Aspirations

As for her aspirations for Viviana, Rosine viewed education as a way to avoid the kind of hard, physical work that she herself has had to do. Speaking through an interpreter, she said:

Yeah, I think school is good because if, like, my daughter goes to school and has success in her education it will be easy for her to get a better job. And it will be a job she can be, it won't be like hard work, use your energy.

For Viviana, being successful in life means going to college. If she had a cousin come to the US, she would tell him that doing well in school is key because it helps you with, “learning things in life you’re going to have to deal with.” She thinks she would like to be a doctor and, while she knows she will need to go to college to do so, she and her mother are unclear as to the coursework she will need in high school or how long she will need to complete a medical degree.

Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Viviana

Viviana’s mother, Rosine, lived through some of the worst atrocities occurring in Africa in the past fifty years (African Union, 2000). She survived the mass killings of hundreds of thousands of Hutu in Burundi in 1972 and the genocide of 800,000 Tutsi in Rwanda twenty years later. She faced years of insecurity, inadequate food and nutrition, insufficient healthcare, and severe constraints on her ability to attain an education or work. She arrived in the U.S. as a single parent with four children, knowing no English, with educational and occupational skills that offered little advantage, and at least one child struggling to deal with past trauma.

Despite these challenges, and placement in an area without a sizable co-ethnic population to offer assistance, Rosine has lived in the U.S. for five years now and managed to establish her family in their new community. She found work as a hotel maid and is the only parent in this study attending English classes. Her efforts to learn English and her educational aspirations for Viviana are especially significant in light of the targeted attacks on educated Hutu that occurred in Burundi and the assaults by school staff on Tutsi students in Rwanda.

Viviana acquired some schooling in Tanzania but instruction was in French, not her native Kirundi, and her family was resettled before she developed literacy skills in any language. ELLs without first language literacy must work harder to develop competency in a second language (Riches & Genesee, 2006) but Viviana engages overtly in the classroom. She participates actively in instruction, completes her assignments, and collaborating with other students on school tasks. She describes her relationships with peers and teachers as positive. She is not always able to complete homework on her own and, although she can turn to Malik, Stacy, and Grant's homework programs for help, her classroom teacher is the most consistently available resource. She reads quite a bit on her own and, given the strong relationship between print exposure and reading comprehension (Mol & Bus, 2011), this is likely to help her in her academic pursuits. Her classroom and school libraries are especially important as the family no longer lives near a public library.

Viviana and her mother know that she will need to go to college if she chooses to pursue a medical career but they need more information about preparing for postsecondary education. As a sixth-grader at Grant, she will participate in additional job

shadowing events, field trips to local colleges, and receive basic information about the financial aid process. However, lacking consistent access to homework help and experience with the American educational system, school-based programs and services will continue to be important to Viviana.

Celeste

Context of Exit

Burundi

Celeste was in sixth grade when she participated in this study. She, her parents, and her five siblings came to the U.S. in 2007 from a refugee camp in Tanzania. Celeste's father, Nyionzima, was originally from Burundi and, like Viviana's mother, fled during the 1972 mass killings of Hutu civilians by the Tutsi-dominated government. He fled to what was then Zaire but is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Zairians achieved independence from Belgium in 1960 but, following a 1965 military coup orchestrated by Mobutu Sésé Seko and supported by the U.S. government, found themselves living under a kleptocratic dictator for the next three decades (French, 1997; Hochschild, 2003). Nyionzima earned his living as a farmer in Burundi but worked as a fisherman in Zaire. Burundian refugees in Zaire found greater opportunities than those who fled to Rwanda but Mobutu stole billions in public funds and starved the nation of roads, electricity, telephone service, health care, and public education (International Crisis Group, 1999).

Zaire

The number of Rwandans who flooded into Zaire in response to the genocide was even greater than the number that fled to Tanzania, with more than one million people crossing the border in just 48 hours (New York Times, 1994a). They arrived primarily in the provincial regions of North and South Kivu, along the Rwandan and Burundian borders, and sometimes outnumbered the local population by a factor of three (UNHCR, 1997). The scale of the influx overwhelmed the combined efforts of the government, French and American army units, and the few humanitarian organizations present, and a devastating cholera epidemic soon followed (New York Times, 1994a; Van Damme, 1995).

In addition to finding inadequate food, water, and sanitation, those who fled to Zaire found that Mobutu provided protection and arms to the génocidaires, just as he had when they were in power in Rwanda (African Union, 2000). Former leaders, militiamen, and soldiers intimidated or killed refugees, deprived them of food and medical supplies, encouraged Zairian officials to take away the land and citizenship of local Tutsi and to oust them from the country, and staged insurgencies against the now Tutsi-led governments in Burundi and Rwanda (Crossette, 1994; New York Times, 1996). In response, the Rwandan government supported an uprising of affected Tutsi in eastern Zaire and the Mobutu regime began to unravel (French, 1997). Mobutu tried to empty the camps but “four civil wars were being fought in part or entirely on Zairian soil” by 1996 (African Union, 2000, p. 208). Former Rwandan Hutu leaders fought the Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), Radical Burundian Hutu fought the Tutsi-led Burundi

government, the Ugandan government fought two separate rebel groups, and a number of rebel groups fought Mobutu.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo

Joseph Kabila ousted Mobutu in 1997, largely helped by Rwanda and Uganda (Fisher & Onishi, 2000), and he renamed the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo (the DRC.) Regional tensions continued, however, and escalated into what would later be called Africa's First World War. The war officially ended via a 2002 peace accord but several smaller military conflicts continued and by 2003 regional fighting had generated a death toll larger than any since WWII (Coghlan et al., 2007; Hochschild, 2003). The people living in the country during this period experienced collapse of the government, massacres of civilians, mass rape, mass displacement, food shortages, and increases in infectious disease (including AIDS and HIV) and malnutrition.

Tanzania

Health, Work, Education

Nyionzima and his family fled from the DRC to Tanzania in the late 1990s, either around the time the government expelled 475,000 Rwandans or shortly thereafter. He did not say which of the refugee camps they lived in so, as with Viviana's family, it is difficult to know what opportunities they had to access health, vocational, and educational programs. Given the general context in Tanzanian refugee camps, however, the family likely had access to basic services but some camp staff may have expected bribes (Rutta et al., 2005). The family probably experienced overcrowding, poor housing, food shortages, monotonous diets, and shortages of blankets, clothes, cooking

utensils, and plastic sheeting. They may have contended with malaria, hookworm, anemia, and/or protein malnutrition (Beltran et al., 2006; Tomashek et al., 2001).

Opportunities to work and earn an income were likely constrained by their refugee status and security issues (Rutta et al., 2005) but Nyionzima said he was able to work as a merchant and trader. Celeste was born in Tanzania and attended two years of school before the family arrived in the U.S. Children who went to school in the camps generally experienced shortages of school materials and high teacher attrition but may have had access to a school library. A very small minority would have had access to fee-based internet access (Katunzi & Ndalichako, 2004). Students would have been expected to pass an exam to move on to the next grade and retention rates were high.

Speaking through an interpreter, Nyionzima explained that he never had the opportunity to attend school himself but tries to read and write a little bit in Kirundi. He described Celeste's schooling in Tanzania as difficult because instruction was in French. He said, "I knew some kids they spend, like, five years in school but they don't speak well French." He also said that Celeste did not like school in Tanzania but that, in Africa, parents could spank their children to get them to go to school.

Celeste said that learning in French was difficult and that she was held back in first grade because she did not pass the end-of-course test. She remembered that running was the only extra-curricular activity and that teachers used corporal punishment if a student made a mistake or misbehaved. She also said that students would go home at twelve for lunch and then come back after they had eaten. Swahili was the national language in Tanzania so she grew up speaking Swahili, not the Kirundi of her parents.

Because her parents wanted her to retain their native language, an uncle taught Kirundi to both Celeste and the sister closest to her in age after school each day.

Mode of Incorporation

Small numbers of refugees from the DRC began arriving in the United States in 1997 with annual increases until terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. The number of arrivals remained very low for several years after that but began increasing again in 2004. The majority of refugees from the DRC were resettled in Texas with roughly 500 resettled in this state (ORR, 2013). Nyionzima and his wife were ill when they came to the U.S. during the summer of 2007 and chronic health problems have impacted their ability to navigate in their new country:

I didn't get a chance to go to English school because I have been sick since I come to this country. I've been sick, me and my wife, so we didn't get a chance to learn English as we supposed to do. And I don't speak English at all.

Chronic health issues prevented both parents from working. Nyionzima, however, sees his children's education as a route to a good job and thus as a means of helping family members back home, "And I wish her to finish the college and to just get enough education and to get a better job and she can help some families back in Africa."

He wanted academic help for his daughters but did not know where to go to access the assistance they needed. Their oldest daughter, Victoria, graduated from high school in the U.S. but failed the English placement exam for the local community college. Because she failed three times, she must wait a while before she can take it again. No longer attending school, she did not have connections to someone who could help her develop her English skills. For Celeste, Nyionzima said:

I like the way the teachers, they just call us if there any problems with the kids. They just call us and [the interpreter] tell us what the kids need to do. And if they have problems, they just try to help them. The teachers are good and they just try to tell us, 'Please, tell the kids to focus on [school activity.]'

He added, "Everything is good for me because, before they do something, they have to tell me and [I] have to decide."

Celeste, however, wanted help with her reading. She participated in the school's program for students reading below grade level and sometimes attended the schools' homework club offered before school, but still reads at a third grade level. Her ELL teacher described Celeste's reading skills this way:

If you ask her to read a comprehension passage and answer questions independently, on her own, she does just fine...It's really about oral reading, reading fluently...She can do grade level work but any assessment that people give her, they're gonna think that she is much, much lower than she is. She thinks that, too...She just needs somebody to spend time reading with her. That's what she needs. We have had tutors for her in the past [but] people get busy. I mean, over the past few years, we've had a couple of different volunteer tutors work with her, both at school and outside of school. And it just, um, fell through. And the more [students] that we get, the more need. Just managing all that is hard...And she's really within the normal range of development for somebody who's not literate in her first language...She did not have a dominant first language.

Celeste's father promoted his daughter's English acquisition as best he could, "My role is just to remind her every time to read the books, to know English because English is the key of everything. Because if you know English, the school will be easy for you." He was glad that his daughter has had the opportunity to go to school and wanted school staff to know he appreciated their work, "...everything they do for the kids is great job. I like it and I say thanks. May God bless you."

School Engagement

Grant Elementary was the only school Celeste attended in the U.S. and she rarely misses school. She described herself as a competent student, saying, “Now I know a lot of stuff. More than I knew in Africa.” She said math was her favorite subject and she really liked the “fun stuff” they get to do at school, such as music, P.E., and going to the library. Interviews and classroom observations show that she engages overtly in school has positive relationships with both peers and staff. She generally seemed to follow along with lessons and regularly participated in discussions, whether in her main classrooms or her ELL classroom. She comfortably works on her own or with other students.

Though her attention sometimes wanes in class, Celeste is very motivated to learn, as was apparent during one chaotic lesson. The teacher wrote numbers on the whiteboard and directed students to write on their papers. Not every student had paper so the teacher stopped to pass out paper. One student didn't have a pencil so the teacher stopped again to ask whether anyone could lend a pencil. As the teacher continued, most students were not following along and several were getting up during instruction to get water at the fountain. The teacher finally said, “No more drinks. If you are thirsty, bring a bottle of water.” She then directed students who had been reading independently instead of following along to put their books away and, if they were finished with the class assignment, to just wait and follow along. Celeste had made vocabulary flashcards during an earlier lesson and discretely reviewed them under her desk while the teacher worked to bring the class to order.

She dealt positively with disruptive peers and had a good sense of humor. For example, one of her classmates wandered around the classroom for about 20 minutes during a period in which students worked in groups and the teacher worked with each group in turn. The girl, Fatuma, made no effort to participate in the lesson and just went from group to group, interfering with other students' work. For example, she walked over to several students, started moving around their water bottles and asking questions to which she already knew the answer, such as, "What's your name?" Those students shooed her away so she moved on and started the same routine with another group. This time a student pulled out a piece of paper and held it upright on her desk, as a means of placing a barrier between Fatuma and the work they were doing. When Fatuma came over to Celeste's group, Celeste said to her, "You need to put some glue on your bottom so you will stay in your seat."

In terms of finishing work, Celeste said she often did not have enough time to complete class assignments before needing to move on but that she was always able to turn her work in eventually. She said that she always turns in her homework and that it usually does not take long to complete, "Homework don't take me that long 'cause it's kind of easy." For more challenging assignments, she said she does not have a friend at school who can help. Her father explained that her older siblings were sometimes able to help but, as students themselves, they had their own school work to do and were not always available.

Teachers described Celeste very hardworking and as having a positive attitude. One of her teachers relied on her strong verbal skills to help limited English newcomers:

Celeste really helps me when there is an emotional situation and I can't understand. Like, if Jane [a newly arrived student from the Congo] is upset about something, because they speak the same language, Celeste is the one that translates for me when Jane is having a hard time using English...There's been a few times when there's been social situations and somebody called her something or said something to her and she's emotional about it. That's when I can't understand what she's trying to tell me...Celeste is a great verbal communicator.

Language and Literacy

Celeste speaks Kirundi, Swahili, and English. She speaks Kirundi with her parents and translates for them with speakers of English. She did not know any English when she came to the U.S. but feels she now speaks, understands, and writes English well. She does not read or write in Kirundi or Swahili. Her father said she speaks English most of the time, even with her sisters. She considers Swahili to be her native language and said, "With my friends, I speak Swahili but if I'm speaking with other people that don't know my language, I usually use English."

Her English language assessment scores indicate that she is beginning to develop more complex language skills but still makes mistakes in speaking, reading, writing, and listening that impede meaning. One sister and one brother like to read books. Celeste said she does not really read for fun, just for school, and the family does not have reading materials at home that are not school-related. In terms of family reading, her father said:

So sometimes I just turn off the TV to tell her go and read your books, do your stuffs about school. When she get a big book, she say, 'That's too big for me. I can't read this because there is so many information, so I don't like this. Maybe if it is smaller I can read it. But the big ones, I don't like it.'

Aspirations

From Nyionzima's perspective, Celeste would have a good life if she learned English well, went to college, and found a good job. He did not know what kind of career she would like to have. While he viewed learning English as important and his aspirations for her were to complete a college education, "I see if she continue her education she will have a better life because, this world now, if you are not educated it's, like, it's difficult. But if you are educated you will have a better life." Celeste participated in many school field trips, e.g., to the local community college, the local hospital for job shadowing, as well as others, but did not yet have a sense of what kind of work she might like to do when she is older. She did know, however, that she wants to graduate from high school and go on to college, saying, "School makes people know more stuff because if you don't know anything, you can't help yourself."

Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Celeste

Celeste's parents fled ethnic killings in Burundi in 1972 and the 1990s disintegration of the Great Lakes region into violence, which generated a death toll not seen since WWII (Coghlan et al., 2007; Hochschild, 2003). Survivors who made it to Tanzania found a country struggling unsuccessfully to prevent neighboring conflicts from spilling across its borders. The family thus lived through years of insecurity, deprivation, insufficient access to health care, and the interruption of educational and occupational progress. Her parents arrived in the U.S. not knowing English, lacking basic literacy skills, with low-skill occupational histories, and with health problems that prevented them from attending English language classes or looking for work.

Celeste was able to attend school in Tanzania but instruction was in French and she and her father say that she learned little. She speaks Swahili and Kirundi but arrived to start third grade without a dominant language, without literacy skills in any language, and without prior exposure to English. These circumstances explain why she is reading three years behind grade level despite high motivation and active school engagement. ELLs like Celeste who lack first language literacy face the compound challenges of simultaneously learning English and content area subject matter while developing basic literacy skills (Miller, 2009; Woods, 2009). Good reading skills do not guarantee academic success (Snow et al., 2007) but, as she progresses through school, Celeste will increasingly be required to read more informational text and text that uses more content-area specific vocabulary (Kamil et al., 2008; Sanacore & Palumbo, 2009). Academic vocabulary is very important as ELL students' understanding of academic English is highly predictive of both GPA and performance on standardized tests (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

Celeste is not able to attend Grant's morning homework club regularly and the individuals she otherwise turns to are sometimes too busy to help. School staff included targeted reading interventions in her instruction and sought to connect her to community volunteers who could help her with her reading. The volunteers, however, did not sustain their commitments and Celeste is actively looking for help herself, a remarkable characteristic for an eleven-year-old. Celeste's experiences illustrate that even schools working hard to comprehensively address students needs cannot do it all on their own and that programs which rely on volunteer support have their limits.

Lily

Context of Exit

The Democratic Republic of the Congo

Lily was in sixth grade at the time of the study. She, her mother, and younger sister arrived in the U.S. two years prior from a refugee camp in Tanzania. Lily's mother, Azima, was originally from the DRC. Speaking through an interpreter, Azima explained that, because her mother was from Rwanda and her father was from the DRC, life became increasingly difficult as the ethnic tensions of the region began to escalate:

So it was hard for us when we were going to school. We had different problems because we were mixed. They say we are Rwandans, things like that...you have to go to school but other kids, they say bad things and some people, they just decide to quit school because it's bad...I stopped going to school because of problems....I liked school before and, even now, when I think about it I feel sad. I know when you go to school, when you finish your school, you're going to get a better life but I didn't get a chance to go...

Azima at one time operated a small restaurant, drawing on Rwandan recipes she learned from her mother. She also worked in a day care and sometimes bought and sold merchandise as a means of earning an income. She fled to Tanzania in 2002 when communal violence reached her family:

...back in my country, they tell my dad, they killed him, other people, they tried to tell him, 'Kill your wife because she is not a Congolese. You have to kill her.' And he refused to do that. And then they killed him. And they beat [me.] [I] had a back problem. At that time, they killed my husband, too. Yeah, and that's a big problem and from that time, I had a back problem.

Azima lived in the DRC during the collapse of the Mobutu regime, the rise of Kabila, escalation of the regional conflicts, expansion in the number of rebel groups and militias,

food shortages, the rise in the prevalence of infectious disease, mass displacement, mass rape, and civilian massacres (Coghlan et al., 2007; Hochschild, 2003).

Tanzania

Health, Work, Education

Lily would have been a toddler when her mother fled from the DRC to Tanzania. As was the case with Viviana and Celeste, it was unclear exactly which camps her family lived in and thus what level of access they had to health, vocational, and educational resources. Both she and her mother said that they had to move a lot. Overall, Tanzanian camps offered basic services but there were variations and some refugees reported that some camp staff expected bribes (Rutta et al., 2005). There were shortages of basic supplies, food rations were monotonous and did not provide all necessary nutrients, housing was poor so it was difficult to keep out dust and rain, and personal safety was sometimes an issue (Beltran et al., 2006; New York Times, 1998; Tomashek et al., 2001).

Children could attend school but teacher wages were low and teacher attrition thus high, pupil-teacher ratios were high, student grade retention rates were high, and there were shortages of texts, exercise books, classrooms, latrines, and water (Katunzi & Ndalichako, 2004). Lily attended some school but her mother said that, when Lily left Tanzania at age 10, she did not know how to write her name:

Because we live in the camp and sometimes in the camp, they change them, they move them. Maybe they spend two months here and three months there. They just move them. They didn't get chance to go to school and stay for a long time. But she liked school.

Lily's assessment differed from her mother's:

I didn't really like to go to school. I just went when I was like at first grade or third. That's when I just went to school and I stopped. We learned math. We learned a lot of math. But I couldn't get it because I didn't go a lot...I just stopped because we had to move...And the teachers, they have, like, trees. They take a knife and they make them really good and, like if you're sleeping in class they [Lily swings her arm to demonstrate swatting someone with a switch] *whoosh*. If you're talking, my teacher used to tell me, 'Do you want some tea?' and I'm like, 'Yes,' and he will, like, cut your clothes or he will slap you. And I'm like, 'Oh my god that was mean.'

Unlike Viviana and Celeste, she said that instruction was in her native language, Swahili. She also said that students did not learn how to read, everyone went home for lunch, and they collected fruit from nearby trees to supplement their diet.

Mode of Incorporation

The back injuries Azima sustained in the DRC occasionally leave her unable to walk so she has not been able to work since arriving in the U.S. in the spring of 2010:

I will be happy when they [doctors] fix it [so] I can work. Trying to help my family. It's a problem when you don't work. Your kids, they may need something. When you don't have the money to pay, they will be sad....That's why we cancelled the interview before. Because I was sick. Yeah, I couldn't even walk. They changed the medicines and now it's going better. That's why even I'm here today.

Although she experienced many difficulties, Azima said she is happy that her daughters now have more of an opportunity to learn and that their teachers have been very helpful. The family arrived in time for Lily to attend the last few months of 4th grade at one school and, after her family moved across town, she enrolled in 5th grade at Grant Elementary. About their experiences with American schools, Azima said, "If there is something which is wrong, something going on, if the kids have problems, they just

contact them and try to help them how to fix it. Any problem they have. I like the way they care.”

She describes Lily as really liking school and reluctant to miss a day. She also said that Lily meets with a psychosocial worker once a week to deal with past emotional trauma, “It’s a big problem she have sometime, even at school. I think she always tells her teacher about it. Sometimes she feel sad about that.” Her enthusiasm for the school is not unequivocal, however. Some of the 5th and 6th grade girls at Lily’s school have boyfriends, to which Azima said, “Like in our culture, in Africa, kids, when you are under 18, you don’t have a boyfriend. Here, and I even asked, they say it’s allowed...That’s one thing I don’t like here.”

Like her mother, Lily said she feels schooling is important, “It’s helpful to your life because you learn. You can go to college so you learn about what you need to do in life. You learn how to read and how to count money so nobody can take advantage of you.” When asked what she liked best about school in the U.S., Lily said, “Um, you get to have lunch. You get to learn reading and learn a lot. And they treat you the same as the others.” When asked to expand on this last point, she explained, “Like, they don’t see, like, you’re white and she’s black so I’m gonna, like, ‘cause I’m white, I’m gonna treat her really good ‘cause she’s my color, like that.”

School Engagement

Lily was in sixth grade at the time of this study but was in only her second year of consistent, formal schooling. She rarely misses school but is still working on developing some important habits such as keeping track of and organizing her work, focusing during work time rather than wandering around the classroom, and following instructions for

assignments. More significantly, Lily generally works well on her own but alternates between participation and disruption in group settings. She sometimes reads loudly during silent reading times or spreads out her work materials such that students near her do not have enough physical space to do their work. She yawns obviously or pretends to fall asleep while teachers are talking.

It is not uncommon for Lily to interrupt lessons with complaints or unrelated questions. In one typical exchange, she slapped her hand loudly on her desk during a lesson and then asked, "Can I go to the office? I broke my hand." She followed with a loud, "We already did this." Since her hand was not broken, her teacher did not send her to the office and a few minutes later she decided to participate, briefly, in the class conversation about symbiotic relationships in nature. In many instances, it seemed that Lily made a special effort to be quarrelsome. The following is one example:

Lily: They're enemies because the cat can eat the mouse.

Celeste: The dog and the cat.

Mrs. J: Dogs and cats, that's right.

Lily: Me and you.

Retha: An enemy is someone who hates you and wants to harm you.

Lily: Hurt.

Retha: Harm.

Lily: Hurt.

Retha: Harm.

Lily: Hurt. Ms. Thomas, who's your enemy?

Mrs. J: I don't have any enemies.

Lily: Me.

Retha: My enemy is a bad friend.

Lily: My enemy is Retha.

Retha: Lily.

Lily: My enemy's Celeste.

Mrs. J: Okay.

Lily: My enemy's Abdullah.

Mrs. J: Sshhh. Okay, partners.

Lily: Partners. Partners.

Celeste: Lily, could you just be quiet for two minutes?

Lily: No.

Mrs. J: Lily, please.

Lily: Partners.

After arriving at her first school in spring of 2010, Lily developed a reputation for getting in a lot of physical fights. Aggression among newcomer refugee students was not unheard of, as Grant's ELL teacher explained:

Their experience of the camp is kind of survival of the fittest. And so, in the beginning when they're here, they can really show some aggressive behaviors toward other kids as far as like pushing in line, food, school items, trying to get as many as they can. Hoarding. Just trying to get used to understanding, you'll always have a pencil. You'll always have paper. That sort of thing.

Fights were no longer an issue by the time she enrolled at Grant Elementary but staff still often found her behavior challenging. Seeking opportunities for Lily to make positive contributions and be part of the school community, the ELL teacher approached her about serving as an interpreter for Swahili-speaking students who were new to the school and did not understand English. The teacher described the decision this way:

The decision was reached just trying to give her a positive experience. Um, she is a student who really has to have a relationship or will not trust the adult. She won't listen to you just because you are an adult. In fact, she'll be straight out defiant if she doesn't trust you. If she trusts you, if you can joke around with her, you know, then she'll listen to you. The

staff members that haven't been able to establish that rapport with her, which is a challenge, understandably, she butts heads all the time, and she'll be very defiant...At times, Lily knows what the appropriate behavior is but chooses not to. I thought if she had the opportunity to model what she knows is appropriate behavior for another student, that that would just help build on the positive, rather than the negative. So it would give her the opportunity to be the teacher.

Lily is very kind to the students for whom she translated, for example, putting her hand gently on the back of one kindergartener as she explained that it was time for recess and walking her toward the playground. Observational data, review, however, that this did not necessarily translate to other interactions with peers and staff.

Lily's responses during interviews suggest that, despite her ELL teacher's efforts, she generally does not feel connected to school. Although she said that she can turn to teachers and her friend, Abdilah, for help on assignments that are too difficult, she feels that staff unfairly single her out as a troublemaker. "So, that's why I don't like the teachers. They follow me. Everything I do. There's people who are very worse. You know, they pick on me."

Her feelings of connection to school were certainly not helped by what her mother described as a "problem" with a staff member that had occurred earlier in the school year:

I don't know if it is a teacher, it's someone who work at school and she found out that that person, she don't like black people. One day she [Lily] was crying when she comes back home, she was crying, 'Why that person don't like me? I don't like that school.' The problem, because I don't speak English, I couldn't go there and talk to teachers or anyone from school. And maybe I was thinking, I was worried, if I say something, it will be bad for my daughter. And I just tell my daughter, 'Just be patient. Maybe next year you're going to move to a different school but be patient.'

Azima did go to the school later and talk to the school principal—an enormous feat given her sometimes debilitating back pain, the need for an interpreter, and her experience with ethnic violence. "In a few days, I went and talked to them about this issue and they say, 'Yeah, the way that lady came to just accuse Lily, it's not the way we know her.'" She was satisfied with the way the principal handled this particular situation but said the incident led to her daughter not wanting to go to school for a time.

Language and Literacy

Although Azima's education was interrupted in the DRC, she attended school long enough to develop literacy in her native Swahili. Lily speaks and understands Swahili very well but reads and writes it a little less well. She can access Swahili reading materials at home, such as notes from family and friends back in Africa, children's books, and the family bible. Lily primarily uses Swahili with her family and English with her friends and at school. She did not know English before coming to the U.S. two years ago but her language assessment scores reveal that she has strong oral comprehension skills. Her current abilities in speaking, reading, and writing are much lower in that she makes frequent mistakes that impede understanding. Although she said she generally does not like to read, she occasionally takes books home from school and does sometimes read for fun.

Aspirations

Azima tells her daughters that to be successful in life, they need to listen carefully to their teachers, keep going to school, be respectful to other people, and cultivate good

friendships. The interpreter explained that Azima sees school as an important vehicle to financial security:

She give them the examples. She sees somebody with a good car or a good house, she tell them, 'You know all these people who have these great things, because they have enough education. If you keep going to school, you're gonna have all this.'

To Lily, being successful in life means being "known." People become known "for their money" or by "singing music." The two are related, "Because if you sing music, you get a lot of money." Although neither career necessarily involved singing, Lily thought she would like to be a doctor or a teacher and she seemed to be leaning toward third grade teacher, "They listen and follow directions and you can help them. First graders are too young and too noisy and don't behave. Yesterday I was in the second grade classroom and they don't behave either." She knows she will need to go to college but she and her mother do not yet have information about preparing for college or how long she will need to study in order to become a teacher.

Linking Context of Exit and Mode of Incorporation—Lily

Lily's mother, Azima, lived in Zaire/the DRC during a period of prolonged conflict and violence. Ethnic antagonism caused her to leave school early and communal violence led to the killing of her parents and husband, as well as debilitating personal injuries. Her flight to Tanzania likely occurred after refugee camps had calmed somewhat and, of the five families that spent time in camps before arrival, her time in camps was the shortest at seven years. However, she still faced insecurity that spurred frequent moves. She also faced overcrowding, shortages of food and basic supplies, and limited healthcare. She arrived in the U.S. with foundational literacy in her native

Swahili but not knowing English, with two small children to care for on her own, and back pain that sometimes made even walking difficult.

Lily's schooling was intermittent and she did not know how to write her name before she came to the U.S. She and her mother both see education as important but Lily is still working on adapting productively to her school. She was the only student whose relationships with staff and students at Grant seemed to run both hot and cold. She alternated between helping, getting help from, and badgering other students. She relies on her classroom teacher for help with homework but also feel that teachers unfairly single her out as a troublemaker.

Lily had a least one incident in which she feels she was treated unfairly by a staff person because she is a black African. Children from other countries often come to the U.S. with an ethnic, rather than racial identity, and many have not experienced prior prejudice based on skin color (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2009). They eventually come to develop "a keen eye for discerning the place of race and color in the U.S. status hierarchy" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 98). Based on their experiences in the U.S., many immigrant and refugee youth have found that Americans think they are "bad," likely to be gang members or thieves, and that they are "stupid," unable to achieve in school or work.

Young people who face persistent challenges based on immigration status, race/ethnicity, and/or poverty confront the dual tasks of growing up and dealing with stigmatization (Lee, 2008; Spencer, 1999). Many refugee youth have also, however, experienced tremendous deprivation and violence (Haines, 2010; McBrien, 2005; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2004). As a result, they may struggle

with anxiety, grief, dissociation, sleep disorders, and other significant difficulties (Betancourt et al., 2012). In a school context, these can manifest as problems with academic work, aggressive behavior, problems with trust, alcohol and substance abuse, or other issues. As the ELL teacher noted, Lily needs trust in order to engage in school but, as will be discussed in the section on teacher experiences, building trust takes time. Staff working with refugee youth need to understand these complexities, to honestly examine their own views about working with racial minority students, and need specific training related to working with traumatized students in the classroom.

Cross-Case Summary

These families' stories demonstrate that there is no one refugee journey. Each family left their home country under different circumstances, experienced varying durations of displacement, and encountered disparate opportunities to stay safe and healthy, achieve an education, and develop occupational skills relevant in the West. Upon arrival, they differed in their ability to connect to and receive guidance from individuals in their new community. The children varied in their level of preparedness for school and in the ways they engaged with teachers, peers, and school work. An understanding of the range of experiences these families represent, their commonalities and differences, can provide insights into the kinds of work ahead for them and for school staff assisting them.

Context of Exit

Most of the families that participated in this study arrived from countries that had been profoundly strife-ridden and violent for decades. So Min, Bina, Viviana, and

Celeste's families fled countries in which the government deliberately and systematically targeted members of their ethnic group with a wide range of human rights abuses. Malik, Viviana, Celeste, and Lily's families saw military conflict lead to the rise of militias that targeted civilians. The families that escaped Rwanda and the DRC faced multiple displacements and fled profound social chaos and communal violence.

Malik and her parents were the only study participants to not live in a refugee camp. They faced consistent military conflict and fractured health and educational infrastructures but had some ability to plan resettlement in another country. Her parents were able to complete at least a basic formal education and both attained literacy in their native Arabic. Both parents were able to work and Malik's father garnered occupational skills relevant in the U.S.

The remaining families fled to neighboring countries and the circumstances of their prolonged and sometimes multiple displacements severely limited their opportunities to develop human capital. Camp conditions ranged from relatively stable, with access to limited basic services and some freedom of movement, to intensely unstable, with inadequate basic services, and severe constraints on freedom of movement. Camp residents experienced threats to their physical safety, either as a result of harassment from humanitarian workers or government officials, from militants nearby or within the camps, or from active military conflict.

The children varied in their level of opportunity to attend school prior to resettlement. Three students—Malik, Bina, and So Min—were able to attend school consistently, although So Min left Thailand at a young age. For Viviana and Celeste, what schooling they did receive was not in their native language. Lily's schooling

appears to have been the most intermittent. All of the students who lived in camps reported difficult learning environments and generally experienced high teacher turnover, high student-teacher ratios, shortages of school materials, and teacher use of corporal punishment.

Mode of Incorporation

The differing circumstances of each family's displacement mean that each arrived in the U.S. with different levels of human capital to apply toward life in a new country. All the families, however, were settled in an area that lacked well-established co-ethnic communities that could offer support after the four- to eight-month period provided by resettlement agencies. Malik's father used his relatively high levels of education, plus his bilingual and computer skills, to secure a position that paid much more per hour than was the case for the other working parents in the study. This allowed the family to move into a nicer apartment with a community center that offered academic tutoring, an important resource for a newcomer ELL student.

In contrast, So Min's father, So Mahn, and Viviana's mother, Rosine, were not able to complete a basic education, lack English proficiency, and possess limited occupational skills. Each, however, has been in the country around five years and seems relatively established. They both hold jobs and made no complaints about working in low-wage occupations, commenting instead that they and their children have more opportunities than they did before. Both represent ethnic groups with a very small presence in their settlement area but Rosine receives practical assistance from a community volunteer and So Mahn can rely on his father-in-law and other ethnic Karen at his church. Neither of these resources guarantees their children access to help with

school work, however, or a sense of how to navigate the American educational system, so both families still rely on school staff and programs for help and guidance.

Bina, Celeste, and Lily's parents face compound challenges associated with low levels of human capital and poor health. That they arrived with health concerns should not be surprising given the significant constraints on refugees' ability to access food that meets long-term nutritional requirements, to access health care, and the intense violence that many refugees flee. For Rohit, poor health resulted in an inability to continue initial language classes and continuing poor language skills constrain his employability. He is healthy now but is fairly recently arrived. He feels very isolated but it may be that the family will become more established with time, as is the case with So Min's and Viviana's families. Azima is also recently arrived and will need assistance from her doctors to address her back pain before she can venture out more. Celeste's parents have been here longer, about five years, but both face chronic health issues that largely keep them at home. These families appear to have been the least able to connect to knowledgeable others in the community and this makes school-based resources even more important for their children's academic success.

School Engagement

The children's prior schooling, levels of first language literacy, and exposure to English certainly impact their level of preparedness to engage with school but their experiences highlight the multidimensional and interactive nature of engagement. Malik and Bina arrived with basic literacy skills and some familiarity with English, albeit limited. First language literacy skills are important as research suggests that first language proficiency is related positively to second language development (August &

Shanahan, 2006; Riches & Genesee, 2006). So Min, Viviana, and Celeste arrived without basic literacy skills and not knowing English but were resettled in the early elementary years, between first and third grades. Lily also arrived lacking basic literacy skills and knowledge of English but was resettled later, at the end of fourth grade. Lily faces the greater academic workload as it is around fourth grade that school tasks become more difficult, requiring students to read more informational text and involving increased content-area specific vocabulary (Kamil et al., 2008; Sanacore & Palumbo, 2009).

These students rarely miss school and several participate in extra-curricular activities, although not always the kind typically captured in the engagement literature. Despite their differing educational backgrounds Malik, Viviana, and Celeste participate more overtly in class activities than do the other students. Celeste even manages to stay on task in a sometimes chaotic classroom. Bina and So Min engage less overtly but the comments they do make suggest they are paying attention and thinking critically about the work the class is doing. All five describe their school relationships as positive and, although school-based supports do not always adequately address their learning needs, each can name at least one teacher and one peer that they can turn to for academic assistance.

Lily's school engagement is more complex and highlights the interaction between students' academic competencies, past experiences, and school relationships. She arrived with the steepest academic learning curve and from one of the most insecure camp environments. She is still working on developing some basic skills and her interactions with both teachers and peers vacillate between positive and antagonistic. The impacts of the extreme insecurity experienced by many refugee students prior to arrival is known to

manifest at school as aggressive behavior, academic struggles, problems with trust, and/or other issues (Betancourt et al., 2012). School staff are working to help Lily advance academically and build constructive school relationships but, while her behavior can be challenging, her experience of discrimination has impacted her sense of connection to school.

All of the students in this study rely on school staff for help with homework and many also receive support from classmates. Malik, So Min, Viviana, and Celeste are able to access individuals in the community who can provide concrete academic assistance but the help they provide is constrained by their availability and, in the case of So Min's father and Celeste's sisters, also by their own subject area competence. All of the students in this study sometimes attend Grant's before- or after-school sessions but scheduling conflicts sometimes present barriers. Programs that rely on peer-mentoring or community volunteers have their drawbacks, as demonstrated in Malik's, Viviana's, and Celeste's experiences. In the end, the final responsibility for helping students with homework largely fell to classroom teachers.

Language and Literacy

English Language Learners fare best academically when they maintain their home language as they work to develop competence in the language of their host country (Portes & Rivas, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Each of the students' language and literacy practices changed with time in the U.S. Most came to speak predominately English and only Malik and Lily appeared to be working on maintaining or developing native language literacy. With parents, all of the participating students speak their native language. With siblings, Bina and Lily primarily use their native language while Malik,

So Min, Viviana, and Celeste typically use English. Only Celeste and Bina use both their native language and English with friends. The other students generally use English with friends and all the students primarily use English at school.

Despite participating students' ability to bring books home from the school library and from classroom libraries, Malik and Viviana are the only two who regularly read books beyond what is required for school. The amount of reading students do is positively related to their reading comprehension (Mol & Bus, 2011). Vocabulary development is especially important for English language learners (Gersten et al., 2007) as, although it seems self-evident, research shows that it is difficult for students to understand text that includes unfamiliar words (Juel, 2006). Good reading skills do not guarantee academic success (Snow et al., 2007) but each of these students needs a wide range of rich language experiences, from books and other sources, in order to improve their competence in English (August & Shanahan, 2006; August & Shanahan, 2010; Lesaux & Geva, 2006).

Aspirations

All of the parents in this study hold high expectations for their children and view education as a key resource for social and economic mobility. Celeste's father perhaps best explained their sentiments, "In this world now, if you are not educated it's, like, difficult. But if you are educated, you will have a better life." Although most of the parents did not have the opportunity to complete a basic education and do not speak English, they support their children in school by encouraging them to do their homework, telling them to listen to their teachers, and/or trying to find academic or linguistic help when needed.

Malik, Bina, So Min, and the others internalized their parents' message that education is important. They want to do well in school, learn English, and graduate from high school. Most want to go on to college. As their case studies demonstrate, some have more work to do than others. As newcomers with low-levels of human capital and few social connections to knowledgeable others, the supports and guidance they receive at Grant are very important. The next chapter explores the efforts of the school staff tasked with helping these students develop the foundation that they will need to move forward.

CHAPTER FOUR: USING A HOLISTIC FRAMEWORK TO PROMOTE STUDENT ENGAGEMENT

This chapter focuses on the efforts of staff at Grant elementary to create and implement a refugee English Language Learner program. Most were new to working with ELLs and none had prior experience teaching refugee students. I begin with a brief description of the school; of prior efforts undertaken to improve engagement among the existing, native-born student population; and development of the refugee ELL program. I then move to strategies employed to promote refugee student school engagement.

Grant Elementary

It is 9:40 in the morning on a school day. The weather is cloudy, windy, and chilly. Tom, a social worker for the school district, pulls-up to the school entrance in a beige district van. He parks and gets out. His passenger, a girl of about 8 or 9, gets out, too. She carries a backpack and wears a thick, waist-length coat, very short cotton shorts, and fleece-lined boots that reached about mid-calf. One of the school administrative assistants, Linda, gets up from her desk to meet the two as they come in. Tom tells Linda that the girl, Natalie, is ready to go to class. Linda starts to fill out an “excused tardy” slip for Natalie to take to her teacher. Tom then tells Linda that he is going out to do more home visits. Linda hands the excused tardy slip to Natalie.

Linda: Have you had breakfast yet?

Natalie: Nope.

Linda: Want a granola bar?

Natalie: Yes.

Linda: What kind?

Natalie: Peanut butter.

Linda reaches under the reception area counter and searches through some granola bars until she finds peanut butter. She hands it to Natalie who sits down and starts to eat her breakfast.

Linda: Would you like some milk?

Natalie: Yes.

Linda: What kind?

Natalie: White.

Linda leaves the reception area and comes back a few minutes later with a small carton of milk. She opens it, hands it to Natalie, and says, "I shook it up before I opened it so it might be bubbly. You can go on to class when you finish." Natalie finishes her granola bar and milk, throws away the wrapper and the carton, and heads to class.

Natalie is a student at Grant Elementary, a Title I school in the Mountain West. Built in 1960, the main building is worn but well-maintained. The district added several "temporary classrooms" over the years. A small community garden sits at the back of the school, bordered by a large green field. Community volunteers leveraged grant funds to build the newest of three small playgrounds. Just inside the school's main entrance, a small sign reads, "Kids Zone. Enter with care and love." Seating areas dot the halls and most include some combination of stuffed animals, plants, lamps, statuettes, and bookshelves nearby.

“Looking at Their Needs from All Aspects”

Grant had a reputation, as one long-time staffer put it, as “having a lot of issues.” Teachers largely worked independently, the prior principal “had a little file box full of index cards for each of the kids that was having behavior problems,” and student academic performance was low. When the new principal arrived fifteen years ago, she got rid of the index cards. She standardized school procedures and worked with staff to integrate a holistic consideration of child development into their interactions with students and their teaching. After seven years of effort, Grant received a Blue Ribbon award from the federal Department of Education for making significant progress in improving student achievement.

When asked about these changes, the principal argued that consistent expectations and procedures allow students to “feel safe” because they then know what is expected of them. This reduces behavior problems and gives staff more freedom to teach. She also emphasized the importance of getting to know students and “looking at their needs from all aspects” in order to promote engagement with school:

When I first came we had to make a big cultural shift to actually start working with poverty, right? Because when I came here the interactions were very negative and our student scores were very low. We were one of the lowest in the state. So, first I had to get all the teachers and get them to seek to understand poverty. What does it mean to be in poverty?...That you owe it to those kids to give them an education and you can't blame their parents.

To undertake this shift, she advocated for “focusing on the whole child.” This meant fostering positive school relationships; paying attention to needs beyond those that are purely academic, such as homelessness, food insecurity, health care, and other basic concerns; offering opportunities for skill development in areas

such as communication, collaboration, and problem-solving; and promoting a sense of responsibility for both oneself and for others.

To support this work, school staff strove to create a network of resources to draw on to support non-academic needs. They both drew on existing district-wide programs and adopted, or developed, additional programs. Some examples of pre-existing programs that Grant staff could tap into include new clothing for the upcoming school year through Operation School Bell, free breakfast and lunch through the National School Lunch Program, weekend meals via the local food bank's Friday Backpack Program, and periodic dental care through a community mobile dental van.

Grant staff recognized, however, that gaps exist in the support framework and this meant children sometimes came to school with significant unmet needs. In response, they put together a team comprised of the administrative assistant, the behavioral interventionist, the counselor, the social worker (assigned to Grant and six other schools), and the nurse (also assigned to several other schools) to try to identify students who needed additional supports. Over time, this team has connected families to resources for food, hearing aids, x-rays, surgery, and other critical concerns.

Staff also established a number of school-specific supports. These include, for example, homework help through an after-school program each Wednesday and a daily before-school program. A mentoring program brings in community volunteers to partner with students who need help with school work or just need an adult to be involved in their lives. Students can apply for certain school jobs—they run the school recycling program, deliver afternoon snacks to the classrooms, and help classroom teachers with small projects. If so many students apply that staff run out of school jobs, which does

happen from time-to-time, students can propose new jobs. Fifth and sixth graders can apply for the school's Self-Manager program, which allows students to earn privileges if they consistently turn work in on time, have three or fewer absences for the quarter, and behave responsibly with peers and staff.

Staff also brought in many student clubs, such as pottery, LEGOs, dance, and others; school sports such as basketball and track; and a program for sixth graders that offers opportunities for job shadowing and visits to local colleges and universities. Collectively, these programs aim to promote students' ability to focus on school and to foster substantive engagement, i.e., a connection to "what they are learning, how they are learning it, and who they are learning it with" (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008, p. 42).

Managing these supplementary programs day-to-day requires staff time and money. Because both are in short-supply, staff select new programs carefully. As the principal explained, "I mean, you can have a lot of things going but they don't add value. So, it's important to me, if they don't add value, they don't need to be here...you need to let it go." The number of programs has grown such that no one person can oversee them alone so the principal leverages what she calls *shared leadership*:

We could not do these programs here if I did not have individuals who were willing to take on part of those. And so, um, I encourage that and support that. And when I can afford it, I use my money to stipend and pay for the extra time spent because I don't think it's fair to ask teachers to do things if you can afford to pay them. And it doesn't pay for all the time but it does say, 'Hey, I do appreciate you. I do value, it's a matter of valuing, I do value what you do. I value the time.'

Staff became skilled at applying for grants and recruiting businesses and individuals to help out with time, supplies, or small donations. Local seniors help students with their

reading. College students support the after-school program as part of their university's service learning requirement. Junior high and high school students help with school events. Local businesses and community organizations donate staff and/or materials to support events such as math night or the garden. So, when district administrators notified staff that they would add a refugee program at Grant as a relief valve for the over-capacity program at a nearby school, staff had already implemented a wide range of programs intended to promote engagement through holistic attention to children's needs.

Starting a Program for Refugee English Language Learners

Between the spring and fall of that first year, ELL enrollment at Grant increased from one student to more than 60 and represented refugees speaking 19 different languages. District staff provided professional development support around legal issues, terminology, and curriculum, as well as contact information for translators and supplemental ELL materials. Grant staff collected as much background information on incoming students as possible. In their classrooms, teachers made connections to the cultures of incoming students. The school's fifth graders conducted research on the new students' countries of origin and shared what they learned via a school newsletter.

Once notified about the transfer, however, not all refugee parents liked the idea. Many felt their children had experienced enough displacement and wanted them to stay at the over-capacity school. In response, Grant staff collaborated with local refugees and resettlement agencies to try to establish relationships with incoming families. Staff visited homes, delivering each family a translated packet, which included photos and names of every staff person, a welcome letter, information about the school, and a collage depicting school activities and available services. Staff also offered a two-week summer

camp to help transferring refugee students get to know some of the existing students and become familiar with school routines before school started in the fall.

Staff Learning Curve

Staff expected most refugee students would be English Language Learners—nearly half of those who arrived the first year were completely new to English—but they gradually learned that these students also brought an extremely wide range of educational backgrounds and experiences. Some arrived from former British colonies and thus brought strong verbal English skills. A few had studied English in school. Some had been able to attend school and could read and write in their native language. Still others arrived with severely interrupted or no prior schooling and thus lacked first language literacy in their first language. Many spoke several languages. Most had significant gaps in content area knowledge.

One teacher who participated in all of the preparation efforts found herself feeling ill-equipped once the students arrived, "[I] was trying to find as much research as I could on instructing refugee students, not just ELL students," she said. "It's very limited. It's very different... I've had a ton of immigrants but not specifically refugees." The principal echoed this statement, "A lot of the programs that we looked at have been successful with Hispanics who are high beginning to low-intermediate speakers [of English.] So, it's different. They aren't the same."

Upper elementary teachers, typically not trained in literacy instruction, found they needed to learn how to teach basic reading and writing skills. One veteran teacher said, "I think as upper grade teachers, we don't feel as qualified. For the first time in my teaching career, since I've always taught upper grades, I've had to teach phonics...and

that was a huge challenge.” She added, “I’m much more comfortable with it than I was. At first, I didn’t have a clue what I was supposed to be doing....We’ve had a lot of training but everything was for kids with a totally different set of needs.” Teachers felt least prepared to teach students who had moved at a young age and did not have a dominant first language. “They need to speak their languages. They need to keep that dual language ability,” said the principal. “The hardest ones are the ones that don’t have dual language. They simply don’t speak their language [well] and they don’t speak English well...Reeeaaaally difficult to teach because they don’t have any framework.”

Staff found too that some concepts to which native-born students had years of exposure were unfamiliar to their refugee students. Initially, the ELL teacher pre-taught whatever reading lesson would be covered in students’ homeroom class. This exposed learners of English to key concepts and vocabulary before they encountered them in the grade-level classroom. However, even with this alignment, students sometimes lacked the background knowledge necessary to fully engage with the lesson. One teacher provided an example from a lesson on the solar system:

And my sixth graders, some of them had no concept of the world beyond (stomps her foot) the ground. And so, it was hysterical...They were so excited. When we got out the globe, ‘Well, Africa’s really, look, you’re upside down here. Do you fall off?’ And talking about gravity and they were just like, ‘It can’t be.’ (Laughs). So they were amazed...We show a lot of video clips because they have to see a rocket ship go into outer space. They have to see a picture of Earth from outer space.

Another grade-level teacher shared additional examples:

I see that there’s so many things that they missed out on. It would be so hard to go back and re-teach. Like telling time. And, um, most of them have got their basic facts very strong but there is math vocabulary and

math concepts that they haven't had any introduction to, like place value. Since they don't have that building block, it's so hard for them to get caught up.

Teachers have always needed to be able to revise lessons on the spot if students are not able to follow along but working with refugee students brought a whole new dimension to thinking on your feet. "There is no one-size-fits-all. There's always something that hasn't happened before," said the teacher who described the solar system lesson. "There's just no normal. There's always different experiences. It's very unpredictable. Every day is unpredictable."

In addition to differences in literacy and content area backgrounds, staff discovered cultural and experiential differences that informed what happened in the classroom. One teacher learned that children who lived in refugee camps and had been able to attend school were accustomed to being placed in classes based on ability rather than age. She explained, "The kids sometimes are not, when they come to America and we place them in a grade based on their age, it's not always comfortable for them. They may say they were ahead of that or they were behind that." In addition, this teacher typically uses questions extensively in her classroom via the KWL approach, *What I know, What I want to know, What I learned*. She found that questioning and class discussions were unfamiliar to refugee students because they had been taught primarily via teacher lecture and rote memorization. Students also anticipated teacher use of corporal punishment, "That's one of the first things they voice to me, a relief that there's not going to be anything physical."

In other cases, students had little opportunity to attend school and did not have a frame of reference for how to "do" school. One teacher shared her experiences of

working with a sixth-grader named Joseph. Joseph arrived from the Congo during the middle of the school year with very little formal schooling:

He has had a lot of trouble transitioning to structure. There are times when he will just get up and leave and you have no idea where he went. He is learning quickly but he still has a really hard time with the, like, sitting in your chair. Just what we learn in school about how to act, how to function in the system of school....Um, I have heard from another student who helps him a lot who feels like Joseph isn't getting fair treatment. And I know that he feels it's his duty to kind of look out for him and he just doesn't feel like things are fair. And what I interpret is that some people are losing patience with Joseph because there comes a point where they feel like he should know better about just behavior, not academics, but behavior.

Joseph is an example of a student who was not only trying to learn English but also math, science, and other academic subjects, in a new country, and within the context of a whole new set of behavioral norms.

Staff also shared examples of teachers and other staff unintentionally putting students in difficult situations. One staff member was unaware that children in some cultures are taught it is disrespectful to look an adult in the eye. As a result, as a colleague explained, she insisted that a refugee student establish eye contact:

[She] kept asking this boy, 'Will you please look at me?' And he kept looking down and she would try to (demonstrates putting a finger under the chin to push the chin up), 'I need you to give me eye contact, please.' And he kept looking down and he had silent, quiet tears coming down, and she was getting frustrated. And so she didn't know that he was trying to be respectful towards her by not making eye contact...

Another teacher learned belatedly that some of her instructional activities conflicted with a few of her students' religious beliefs:

I was asking them to do a self-portrait and they weren't supposed to draw eyes but it took them all year to speak up to me. They didn't want to tell

me that before. We've done all sorts of art and self-portraits...And so we figured it out. Can you show it from a different perspective, as far as from the back of the head shooting the basketball? It was just, I had no idea. So...just to be...I guess...it's hard to build a climate in the classroom where they feel like they can share anything and everything because, no matter how much of that you try to build, they don't want to be different.

These examples highlight that the ways in which refugee students connect to, or engage with school, may be very different from what American teachers know and understand.

Gender norms were another area in which staff began to learn about cultural differences. Many of the refugee families were not accustomed to mixed-gender schools and, while staff could make adjustments in certain circumstances, families had to make adjustments, too. For example, many refugee parents were baffled to learn that native-born students in 5th and 6th grade had boyfriends or girlfriends, something not uncommon among students at Grant. Also, refugee mothers from some cultures felt uncomfortable interacting with male staff. Male staff therefore tried to follow-up with fathers or, if the mother came to school with a question or for a meeting, at least have another female present.

Refugee girls occasionally did not want to sit next to boys in class and cultural issues sometimes arose around sports. One teacher shared an example:

I feel bad because, Adila loves to play basketball but because of her dress [hijab], she won't go out for the team and I think she feels like it singles her out too much...And I don't know how you reconcile that because if you look on a basketball court, you wouldn't see somebody in a traditional head covering and a dress playing basketball. And maybe we have more options for dance. It's more acceptable and still keeps them active...

Refugee boys also found themselves in unfamiliar situations. Some were not accustomed to being expected to follow the direction of female staff. A few would make comments

about girls in class that are considered sexual harassment in the United States but were not understood by the boys (or their parents) as inappropriate. “I spend a lot of time on that,” said the principal, “talking to them, explaining to them.”

Trauma and Trust

As refugee students arrived and staff began to get to know them, some teachers found themselves overwhelmed by the kinds of traumatic experiences their students disclosed. These experiences had both similarities to and differences from those of the native-born students at Grant. One long-time teacher said, “Our kids, the kids at Grant tend to, you know, we have a lot of abuse, drugs, alcoholism, lots of parents incarcerated.” The school psychologist explained that students who witness domestic violence or whose parents are involved with drugs come to school “in crisis.” For that reason, administrative staff check the police reports each morning to see whether any of their students’ parents had been incarcerated overnight or reported domestic abuse so they could provide supports at school. Teachers and other instructional staff can turn to the school psychologist for guidance, on the days she is at Grant, but lack explicit training in dealing with student trauma. Staff reported that they did not always know how to handle trauma when it manifested in the classroom but they at least had some experience with it.

For some, however, the experiences shared by their refugee students were qualitatively different and thus made supportive school relationships that much more important:

And then after a while they'll start opening up to you. And it's really interesting because they will be very matter-of-fact about horrible things that have happened. But I've learned, it's so painful for them and now

they're trusting me. So, we'll be in the middle of a lesson and a student might just say, 'My brother was shot when he was holding me.' And it really took me a while to get used to that. But it's a coping mechanism for them to [pause] they just have to say [pause] they just have to go on. Their resiliency is unbelievable....The traumatic stories have been a big, big challenge for me personally, just dealing with the stuff. And I, um, I've had to toughen up and I've gone home and cried. But I also, the more I hear about it, it doesn't shock me anymore. And it's the stuff you see in the movies. And these kids have lived it.

Staff learned that children in their classrooms endured extensive periods of repeated flight before reaching a refugee camp, separation from their parents, saw family members being killed, or witnessed horrendous massacres. Many families expressed a profound sense of loss, telling staff, "We don't have a home. America is not our home. We lost our home."

Some refugee students became very withdrawn or physically aggressive. Some would push other students when waiting in line to get food or school supplies, or they would try to hoard. Some had trouble getting along with adults or got in fights with other students. Teachers felt unsure of when to hold students to behavioral and academic expectations and when to let things go. The ELL teacher became a key contact for the refugee students arriving at Grant and learned that, while trust is essential to all teaching, supportive school relationships were especially important for these students:

These kids will shut down if they feel confronted in any way. They'll just shut down or fight back....A lot of students have had [pause.] How do I want to [pause]? The adults haven't always been trustworthy that they've been around outside their family. And so the students are often times leery of any new adult...I always share with the teachers that these students don't automatically come with respect. You need to earn their respect and that's because of their past experiences.

Another teacher commented, “They have such horrific background stories that it impacts their learning, how they deal with people, everything. So there’s a whole additional dimension that you have to work with, with these kids. There has to be empathy.”

Using a Holistic Framework with Refugee Students

While refugee students often experienced a level of trauma unfamiliar to native-born staff and students, staff knew that children learn best when school relationships are positive and school feels like a safe, welcoming place. They also knew that it would be easier for their refugee students to engage with school if they were not worried about basic needs. Staff thus built on existing practices and implemented new strategies in order to foster academic engagement for refugee students.

They worked to connect refugees with unmet basic needs to community services but, overall, found that these families were accustomed to making do with very little. They rarely needed help with paying the winter heating bill, with food shortages, or similar concerns. They did, however, often encounter hurdles related to limited English language skills or the absence of a community network. Families sometimes confronted emergencies that needed to be addressed quickly but translators could be difficult to come by on short notice. Also, resettlement agencies receive funding to offer support for a relatively short period and recertification or application for services require the ability to read and write in English, skills many refugee adults lacked and take time to develop.

English literacy, plus a lack of relevant work experience, also often presented a barrier to employment. Jobs that require minimal English or work history tended to fill up quickly. Individuals from groups with longer history in the area could turn to

members of their ethnic community for support but those from newer groups sometimes needed school staff to assist with paperwork and/or guidance on where to go for help.

Health care, in particular, posed a significant challenge after the period of support from resettlement agencies ended. Grant's social worker explained that many families did not qualify for Medicaid at that point and did not have other health coverage:

And then what it also leads to is when they do get sick or hurt, they go to the emergency room. They rack up a huge bill at the emergency room. Had this happen time and time again. And then the hospitals will attach their wages. So then 33 percent of their check's gone until that medical bill is paid off. And you know, a trip to the ER can be \$10,000. So it takes a very long time. So then, you have this family that has so little income already and then a chunk is gone and they don't understand why. They just don't understand it.

In the state in which this study took place, adults in a family of four did not qualify for Medicaid if the family had an income of more than \$400 per month. Eligibility thresholds for children and pregnant women within the family were more generous.

Staff knew that these efforts were just one component of the framework needed to support student engagement. A welcoming school environment and positive school relationships were essential. The ELL teacher came to the conclusion that refugee students often just needed time to adjust to their new setting and build trust with the people around them. She thus tried to greet each new refugee family when they register their children for school. Staff continued the summertime home visits that they had begun in the first year. Staff also continued to offer summer school and, with additional grant funds, expanded to two programs: a one-week program supporting school relationship-building and a new 8-week program offering intense language and literacy

development for ELL students that was intended to stem summer learning loss and provide options for summertime activities.

Staff also began pairing newcomers with a buddy, typically a refugee student who had been in the country longer and could model how things worked at Grant. If no one in the classroom spoke the newcomer's language, staff looked for a student in another grade willing to follow the new student for a short amount of time. The refugee population had grown to one-third of Grant students by the time this study took place so staff could typically connect new arrivals to a peer who spoke their language. Staff, fortunately, had not encountered any ethnic tensions when students were asked to translate. When asked how students responded to having this responsibility, the ELL teacher explained that she always asked students first, "We have a lot of kids who volunteer and others who are not comfortable at all and they'll tell me. And then a lot of them understand because they were there. So they're happy to help somebody else."

Staff also embedded this concept of peer support in other programs, such as student jobs, and in instructional strategies. Through small tasks such as delivering the afternoon snack to classrooms or helping a younger student with reading, the jobs program gave students opportunities to both develop leadership skills and to help others. Teachers strove to reinforce the concept of peer support through simple instructional strategies such as asking students to recap a lesson for someone who missed a day, asking for volunteers to help others with assignments, asking students to help with small tasks such as finding a dictionary for someone who needed it, or assigning/giving students the option of group work.

It should be noted that the strategies of asking students to help their peers or work in groups could be difficult to implement effectively. Malik and Viviana's experience with Kylie demonstrates that peers sometimes lacked the maturity needed to provide constructive assistance. In addition, some staff worried that peer work would promote cheating or socializing and this meant that students accustomed to working together in one instructional setting might not be permitted to in another. It was also the case that teachers could not always ensure students were working productively when in groups, as was demonstrated in Celeste's classroom when Fatuma wandered from group to group. Collectively, however, staff embedded the strategy peer support within multiple efforts to promote school community and, as seen in the individual student case studies, students regularly either offered help to or received help from another student.

Staff also drew on their existing practice of trying to constructively redirect disruptive student behavior, rather than moving first to sanctions. This became particularly important for refugee students as they learned new behavioral and cultural norms and because many were accustomed to corporal punishment in schools. Staff were not always able to apply this successfully in practice, as seen in the earlier examples of a staff member insisting that a student give her eye contact or of Lily being allowed to badger other students during a lesson. A number of other instances, however, demonstrate ways in which staff constructively moved students in a direction that promoted learning.

In one example, Joseph had his head on his desk during a lesson. His teacher might have scolded him but instead asked, "Joseph, are you tired?" In response, Joseph sat up. His teacher said, "Here's what I'm gonna have you do. Run to the fence and run

back. Then we're going to break into groups. Abdullah will go with you." Joseph and his friend Abdullah went out the back door that bordered the field. Gone for about a minute, they came back panting but quiet. The other students started to break into groups. The teacher walked over to Joseph and, smiling, asked, "Did that wake you up?" Joseph nodded and joined his reading group.

In another example, a group of refugee girls worked with their teacher on homonyms. Three of the girls were making an effort, offering example sentences in response to teacher prompts. Lily was not interested and just wanted to keep on reading. She eventually started yawning, deliberately and obviously, and then pretended to be falling asleep. The teacher responded:

Mrs. B: I'm not done with you so you can stop yawning. The only way you're going to get out of here today is to know what a homonym is. Lily, can you think of another homonym?

Lily: I don't know. [Picks up her book and starts to read to herself.]

Fatima: Eye and I?

Mrs. B: [Gently take's Lily's book and places it on the desk.] I appreciate that you want to read but you need to understand this. I know that you want to go back to your classroom but you will be with me until you get it.

Lily: I don't want to go back. [Lily half-heartedly participates for about a minute, picks up her book again, and interrupts the others' discussion.] Can we continue?

Fatima: Aunt and ant.

[Lily is accustomed to *aunt* being pronounced in the British fashion so, to her, it should not sound anything like *ant*. This opens a lively discussion.]

These instances demonstrate staff redirecting behavior in ways that both let students know what was expected but also maintained a constructive classroom atmosphere, something viewed at this school as essential to student learning.

Concurrent with all of these efforts to integrate newcomers into the school and support their academic growth was the tendency of some to position student or family practices within a deficit framework. During this study, the principal had to advise two staff that students were not to be discouraged from speaking their native language at school. These staff worried that students would more likely misunderstand each other and get into arguments if more than one language were spoken at school. If enforced, this mistaken belief would represent a significant violation of students' civil rights and undermine collective efforts to promote trust within the school. Other notions were less clear-cut but still significant.

Some had difficulty understanding that refugee families were also transitioning from the developing to the developed world and were quick to interpret parental actions negatively. One staff member shared an example:

Recently we had a family where they have little ones that come to pick up the bigger kids from school. The little infant's just strapped into a seatbelt, flopped over, not in a car seat. And, 'It's the law,' and, 'Oh gosh, you gotta call the police. We've got to do this...because it's breaking the law. What if the baby died?' You know? Blah, blah, blah. But then there were several who were, 'Oh no, let's get together and get them a car seat.' But, you know, you have those who freak out at first...

The potentially adverse effects of police involvement in this situation should give pause to anyone working with refugee families. This impetus of some to blame rather than offer constructive assistance was familiar to the principal. It was not so different from what she encountered when she first came to Grant 15 years ago and she pushed back:

So, I hear too often, 'These kids who've moved into our school and changed it. And basically they've lowered our scores.' No, we haven't

adapted to figure out what these kids need. So it's more about schools need to learn to adapt and change. And change is difficult.¹¹

Moving Students Forward Academically

Prior studies reveal that the range of reading skill levels in one classroom can span as many as 10 grade levels (Firmender, Reis, & Sweeny, 2013). Grant staff reported that it was not uncommon to find a wider range in their upper elementary classrooms, from preliterate students working on letters and sounds, to students reading at a post-high school level. "I guess my greatest challenge with them [refugee students]," said one teacher, "as with any student who is struggling, is meeting them where they are and pulling them up." She added, "Communicating with them how much I care, um, but at the same time keeping my expectations really high because I don't feel I serve any student well if my expectations are low." The principal worked with staff to implement strategies to support this work and to respond to the hurdles that inevitably arose from striving to serve such a wide range of learning needs.

The principal departmentalized the curriculum at the upper grades, based on teacher expertise. The rationale, as she explained, was that, "It's too much for one teacher. She cannot be an expert in all those subjects." There were two classes at each grade level and one teacher might teach math and science, for example, while the other taught literature and social studies. This reduced the number of subjects for which each teacher had to prepare every day.

¹¹ Absent complete and disaggregated student performance data, it is not possible to contextualize interview comments stating that student scores went down at Grant after the refugee program was implemented.

Staff also differentiated reading instruction through school-wide flexible grouping. A team of instructional staff met monthly to review student-level data from the state standardized tests for reading, language, and math, as well as the English language assessment for ELLs, and other instruments used within the district. Staff assigned individual students to reading groups based on their performance data and students typically rotated about every six to eight weeks, depending on their progress. Refugee students were placed in groups based on their assessment scores, not their ELL status.

Certified staff generally tried to work with students at the lowest and highest reading levels. Paraprofessionals and AmeriCorps volunteers generally worked with students in the middle. However, the schedule also influenced which staff person worked with which students, i.e., when students had music, P.E., lunch, and recess, and the availability of paraprofessional and AmeriCorp personnel. The principal acknowledged that staffing the reading groups was “really difficult.” Non-certified staff were essential but lacked training in curriculum and instruction. As such, they were able to “do a lot of repetition and things like that but they need programs that are very prescriptive. So, they’re not quick to be able to analyze and adjust the learning and the curriculum, as a teacher can.”

Departmentalization and flexible grouping for reading addressed a portion of the workload but some teachers reported feeling that student instruction was fragmented and they still had a tremendous amount of differentiation to do in the classroom. In addition, as was seen in the student case studies, many students were not able to get homework help outside of school and were not able to attend the before and after school programs staff put together. This meant that teachers often also assisted with homework.

“Basically, you have no time,” said one teacher. “There’s just so much to do.” She added, “You have to be very flexible. Whatever you get hit with that day, just bend and go.”

In working to meet the specific needs of refugee students, some staff felt confident in their ability to help those developing basic literacy and/or with significant skill gaps but others did not. Few reported having any training in working with English Language Learners. Those who had training found that instructional strategies and resources generally accommodated high beginning and low-intermediate speakers of English but not students completely new to English and/or completely new to text-based learning. In addition, there was a tremendous emphasis on assessing language and reading but no effective district- or state-level tool for assessing refugee ELL’s baseline math skills. This left teachers to their own devices for figuring out what math knowledge students brought with them. Staff who searched for information that specifically addressed refugee students’ learning needs found little and often turned to other teachers for ideas.

Grant’s ELL teacher became a key resource, recommending supplemental materials for instruction and offering guidance on how to support individual students. During the first year of the school’s ELL program, the district’s ELL curriculum focused on reading and was aligned with each grade’s standard reading curriculum. The ELL teacher pre-taught vocabulary, phonics skills, and main concepts that would be covered in the grade-level classes. She found this to be an effective strategy, noting in particular that the vocabulary could be very challenging for newcomer students in the upper grades. Collaborating with multiple teachers across grades one through six, however, presented

“a huge, huge challenge.” While she worked to learn the curriculum herself, she stated that one of her main concerns was finding time to work with teachers. Staff had been able to build some collaboration time into the schedule but, “The reality,” she said, “is that a lot of it is done on e-mail or walking down the hallway, ‘What unit are we on?’”

Finding sufficient time to work with teachers on how best to meet the wide range of classroom learning levels was not the only challenge. Over the course of four years, an economic recession brought budget cuts and loss of paraprofessional support staff, a change in state policy prohibited ELL teachers from helping with reading instruction in the classroom, ELL enrollment increased from 60 students to 104, and, as was true of native-born students at Grant, there was a high rate of student turnover.

Searching for solutions to the reduction in the amount of available paraprofessional support, staff piloted four different ELL curricula and two different language learning software programs in the span of just four years. The ELL teacher described the newest curriculum as focused on literacy development through science and social studies. She contrasted this to earlier curricula that emphasized general language development, “Before, they just missed out on it [science and social studies] because I would be working on just more language. And now the language is embedded in the content.” The new ELL curriculum is supplemented with language learning software that emphasizes building academic vocabulary. While some teachers feel “guilty” about using computer software to supplement instruction, most seem to feel that it, combined with the new ELL curriculum, helps to move students forward.

Even with a more academically oriented ELL curriculum as a foundation, however, most teachers commented that they would like to be able to work with students

more in the classroom rather than supplementing instruction through pull-outs. To do this, they said they need adults in class who have the training and experience to respond to the needs of individual students and help them advance. Support with community volunteers is difficult as teachers found that volunteers participate inconsistently and they are not always able to establish the rapport necessary to work productively with students. As one teacher explained, “I definitely need more help. It would be nice to have another body that could differentiate on the spot. That would be the most helpful.”

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

In speaking of the challenges associated with addressing such a wide range of classroom learning levels, plus recognizing when students have unmet needs for food, clothing, housing, health care, or personal security, one staff member made a comment that represents the central finding of this study, “I think overall, this school does a really good job of meeting the needs. I think at any certain point in time there could be times when teachers are unable to meet those needs just because of the demands.” Grant has become a vital resource for the families whose children attend their school and, while staff have worked very hard to respond holistically to factors that impact students’ school engagement, the demands sometimes exceed their capacity.

National statistics underscore the wide range of factors that can complicate school efforts to promote high levels of academic engagement and achievement. Children living in poverty generally enter kindergarten with lower math and reading scores than their more advantaged peers and are more likely to be placed in low-resource schools (Lee & Burkam, 2002). Just 67 percent of all public school fourth graders achieve a basic level in reading (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2013).¹² Even lower rates are seen among low-income (53 percent), African American (50 percent), and Latino students (52 percent). Twenty-two percent of children in the U.S. live in poverty, with

¹² This is based on the proportion of students scoring Basic or above on the 2013 National Assessment of Educational Progress, or NAEP (Stoneberg, 2007).

greater rates of disadvantage seen among African American (38 percent) and Latino children (32 percent) (Macartney, 2011). More than one million children enrolled during the 2011-2012 school year were homeless (National Center for Homeless Education, 2013). Fifteen percent of American households face food insecurity (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Andrews, & Carlson, 2012) and 15 percent lack any type of health care coverage (Cohen & Martinez, 2012). Nearly 4 in 10 youth experience major trauma before age 16, such as domestic violence, physical or sexual assault, or a life-threatening accident (Porche et al., 2011).

Grant staff recognize that children's learning and development are influenced by more than individual effort and school context. They are also influenced by events at home, within the larger community, and within broader society (Ashby, 2010; Behnke et al., 2010; Bickerstaff, 2009/2010; Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007; Hondo et al., 2008; NRC/IM, 2000; Porche et al., 2011; Snow et al., 2007). The experiences of the families who participated in this study show that many refugees face considerable disadvantage in their resettlement communities. Recent groups increasingly live for prolonged periods in circumstances that negatively impact their health and constrain their abilities to develop human capital. They have often survived extreme deprivation and violence. They are arriving more and more in areas lacking ethnic communities that can offer supports beyond the period offered by resettlement agencies. Each of these factors amplifies the challenges associated with graduating from high school and transitioning to postsecondary education or training.

Yet the experiences of Grant staff show that challenge and risk are not isolated to refugee families. The framework staff established to try to address both the academic

and non-academic needs of refugee students so they could engage more fully in school was built from lessons learned with native-born students. Absent a more coherent and sustainable network of programs and services, the supports provided through Grant are essential to the families they serve. Policies and programs implemented with the aim of improving educational outcomes for low-income and minority youth have often focused on deficits perceived to exist within students or their families (Connell, 1994; Kantor & Lowe, 2006; Lee, 2008). Grant's principal chose to focus instead on meeting students where they are at in order to promote academic growth and their experiences can provide important insights for others.

Key Findings and Recommendations

- We know that external factors such as hunger, lack of health care, homelessness, family trauma, or other significant concerns impact student's ability to engage fully with school. A national committee tasked with comprehensively examining student engagement argued in 2004 that, "narrowly construed interventions addressing isolated aspects of school functioning and student experience are not sufficient to move students toward high levels of engagement and achievement" (NRC/IM, 2004, p. 187). The Committee advocated for a range of reforms but argued that truly addressing non-academic needs that distract from learning would require development of an integrated and sustainable approach to service provision that fundamentally restructures adult roles. Such a restructuring would foster student connection with at least one mentor who worked to ensure coordination between academic and non-academic services through an asset-based view of student development. Their recommendations focused on high school students but are

certainly relevant to staff and students at Grant. Following these recommendations would entail difficult and significant changes but would recognize that schools alone cannot adequately address the factors that impact students' educational persistence and achievement.

- School staff may struggle with their own emotional burden as result of their interaction with families who have experienced so much suffering. Practitioners who have worked extensively with refugees recommend the following tools for avoiding staff burnout due to feelings of helplessness, anger, guilt, and fear: a) staff training regarding the impact of trauma on child development, how it may manifest in the classroom, and possible strategies for addressing resultant behaviors; b) peer debriefing; c) protocols for emergency situations; and d) a clear outline of which problems school staff have the capacity to address and which require external assistance (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2004).
- Both Lily's experience of discrimination and the fact that the principal had to advise two staff that students should not be discouraged from speaking their native languages underscore the importance of providing staff with structured opportunities to carefully examine their interactions with minority students. We all bring stereotypes to our daily lives but schools represent foundational developmental contexts and all school staff thus bear a special responsibility for building a positive learning environment for the children they serve.
- Grant staff felt hampered by the limited availability of peer-reviewed research that specifically addresses English Language Learners from diverse refugee backgrounds, particularly students with limited native language literacy and little or no prior

- schooling. Their experience highlights the importance of future research focused on promoting the academic outcomes of refugee learners from a wide range of cultural backgrounds; with differing pre-migration experiences and educational opportunities; and within diverse resettlement contexts.
- Malik and her peers need targeted academic supports that meet their individual learning needs. Grant teachers can draw on peer and community volunteers but participant data tell us that volunteers are not consistently available and both peers and volunteers may lack the capacity to offer productive assistance. Teachers can connect students to supplement instructional programs within the school but feel that reliance on pull-outs results in a highly fragmented student learning environment. They would like to be able to provide more small-group instruction in the classroom and this would require greater access to individuals with sufficient training to differentiate on the spot. Providing this would not necessarily mean adding fully-credentialed teachers to each classroom but it would involve greater investment in the training of everyone working with students so that precious instructional time is not lost. It would also mean building collaboration time into staff schedules that was focused explicitly on differentiating instruction across the curriculum and within the classroom.
 - Supplemental educational supports offered outside of school hours have the potential to enhance students' academic skills but simply adding to the amount of school time may not provide academic benefits (Beckett et al., 2009). Researchers tasked with evaluating the literature on out-of-school time programs suggest that they may work best when they: a) are aligned academically with the school day; b) pay attention to

details such as location, transportation, program timing, and related issues in order to maximize participation; c) provide instruction targeted to individual and small group needs; d) utilize dynamic, interactive, learner-centered, real world instructional activities to address student and teacher fatigue; e) use performance data to improve quality.

The experiences shared by study participants articulate the tremendous amount of work Grant staff have undertaken that lies beyond their core academic mandate. They have done this to try to give the students who attend their school, both native-born and refugee, the space to more fully engage academically. Some days they are not able to meet the demands. Discussions regarding the efficacy of specific curricula and instructional approaches, teacher quality, student assessment, and other academically-focused concerns are all relevant to the work being done at Grant but, if we are going to do our best to promote high school graduation, we have to recognize that schools cannot do it alone.

REFERENCES

- Abdalla, F., Mutharia, J., Rima, I. N., Bilukha, O., Talley, L., Handzel, T., & Bamrah, S. (2008). Malnutrition and micronutrient deficiencies among Bhutanese refugee children – Nepal, 2007. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 57(14), 370-373.
- Adess, S., Ayoubi, D., Fata, S., Goodman, J., Hasan, D., Malahkiakiolo, J., . . . Wala, R. (2010). *Refugee crisis in America: Iraqis and their resettlement experience*. Retrieved from Georgetown Law Center website:
http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/hri_papers/4/
- African Union. (2000). *Rwanda: The preventable genocide*. Retrieved from
http://www.africanunion.org/official_documents/reports/report_rowanda_genocide.pdf
- Amnesty International. (1992). *Bhutan: Human rights violations against the Nepali-speaking population in the south*. Retrieved from
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA14/004/1992/en/93effed0-ed92-11dd-95f6-0b268ecef84f/asa140041992en.pdf>
- Appleton, J. J., Christenson, S. L., & Furlong, M. J. (2008). Student engagement with school: Critical conceptual and methodological issues of the construct. *Psychology in the Schools*, 45(5), 369-386.
- Ashby, C. M. (2010). *K-12 education: Many challenges arise in educating students who change schools frequently. Report to congressional requesters (GAO-11-40)*. Retrieved from GAO website: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d1140.pdf>

- August, D., & Shanahan, T. (2006). Introduction and methodology: Charge to the panel. In D. August & T. Shanahan (Eds.), *Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth* (pp. 1-42). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- August, D., & Shanahan, T. (2010). Response to a review and update on developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 42(3), 341-348.
- Autor, D. H., Katz, L. F., & Kearney, M. S. (2008). Trends in U.S. wage inequality: Revising the revisionists. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 90(2), 300-323.
- Banjong, O., Menefee, A., Sranacharoenpong, K., Chittchang, U., Eg-kantrong, P., Boonpradern, A., & Tamachotipong, S. (2003). Dietary assessment of refugees living in camps: A case study of Mae La Camp, Thailand. *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, 24(4), 360-367.
- Barron, S., Okell, J., Yin, S. M., VanBik, K., Swain, A., Larkin, E., . . . Ewers, K. (2007). *Refugees from Burma: Their backgrounds and refugee experiences*. Retrieved from Cultural Orientation Resource Center website:
<http://www.culturalorientation.net/learning/backgrounders>
- Beckett, M., Borman, G., Capizzano, J., Parsley, D., Ross, S., Schirm, A., & Taylor, J. (2009). *Structuring out-of-school time to improve academic achievement: A practice guide* (NCEE 2009-012). Retrieved from Institute of Education Sciences website: http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/pdf/practiceguides/ost_pg_072109.pdf

- Behnke, A. O., Gonzalez, L. M., & Cox, R. B. (2010). Latino students in new arrival states: Factors and services to prevent youth from dropping out. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 32(3), 385-409. doi: 10.1177/0739986310374025
- Beltran, E., Cherrett, H., Hobdell, M., Freder, J., & Robison, V. (2006). *Tanzania site assessments, 2006: Refugee camps*. Retrieved from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website:
http://www.cdc.gov/oralhealth/publications/library/pdf/tanzania_site_assessments.pdf
- Benner, M., Muangsookjarouen, A., Sondorp, & Townsend, J. (2008). Neglect of refugee participation. *Forced Migration Review*, (30), p. 25.
- Betancourt, T. S., Newnham, E. A., Layne, C. M., Kim, S., Steinberg, A. M., Ellis, H., & Birman, D. (2012). Trauma history and psychopathology in war-affected refugee children referred for trauma-related mental health services in the United States. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 25(6), 682-690. doi: 10.1002/jts.21749
- Bickerstaff, S. (2009/2010). "I felt untraditional": High school leavers negotiating dominant discourses on "dropout". *Journal of Education*, 190(3), 37-45.
- Bilukha, O., Howard, C., Wilkinson, C., Bamrah, S., & Husain, F. (2011). Effects of multimicronutrient home fortification on anemia and growth in Bhutanese refugee children. *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, 32(3), 264-276.
- Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. (1998). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bonner, R. (1996, December 21). U.N. shift on Rwandans a bow to 'new realities'. *The New York Times*, p. 7.

- Brees, I. (2008). Refugee business: Strategies of work on the Thai–Burma border. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(3), 380-397.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2013). *Years of school completed by poverty status, sex, age, nativity, and citizenship: 2002 -2011. Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement*. Retrieved January 6, 2013, from <http://www.bls.gov/cps/>
- Chaulia, S. S. (2003). The politics of refugee hosting in Tanzania: From open door to unsustainability, insecurity and receding receptivity. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 16(2), 147-166.
- Coghlan, B., Ngoy, P., Mulumba, F., Hardy, C., Nkamgang Bemo, V., Stewart, T., . . . Brennan, R. (2007). *Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An ongoing crisis*. Retrieved from International Rescue Committee website: http://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/resource-file/2006-7_congoMortalitySurvey.pdf
- Cohen, R., & Martinez, M. (2012). *Health insurance coverage: Early release of estimates from the National Health Interview Survey, 2011*. Retrieved from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website: <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhis/earlyrelease/insur201206.pdf>
- Coleman-Jensen, A., Nord, M., Andrews, M., & Carlson, S. (2012). *Household food security in the United States in 2011* (ERR-141). Retrieved from U.S. Department

of Agriculture website: <http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/err-economic-research-report/err141.aspx>

Connell, R. (1994). Poverty and education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 64(2), 125-149.

Creswell, J., & Miller, D. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130.

Crisp, J. (2010). Forced displacement in Africa: Dimensions, difficulties, and policy directions. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 29(3), 1-27.

Crisp, J., Talbot, C., & Cipollone, D. (2001). *Learning for a future: Refugee education in developing countries*. Retrieved from UNHCR website:
<http://www.unhcr.org/4a1d5ba36.html>

Crossette, B. (1985, November 8). Burma's army closes in on long-running revolt. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Crossette, B. (1994, November 3). U.N. considers action on rising violence in Rwandan camps. *The New York Times*, p. A5.

Day, J. C., & Newburger, E. C. (2002). *The big payoff: Educational attainment and synthetic estimates of work-life earnings*. *Current Population Reports* (P23-210). Retrieved from Census Bureau website:
<http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p23-210.pdf>

Dooley, K. (2009). Re-thinking pedagogy for middle school students with little, no or severely interrupted schooling. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*, 8(1), 5-19.

Dryden-Peterson, S. (2011). *Refugee education: A global review*. Retrieved from UNHCR website: <http://www.unhcr.org/4fe317589.pdf>

- Dynarski, M., Clarke, L., Cobb, B., Finn, J., Rumberger, R., & Smink, J. (2008). *Dropout prevention: A practice guide* (NCEE 2008–4025). Retrieved from Institute of Education Sciences website:
http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/pdf/practiceguides/dp_pg_090308.pdf
- Dyson, A. H. (1995). *Children out of bounds: The power of case studies in expanding visions of literacy development*. Berkeley, CA; Pittsburgh, PA: National Center for the Study of Writing at Berkeley and Carnegie Mellon.
- Erlanger, S. (1990, April 18). Burmese army's successes produce a new flood of refugees for Thailand. *The New York Times*, p. A3.
- Ewert, S., & Wildhagen, T. (2011). *Educational characteristics of prisoners: Data from the American Community Survey* (SEHSD Working Paper #2011-8). Retrieved from Census Bureau website: <https://www-census.gov/hhes/socdemo/education/data/acs/index.html>
- Finn, J. D. (1993). *School engagement and students at risk*. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.
- Firmender, J. M., Reis, S. M., & Sweeny, S. M. (2013). Reading comprehension and fluency levels ranges across diverse classrooms: The need for differentiated reading instruction and content. *Gifted Child Quarterly*, 57(1), 3-14.
- Fisher, I. (2000, January, 2). If only the problem were as easy as old hatreds. *The New York Times*, p. WK10.
- Fisher, I., & Onishi, N. (2000, Feb 6). Many armies ravage rich land in the 'First World War' of Africa. *The New York Times*, pp. 1, 10.

- Fredricks, J. A., Blumenfeld, P. C., & Paris, A. H. (2004). School engagement: Potential of the concept, state of the evidence. *Review of Educational Research, 74*(1), 59-109. doi: 10.3102/00346543074001059
- French, H. (1997, May 17). An anatomy of autocracy: Mobutu's era. *The New York Times*, pp. 1, 7.
- Freudenberg, N., & Ruglis, J. (2007). Reframing school dropout as a public health issue. *Preventing Chronic Disease, 4*(4).
- Fuller, T., & Landler, M. (2011, November 18). As Myanmar eases controls, U.S. sees diplomatic opening. *The New York Times*, p. A1.
- Gersten, R., Baker, S., Shanahan, T., Linan-Thompson, S., Collins, P., & Scarella, R. (2007). *Effective literacy and English language instruction for English learners in the elementary grades: A practice guide* (NCEE 2007-4011). Retrieved from Institute of Education Sciences website:
<http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/pdf/practiceguides/20074011.pdf>
- Ghareeb, E., Ranard, D., & Tutunji, J. (2008). *Enhanced refugee backgrounder no. 1: Refugees from Iraq: Their histories, cultures, and background experiences*. Retrieved from Cultural Orientation Resource Center:
<http://www.culturalorientation.net/learning/backgrounders>
- Haines, D. W. (2010). *Safe haven?: A history of refugees in America*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.
- Haller, W., Portes, A., & Lynch, S. (2011). Dreams fulfilled, dreams shattered: Determinants of segmented assimilation in the second generation. *Social Forces, 89*(3), 733-762.

- Harkins, B. (2012). Beyond "temporary shelter": A case study of Karen refugee resettlement in St. Paul, Minnesota. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 10(2), 184-203.
- Harlow, C. W. (2003). *Education and correctional populations: Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report*. Retrieved from Department of Justice website: <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/ecp.pdf>
- Heck, R. H. (2006). Conceptualizing and conducting meaningful research studies in education. In C. Conrad & R. C. Serlin (Eds.), *The Sage handbook for research in education: Emerging ideas and enriching inquiry* (pp. 373-392). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Heckman, J. J., & LaFontaine, P. A. (2010). The American high school graduation rate: Trends and levels. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 92(2), 244-262.
- Hochschild, A. (2003, April 20). Chaos in Congo suits many parties just fine. *The New York Times*, p. WK 3.
- Hondo, C., Gardiner, M. E., & Sapien, Y. (2008). *Latino dropouts in rural America: Realities and possibilities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Huguet, J. W., & Punpuing, S. (2005). *International migration in Thailand*. Retrieved from International Organization for Migration website: <http://www.iom-seasia.org/resource/pdf/SituationReport.PDF>
- Hutt, M. (2003). *Unbecoming citizens: Culture, nationhood, and the flight of refugees from Bhutan*. New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press.
- International Crisis Group. (1999). *Burundian refugees in Tanzania: The key factor to the Burundi peace process*. Retrieved from

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/central-africa/burundi/Burundian%20Refugees%20in%20Tanzania%20The%20Key%20Factor%20to%20the%20Burundi%20Peace%20Process.pdf>

International Organization for Migration [IOM]. (2008). *Cultural profile: The Bhutanese refugees in Nepal: A tool for settlement workers and sponsors*. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/What-We-Do/docs/Mental-Health-Assessment-Nepal_Final_11March.pdf

Juel, C. (2006). The impact of early school experiences on initial reading. In S. Neuman & D. Dickinson (Eds.), *The Handbook of Early Literacy Research* (Vol. II, pp. 410-426). New York: Guilford Press.

Kamil, M. L., Borman, G. D., Dole, J., Kral, C. C., Salinger, T., & Torgesen, J. (2008). *Improving adolescent literacy: Effective classroom and intervention practices. A Practice Guide* (NCEE #2008-4027). Retrieved from Institute of Education Sciences website:

http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/pdf/practiceguides/adlit_pg_082608.pdf

Kantor, H., & Lowe, R. (2006). From New Deal to no deal: No Child Left Behind and the devolution of responsibility for equal opportunity. *Harvard Education Review*, 76(4), 474-502.

Katunzi, N., & Ndalichako, J. (2004). *An evaluation of the education programme in refugee camps in western Tanzania: Final Report*. Retrieved from the UNICEF website:

http://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/Tanzania_2004_004_Education_Refugee_Camps.pdf

- Lang, H. J. (2002). *Fear and sanctuary: Burmese refugees in Thailand*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.
- Lee, C. D. (2008). The centrality of culture to the scientific study of learning and development: How an ecological framework in education research facilitates civic responsibility. 2008 Wallace Foundation Distinguished Lecture. *Educational Researcher*, 37(5), 267-279.
- Lee, C. D. (2009). Historical evolution of risk and equity: Interdisciplinary issues and critiques. *Review of Research in Education*, 33(1), 63-100.
- Lee, V. E., & Burkam, D. T. (2002). *Inequality at the starting gate: Social background differences in achievement as children begin school*. Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute.
- Lemarchand, R. (1996). *Burundi: Ethnic conflict and genocide*. Washington: D.C.; Cambridge: M.A.; New York: NY: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Cambridge University Press.
- Lesaux, N., & Geva, E. (2006). Synthesis: Development of literacy in language-minority students. In D. August & T. Shanahan (Eds.), *Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth* (pp. 53-74). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Loescher, G., & Milner, J. (2005). The long road home: Protracted refugee situations in Africa. *Survival*, 47(2), 153-174.
- Lorch, D. (1994a, May 18). In a bleak camp, Rwanda refugees say each tribe is joining in the killing. *The New York Times*, p. 6.

- Lorch, D. (1994b, May 8). Out of Rwanda's horrors into a sickening squalor. *The New York Times*, p. 10.
- Lorch, D. (1994c, May 2). Rains and disease ravage refugees fleeing Rwanda. *The New York Times*, pp. A1, A10.
- Macartney, S. E. (2011). *Child poverty in the United States 2009 and 2010: Selected race groups and Hispanic origin. American Community Survey Brief (10-05)*. Retrieved from Census Bureau website: <https://www-census.gov/prod/2011pubs/acsbr10-05.pdf>
- Maxwell, J. (1996). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- McBrien, J. L. (2005). Educational needs and barriers for refugee students in the United States: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research*, 75(3), 329-364.
- McKinley, J. (1996, Feb 12). Zaire's Gamble: Persuading refugees to leave, or else. *The New York Times*, pp. A1, A7.
- Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Miao, J., & Haney, W. (2004). High school graduation rates: Alternative methods and implications. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 12(55), 1-70.
- Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Miller, J. (2009). Teaching refugee learners with interrupted education in science: Vocabulary, literacy and pedagogy. *International Journal of Science Education*, 31(4), 571-592.
- Mol, S. E., & Bus, A. G. (2011). To read or not to read: A meta-analysis of print exposure from infancy to early adulthood. *Psychological Bulletin*, 137(2), 267-296.
- Moonesinghe, R., Zhu, J., & Truman, B. (2011). Health insurance coverage - United States, 2004 and 2008. [Supplement: CDC health disparities and inequalities report: United States, 2011]. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 60, 35-37.
- Moonieinda, A. (2011). *The Karen people: Culture, faith, and history*. Retrieved from the Karen Buddhist Dhamma Dhutta Foundation website:
http://www.karen.org.au/docs/Karen_people_booklet.pdf
- Mott, T. (2009). *African refugee resettlement in the United States*. El Paso: LFB Scholarly Pub.
- Mydans, S. (1996, February 23). Exiles adrift: Nowhere to run, nowhere to hide. *The New York Times*, p. A4.
- Mydans, S. (1997, March 3). In Thai camps, fear of Burmese troops grows. *The New York Times*, p. A3.
- Mydans, S. (2003, May 12). Burmese women are reporting systematic rapes by military. *The New York Times*, p. A11.
- Myers, S. L., & Mydans, S. (2012, February 21). U.S. to renew Myanmar ties, citing reforms. *The New York Times*, p. A1.

- National Assessment of Educational Progress. (2013). *Percentage of fourth-grade public and nonpublic school students at or above Basic in NAEP reading, by state/jurisdiction: Various years, 1992–2013*. Retrieved from http://nationsreportcard.gov/reading_math_2013/#/
- National Center for Education Statistics [NCES]. (2012a). *Provisional Data File: SY2010-11 Four-Year Regulatory Adjusted Cohort Graduation Rates*. Retrieved from <https://www2-ed-gov/documents/press-releases/state-2010-11-graduation-rate-data.pdf>
- National Center for Education Statistics [NCES]. (2012b). Table 113. Averaged freshman graduation rates for public secondary schools, by state or jurisdiction: Selected years, 1990-91 through 2008-2009. In T. D. Snyder & S. A. Dillow (Eds.), *Digest of Education Statistics 2011 (NCES 2012-001)*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Institute for Education Sciences.
- National Center for Education Statistics [NCES]. (2012c). Table 395. Median annual earnings of year-round, full-time workers 25 years old and over, by highest level of educational attainment and sex: 1990 through 2010. In T. D. Snyder & S. A. Dillow (Eds.), *Digest of Education Statistics 2011 (NCES 2012-001)*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences.
- National Center for Health Statistics. (2012). Figure 32. Life expectancy at age 25, by sex and education level: United States, 1996 and 2006. In *Health, United States, 2011: With special feature on socioeconomic status and health*. Hyattsville, MD:

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

National Center for Homeless Education. (2013). *Education for homeless children and youths program: Data collection summary*. Retrieved from National Center for Homeless Education website: <http://center.serve.org/nche/downloads/data-comp-0910-1112.pdf>

National Research Council and Institute of Medicine [NRC/IM]. (2000). *From neurons to neighborhoods: The science of early child development* (J. P. Shonkoff & D. Phillips, Eds.). Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

National Research Council and the Institute of Medicine [NRC/IM]. (2004). *Engaging schools: Fostering high school students' motivation to learn*. Committee on Increasing High School Students' Engagement and Motivation to Learn. Board on Children, Youth, and Families, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.

New York Times. (1973a, Jul 06). Military coup in Rwanda follows tribal dissension. *The New York Times*, p. A3.

New York Times. (1973b, June 17). Witnesses tell of horror in new Burundi slaughter. *The New York Times*, p. A1.

New York Times. (1993a, Aug 05). Accord ends 3-Year civil war in Rwanda. *The New York Times*, p. A1.

New York Times. (1993b, Oct 25). President of Burundi was killed in coup, leaders of the army say. *The New York Times*, p. A1.

New York Times. (1994a, July 20). Two million refugees. *The New York Times*, p. A18.

- New York Times. (1994b, Jun 18). Westerners leave camp. *The New York Times*, p. 2.
- New York Times. (1995, April 30). Thailand warns Burmese on raids on refugee camps. *The New York Times*, p. A1.
- New York Times. (1996, Nov 10). Zaire refugees' lack of food grows acute. *The New York Times*, p. 18.
- New York Times. (1998, March, 8). Refugees in Tanzania protest ration cuts. *The New York Times*, p. A8.
- Office of Refugee Resettlement [ORR]. (2011). *Report to Congress: FY 2008*. Retrieved from http://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/orr/annual_orr_report_to_congress_2008.pdf
- Office of Refugee Resettlement [ORR]. (2013a). *Refugee arrival data 1983-2012*. Available from <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/resource/refugee-arrival-data>
- Office of Refugee Resettlement [ORR]. (2013b). *Report to Congress: FY 2009*. Retrieved from https://www-acf-hhs-gov/sites/default/files/orr/fy_2009_annual_report_to_congress.pdf
- Office of Refugee Resettlement [ORR]. (2013c). *Report to Congress: FY 2010*. Retrieved from https://www-acf-hhs-gov/sites/default/files/orr/fy_2010_arc_final.pdf
- Oh, S.-A., Rattanasamakkee, S., Sukhikhachornphrai, P., & Ochalumthan, S. (2010). *ZOA Education Survey 2009*. Mae Sot, Thailand: ZOA Refugee Care Thailand.
- Peshkin, A. (1988). In search of subjectivity. One's own. *Educational Researcher*, 17(7), 17-21.

- Peshkin, A. (2000). The nature of interpretation in qualitative research. *Educational Researcher*, 29(9), 5-9.
- Porche, M. V., Fortuna, L. R., Lin, J., & Alegria, M. (2011). Childhood trauma and psychiatric disorders as correlates of school dropout in a national sample of young adults. *Child development*, 82(3), 982-998.
- Portes, A., & Rivas, A. (2011). The adaptation of migrant children. *The Future of Children*, 21(1), 219-246.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: A portrait*: University of California Press.
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530(1), 74-96.
- Raynard, D. R. (2007). *Refugee backgrounder no. 4: Bhutanese refugees in Nepal*. Retrieved from Cultural Orientation Resource Center:
<http://www.culturalorientation.net/learning/backgrounders>
- Riches, C., & Genesee, F. (2006). Literacy: Crosslinguistic and crossmodal issues. In F. Genesee, K. Lindholm-Leary, W. Saunders & D. Christian (Eds.), *Educating English Language Learners* (pp. 64-108). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roy, L. A., & Roxas, K. C. (2011). Whose deficit is this anyhow? Exploring counter-stories of Somali Bantu refugees' experiences in 'Doing School'. *Harvard Educational Review*, 81(3), 521-542.

- Rumbaut, R. (2004). Ages, life stages, and generational cohorts: Decomposing the immigrant first and second generations in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1160-1205.
- Rumbaut, R. (2005). Turning points in the transition to adulthood: Determinants of educational attainment, incarceration, and early childbearing among children of immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(6), 1041-1086.
- Rumberger, R. W. (2011). *Dropping out: Why students drop out of high school and what can be done about it*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Rutta, E., Williams, H., Mwansasu, A., Mung'ong'o, F., Burke, H., Gongo, R., . . .
- Qassim, M. (2005). Refugee perceptions of the quality of healthcare: Findings from a participatory assessment in Ngara, Tanzania. *Disasters*, 29(4), 291-309. doi: 10.1111/j.0361-3666.2005.00293.x
- Sanacore, J., & Palumbo, A. (2009). Understanding the fourth-grade slump: Our point of view. *Educational Forum*, 73(1), 67-74.
- Sanger, D., & Burns, J. (2003, March 20). Bush declares start of Iraq war; Missile said to be aimed at Hussein. *The New York Times*, p. A1.
- Schinina, G., Sharma, S., Gorbacheva, O., & Mishra, A. K. (2011). *Who am I? Assessment of psychosocial needs and suicide risk factors among Bhutanese refugees in Nepal and after third-country resettlement*. Retrieved from International Organization for Migration website: https://www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/What-We-Do/docs/Mental-Health-Assessment-Nepal_Final_11March.pdf

- Singer, A., & Wilson, J. (2006). *From 'There' to 'Here': Refugee resettlement in metropolitan America*. Retrieved from Brookings Institution website:
http://www.brookings.edu/metro/pubs/20060925_singer.pdf
- Skonhoft, C. G. (2000). 'Why should I send my child to school?': A study of Burundian Hutu refugees' experiences of exclusion from education and how this motivates education in Tanzanian exile. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 54(3), 116-121.
- Snow, C. E., Porche, M. V., Tabors, P. O., & Harris, S. R. (2007). *Is literacy enough? Pathways to academic success for adolescents*. Baltimore, MD: Brookes Publishing Company.
- Spencer, M. B. (1999). Social and cultural influences on school adjustment: The application of an identity-focused cultural ecological perspective. *Educational Psychologist*, 34(1), 43.
- Stoneberg, B. D. (2007). Using NAEP to confirm state test results in the No Child Left Behind Act. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 12(5), 1-10.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Toma, J. D. (2006). Approaching rigor in applied qualitative research. In C. Clifton & R. Serlin (Eds.), *The Sage handbook for research in education: Pursuing ideas as the keystone of exemplary inquiry*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Tomashek, K., Woodruff, B., Gotway, C., Bloland, P., & Mbaruku, G. (2001).
Randomized intervention study comparing several regimens for the treatment of moderate anemia among refugee children in Kigoma Region, Tanzania. *The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 64(3-4).
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]. (2003).
Situation analysis of education in Iraq. Retrieved from
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001308/130838e.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (1997). *Refugee camp security in the Great Lakes region*. Retrieved from
<http://www.unhcr.org/3ae6bcfd0.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2004). *Protracted refugee situations. Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Standing Committee, 30th Meeting*. Retrieved from
<http://www.unhcr.org/40c982172.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2007a). *A comprehensive plan addressing the needs of displaced persons on the Thailand/Myanmar (Burma) border in 2007/2008*. Retrieved from
<http://www.unhcr.org/4691eaa82.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2007b). *Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees. Text of the 1951 convention relating to the status of the refugees. Text of the 1967 protocol relating to the status of refugees. Resolution 2198 (XXI) adopted by the United Nations General*

Assembly. Retrieved from

<http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2008a). *Protracted refugee situations: Revisiting the problem. Executive Committee of the High*

Commissioner's Programme, Standing Committee, 42nd Meeting. Retrieved from

<http://www.unhcr.org/484514c12.pdf>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2008b). *Thailand refugee consolidated project concept notes*. Retrieved from [http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=4889cda72&query=Administration%20of%20Justice)

[bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=4889cda72&query=Administration%20of%20Justice](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=4889cda72&query=Administration%20of%20Justice).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2011). *UNHCR statistical yearbook 2010: Ten years of statistics*. Retrieved from

<http://www.unhcr.org/4ef9cc9c9.html>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2013). *UNHCR statistical online population database, 1990-2011*. Retrieved May 14, 2013, from

<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a013eb06.html>

United Nations News Centre. (2006, October 11). Escalating violence in Iraq prompts

UN aid official to call for urgent help from leaders. *United Nations News Centre*.

Retrieved from

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=20218&Cr=iraq&Cr1=>

United Nations News Centre. (2013, March 11). Independent UN expert warns of

significant human rights shortcomings in Myanmar. *United Nations News Centre*.

Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=44335>

- United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants. (2009). *World Refugee Survey 2009: Thailand*. Retrieved from <http://www.refugees.org/resources/refugee-warehousing/archived-world-refugee-surveys/2009-world-refugee-survey.html>
- United States Department of Health and Human Services. (2013). *Bhutanese Refugee Health Profile*. Retrieved from <http://www.cdc.gov/immigrantrefugeehealth/profiles/health-information/nutrition/index.html#anemia>
- United States Department of State. (2011a). *Burma Backgrounder*. Retrieved August 3, 2011, from <http://www.state.gov/p/eap/ci/bm/index.htm>
- United States Department of State. (2011b). *Burma: Country report on human rights practices for 2011*. Retrieved February 4, 2013 from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/186475.pdf>
- Van Damme, W. (1995). Do refugees belong in camps? Experiences from Goma and Guinea. *The Lancet*, 346(8971), 360-362.
- Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture. (2004). *School's in for refugees: Whole-school guide for refugee readiness*. Retrieved from <http://www.foundationhouse.org.au>
- Walker-Dalhouse, D., & Dalhouse, A. D. (2009). When two elephants fight the grass suffers: Parents and teachers working together to support the literacy development of Sudanese youth. *Teaching and teacher education*, 25(2), 328-335.
- Webster, P. C. (2011). Iraq's health system yet to heal from ravages of war. *The Lancet*, 378(9794), 863-866.

- Woods, A. (2009). Learning to be literate: Issues of pedagogy for recently arrived refugee youth in Australia. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 6(1-2), 81-101.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Zhou, M., & Bankston, C. L. (1998). *Growing up American: How Vietnamese children adapt to life in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zucker, N. L. (1983). Refugee resettlement in the United States: Policy and problems. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 467, 172-186.

APPENDIX A:

Family Recruitment Flyer



SEEKING VOLUNTEERS FOR A RESEARCH STUDY ON REFUGEE STUDENTS' ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

To the Parent/Guardian of _____.

My name is Kathleen Mullen and I am a graduate student at Boise State University. I am trying to learn about refugee kids' experiences with learning English and being in school so I am conducting a research study called Early Indicators for High School Success among Refugee Students. I am doing this study because I hope to gain insight into how to support academic achievement for refugee students.

I am looking for eight parent and child teams to volunteer to be in this study. I am looking for parents who are English Language Learners who have children who are beginning level English Language Learners. Parents/guardians will be asked to take part in an interview that will last about one hour. The interview(s) will take place sometime between January and May, at a time and place that is mutually agreeable. You don't have to be able to speak English because we will have a translator to help us talk. If you and your child consent to be in the study, your child will be asked to take part in three separate interviews that will last about 20-30 minutes each. These interviews will take place at Taft Elementary, during school hours, sometime between January and May.

If you and your child participate, I might find out information that will help other kids some day. All of the information you share will be private. I will write a summary of the information participating families share during the study, with the hopes of sharing it with other teachers and schools serving refugee students, but the summary will not contain any information that, alone or in combination, will identify any individual or family. If you decide that you do want to be in this study, you do not have to answer any questions that you don't want to. You can also stop being in the study at any time.

If you decide that you don't want to be in this study, I will still be visiting your child's classroom but I will not ask for interviews from you or your child.

If you and your child are interested in being part of this study, please check the space below and have your child return this form to [edited for privacy]. A translator will call you to schedule a date, time, and place for the parent/guardian interview.

Thank you so much for your time and consideration!

_____ Yes, I am interested in participating in this study. _____ No, I am not interested in participating in this study.

This research is conducted under the direction of Dr. Roger Stewart, College of Education, Department of Literacy.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the BSU Institutional Review Board
(IRB approval #034-SB11-085)

APPENDIX B

Parent Telephone Script

Hello, Mr./Mrs./Ms. _.

My name is (translator's name) and I am contacting you to follow-up on the flyer your child returned to school indicating that you are interested in participating in the study of the language learning and school experiences of refugee families. Are you still interested in participating?

(If no) Thank you very much for your time. Goodbye.

(If yes) Great! Do you have a minute for us to schedule the interview?

(If no) Okay, when would be a good time for me to call back?

(If yes) Great! Where would you prefer to meet? We can meet you at the school, come to your home, or meet you someplace else. (Response). Okay, what date and time within the next two weeks are best for you? We estimate the interview will take about one hour.

Thank you, Mr./Mrs./Ms. I will contact you two days before our scheduled interview to confirm. Thank you very much for your time.

APPENDIX C

Parent Consent Form



Ms. Mullen is trying to learn about refugee kids' experiences with learning English and being in school because she hopes to gain insight into how to support academic achievement for refugee students. We want to tell you a little bit about the study and what you will be asked to do so you can decide whether you want to participate. You are being asked to be part of this study because your child is a student at Grant Elementary. We encourage you to ask questions at any time and you don't have to decide today if you want to be part of the study.

Ms. Mullen is requesting permission to ask you questions about your experiences with learning languages and with English, experiences with school and work, as well as your hopes for your child's future. We estimate that it will take about one hour to answer all the questions. The interview will take place at a date, time, and location that are mutually agreed to in advance by you, the translator, and Ms. Mullen.

Ms. Mullen is also asking permission to ask your child questions during three 20-30 interviews at school. These interviews will take place during school hours, on a day and time that is mutually agreed to by your child, their teacher, a translator, and Ms. Mullen.

Ms. Mullen will ask your child about their experiences with learning languages and with school. Your child does not have to have previously attended school in order to participate. All interviews will take place between now and the end of May.

Ms. Mullen will be recording audio of all the interviews to ensure accuracy. All of the information you and your child share will be private. Ms. Mullen will write a summary of the information participating families share with us, and while she hopes to share it with other teachers and schools serving refugee students, the summary will not contain any information that, alone or in combination, is individually identifiable.

Some people might not want to talk about learning, school, work, or their hopes for the future and nobody has to participate if they don't want to. If you and your child decide you would like to be part of this study, you can skip any question you don't want to answer and you can stop answering questions at any time. You and your child will receive a small gift as a gesture of appreciation for your time but no one will be upset if one or both of you decide to stop being in the study. The gift will be yours to keep. You will continue to be welcome at Grant Elementary and your child will continue to receive a quality education.

Sometimes people feel sad, angry, or upset when they talk about their experiences. If you or your child feels this way about anything we talk about together during the interviews, you are welcome to contact the school counselor, [edited for privacy]. Her phone number is 854-6180.

You can ask us any questions you want about this study. You can also talk to Mrs. [edited for privacy], [edited for privacy], Ms. Mullen's advisor, Dr. Roger Stewart at 426-4427, or the BSU Office of Research Compliance at 426-5401.

If you understand this information and agree that you and your child would like to be part of this study, please sign your name or put your initials on the line below. We will give you a copy of this form, in case you want to keep it for future reference.

Signature of Study Participant

Date

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

APPENDIX D

STUDENT ASSENT FORM



Ms. Mullen is trying to learn about refugee kids' experiences with learning English and being in school. We want to tell you a little bit about the study and what you will be asked to do so you can decide whether you want to participate. You are being asked to be part of this study because you are a student at Grant Elementary. You can ask questions any time you want and you don't have to decide today if you want to be part of the study.

If you want to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in three separate interviews that will last about 30 minutes each. Ms. Mullen will ask you some questions about your experiences with English and other languages, as well as your experiences with school. The interviews will happen at school during school hours. If you decide that you don't want to be in this study, she will still be visiting your classroom but will not ask you to participate in any interviews.

Some kids may not want to talk about learning languages or school. It is okay to say "no" if you don't want to be in the study. Even though your parents have said you can be in the study, you can still say that you don't want to. No one will be mad at you. If you decide to be part of the study, you can skip any questions that you don't want to answer.

If you want to be in this study, please sign your name or your initials below.

SIGN your name

Date

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

APPENDIX E

Staff Consent Form



INFORMED CONSENT

Early Indicators of High School Success

Principal Investigator(s): Kathleen Mullen

Co-Investigator(s): Roger Stewart

Hello! My name is Kathleen Mullen and I am a graduate student in the Interdisciplinary Studies program at Boise State University. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your experience working with refugees in Boise. I am requesting permission to ask you questions about your experiences working with refugee families. This consent form will give you the information you will need to understand why this research study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will be asked to do, as well as any known risks, inconveniences or discomforts that you may experience. I encourage you to ask questions at any time. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and it will be a record of your agreement to participate. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

- **PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND**

The purpose of this study is to try to develop an understanding of the factors and resources that support academic achievement among upper elementary refugee students.

- **PROCEDURES**

- **INTERVIEW**

- I will gather information through an interview about your experiences working with refugee students and their families.
- It is anticipated that the interview will take about 20-30 minutes.
- The interview will take place at a mutually agreed upon time and location.
- I am also requesting permission to make an audio recording of your interview in order to help ensure that I have correctly recorded your responses. These recordings will remain private and will only be available to me and my graduate advisors for the purpose of this study. Audio recordings will be kept on a password protected computer. If it is okay with you for me to make an audio recording of your interview, please sign your initials here ____.

- RISKS

For this research project, I will be asking you about your experiences working with refugee children. Although the focus of this study is not on refugee trauma, many refugee students have had trauma in their past and that might come up during the interview. You are free to not answer any question that you feel uncomfortable answering and you may skip as many questions as you need to in order to feel comfortable during the interview.

Should you feel any discomfort due to participation in this interview you should contact your own health care provider or call the Idaho CareLine at 2-1-1.

- BENEFITS

There will be no direct benefit to you from participation in this study. It is hoped that the results of this study will provide insights into supporting the academic achievement of refugee students.

- EXTENT OF ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that you share during this interview will be kept confidential. Because it is hoped that the results of this study will provide insights into supporting the academic achievement of refugee students, I hope to publish study results. All findings used in any written reports or publications which result from this study will be reported in aggregate form with no individually identifiable information.

It is, however, useful to use direct quotes to more clearly capture the meanings in reporting the findings from this study. I would like permission to include direct quotes in any publication. You will be asked at the end of the interview if there is anything you said which you do not want included as a quote, and I will ensure that information is not used. I will not include your name in any study documents (or in any publication). Quotes will be identified very generally, e.g., by the speaker's country of origin, their native language, their level of experience with English, or a related characteristic. If you do consent to allow direct quotes in any final report or document, please provide your initials here ____.

All electronic files will be stored on a password- and firewall-protected computer. Only I and my graduate advisors will have access to study documents. All paper files will be stored in a locked file cabinet in my advisor's BSU office. I will transcribe all interviews.

Federal law requires that study information be kept for a minimum of three years. If, at the end of that time, the data are no longer needed for analysis purposes, the data will be destroyed. If

the data are still needed, they will continue to be stored in password- and firewall-protected computers for the period of time needed for further analysis. Data used in this study may be used in research dissemination at professional conferences and in publications.

- **COMPENSATION**

You will not be paid for your participation in this study but will be offered a small gift as a gesture of appreciation for your time. The gift is yours to keep, whether or not you complete the interview.

- **PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY**

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw from it at any time without consequences of any kind or loss of the gift you were offered.

- **QUESTIONS**

If you have any questions or concerns about participation in this study, you should first talk with the student conducting the study, Kathleen Mullen. Ms. Mullen is available via e-mail at kathleenmullen@u.boisestate.edu. You may also contact Ms. Mullen's graduate advisor, Roger Stewart, at (208) 426-4437. If for some reason you do not wish to do this, you may contact the Institutional Review Board, which is concerned with the protection of volunteers in research projects. You may reach the board office between 8:00 AM and 5:00 PM, Monday through Friday, by calling (208) 426-5401 or by writing: Institutional Review Board, Office of Research Compliance, Boise State University, 1910 University Dr., Boise, ID 83725-1138.

- **DOCUMENTATION OF CONSENT**

I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement and possible risks have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand I can withdraw at any time.

Signature of Study Participant

Date

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

APPENDIX F

Parent Interview Transcript

Date: _____ Child's number: _____

Relationship to child: _____

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me. During this interview, I would like to ask you some questions about your experiences with school and work, your native language and your experiences with English, as well as your hopes for your child's future. I would like to give you a small gift to show appreciation for your participation. Acceptance of this gift does not obligate you in any way. You may skip any question that you do not feel comfortable answering and you may keep the gift regardless of how many questions you answer.

BACKGROUND

- What is your home country? What province did you live in?
- May I ask your ethnic group?

SCHOOL AND WORK

I would like to ask you some questions about your experience with school and work:

- What kind of work did you do before you came to Boise?
- What kind of work do you do in Boise? (IF APPLICABLE) What kind of work would you like to do here?
- Did you go to school in (country of origin)? Y/N For how many years?
- Was your schooling helpful in your life? Y/N If yes, how so?
- Did your child go to school in (country of origin)? Y/N For how many years?
- How was school back home different than schools are here?
- What do you like best about school here?

- What do you like least about school here?
- (IF APPLICABLE) What kind of student you would say your son/daughter was in (country of origin)?

- What kind of student would you say he/she is here in the US?
- Is your child able to get most of his/her assignments in on time? Y/N If not, why not?
- Who does your child go to if he/she needs help with homework?
- Sometimes children miss a day of school. How often would you say your child misses school? Frequently, Sometimes, Rarely, Never
- What are some of the reasons your child might miss school?

LITERACY

Sometimes people speak a language but do not read or write it.

- How well do you read in (native language)? Very well, well, not well, not at all
- How well do you write (native language)? Very well, well, not well, not at all
- How well do you understand spoken English? Very well, well, not well, not at all
- How well do you read English? Very well, well, not well, not at all
- How well do you write English? Very well, well, not well, not at all
- How often are you able to speak English with people who grew up speaking English? Frequently, Sometimes, Rarely, Never
- What language do you typically use at home to speak to your children? Language of origin, mostly L/O, some English, 50/50, mostly English, some L/O, English
- What language do your children generally speak to you? Language of origin, mostly L/O, some English, 50/50, mostly English, some L/O, English
- What language(s) does your child typically speak with his/her friends? Language of origin, mostly L/O, some English, 50/50, mostly English, some L/O, English
- What language(s) does your child typically speak at school? Language of origin, mostly L/O, some English, 50/50, mostly English, some L/O, English
- How often is your child able to speak English with kids who grew up speaking English? Frequently, Sometimes, Rarely, Never
- Do you have reading materials at home? Y/N, (If Y) What kinds of reading materials do you have at home? Newspapers, Magazines, Comic books, religious materials, Other
- In what language are most of your reading materials?
- How much time do you spend reading every week?

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your hopes for your children's future. People measure success in different ways.

- How do you define someone who is successful in life, meaning someone who has a good life?
- What do you do to help your child become successful in this country?
- In the U.S., what role do you think school plays in being successful or having a good life?
- (IF APPLICABLE) What role do parents play in (country of origin) in their children's success in school?
- (IF APPLICABLE) What role do parents play in the United States in their children's success in school?
- What do you think you would like your child to do for a living when he/she grows up?
- How much school do you think he/she will need for that?

We are coming to the end of this interview. Your responses have been very helpful.

- We are hoping to use this information to help schools better serve refugee children. From your perspective, what could schools do to better meet the needs of your child?
- We are also hoping to provide information to refugee parents that would be helpful to them. Do you have any specific questions that you want answered?

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me and share your experiences.

APPENDIX G

Student Interview Transcripts

INTERVIEW 1

Date: _____ Student's name: _____

Thanks for meeting with me for an interview. I would like to ask you some questions about your background and about school. Before we start, you are welcome to choose a small gift from this box as a thank you for participating in this study. You may skip any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering and you are not obligated to complete the interview. You may keep the gift regardless of how many questions you answer.

1. What's your favorite color?
2. What's your favorite food?
3. What's your favorite thing to do in your free time?

I'm going to say a few sentences and you just tell me how true these statements are for you:

4. I enjoy learning new things. Very True, True, Somewhat True, Not True
5. I get bored easily with school work. Very True, True, Somewhat True, Not True
6. I feel good when I learn something new, even when it is hard. Very True, True, Somewhat True, Not True

I would like to ask you a little bit about school.

7. Did you go to school in (country of origin)? Y/N If so, how many years did you go to school?
8. How was school back home different than schools are here?
9. What do you like best about school here?
10. What do you like least about school here?
11. What kind of student would you say you were in (country of origin)?
12. Now that you are in the United States, what kind of student would you say you are here?
13. What is the most difficult thing about school here?
14. Do you usually get most of your assignments in on time? Y/N If not, why not?
15. How much time do you spend on homework every day?
16. Who helps you with your homework if you need help?
17. Sometimes kids miss a day of school. How often would you say you miss school?
Frequently, Sometimes, Rarely, Never

What are some of the reasons you might miss school?

We are coming to the end of this interview. Your responses have been very helpful.

18. Are there any questions that I should have asked you that I did not?
19. Are there any questions that you would like to ask me?

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me and share your experiences.

INTERVIEW 2

Date: _____ Student's name: _____

Thanks for meeting with me again. This time, I would like to ask you some questions about your ideas about being successful, or having a good life, and some of your experiences in school. Just like last time, you are welcome to choose a small gift from this box as a thank you for participating in this study. And, just like last time, you may skip any question that you do not feel comfortable answering and you are not obligated to complete the interview. You may keep the gift regardless of how many questions you answer.

I'm going to say a few sentences. For each sentence, tell me whether you are more like the first group or the second group. Then tell me whether that is "very true" or "somewhat true" for you.

1. Some students always finish their work BUT other students often do not finish their work.
2. Some students always turn in their homework BUT other students often do not.
3. Some students pay close attention in class BUT others do not.
4. Some students just get by in school BUT others always do their best.

With these sentences, just tell me whether each of the following statements are Very True, True, Somewhat True, or Not True for you.

5. I can count on at least one adult in school. Very True True Somewhat True
Not True
6. There is someone at school who can help me.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True
7. Teachers here treat me with respect.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True
8. I have at least one friend at school to help me with homework.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True
9. Teachers care about me and what happens to me.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True
10. I can count on someone if I have a problem at school.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True
11. Teachers care about my future.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True
12. I can count on someone in school to help me with my school work.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True
13. I can talk about troubles with people at school.
Very True True Somewhat True Not True

People measure success in different ways.

14. How would you describe someone who is successful, or who has a good life?
15. If a cousin who just arrived from (country of origin) asks you how a person becomes successful in the United States, what would you tell her/him?
16. Does school help you to be successful in the U.S.? Y/N If not, what other ways can one be successful in the U.S.?
17. What do you think you would like to do when you grow up?
18. How much school do you think you need to be able to do that?

We are coming to the end of this interview. Your responses have been very helpful.

22. Are there any questions that I should have asked you that I did not?
23. Are there any questions that you would like to ask me?

Thank you for meeting with me again and sharing your experiences.

INTERVIEW 3

Date: _____ Child's name: _____

Thanks for meeting with me again. This will be our last interview and this time I will ask you about your experience with languages. Just like before, you are welcome to choose a small gift from this box as a thank you for participating in this study.. And, just like last time, you may skip any question that you do not feel comfortable answering and you are not obligated to complete the interview. You may keep the gift regardless of how many questions you answer.

1. What is your native language? Is it a written language or mostly an oral language?
2. At home, what language do your family members use most of the time? Language of origin, mostly L/O, some English, 50/50, mostly English, some L/O, English
3. What language do you use most of the time with your friends? Language of origin, mostly L/O, some English, 50/50, mostly English, some L/O, English
4. What language do you use most of the time at school? Language of origin, mostly L/O, some English, 50/50, mostly English, some L/O, English
5. How often are you able to speak English with kids who grew up speaking English? Frequently, Sometimes, Rarely, Never
6. How well do you understand your native language? Very well, well, not well, not at all
7. How well do you speak your native language? Very well, well, not well, not at all
8. How well do you read your native language? Very well, well, not well, not at all
9. How well do you write your native language? Very well, well, not well, not at all
10. How well do you understand spoken English? Very well, well, not well, not at all
11. How well do you read English? Very well, well, not well, not at all
12. How well do you write English? Very well, well, not well, not at all
13. Who likes to read in your home?
14. What kinds of reading materials do you have at home? Newspapers, Magazines, Comic books, religious materials
15. Do you read for pleasure? Y/N If so, in what language are most of the things you read?
16. About how many hours do your read for pleasure each week?
17. Has that changed since you came to the U.S.? If so, how?

We are coming to the end of this interview. Your responses have been very helpful.

18. Are there any questions that I should have asked you that I did not?

19. Are there any questions that you would like to ask me?

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me and share your experiences.

APPENDIX H

Teacher Interview Transcript

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me. During this interview, I would like to ask you some questions about your experience with refugee students. I would like to give you a small gift to show appreciation for your participation. Acceptance of this gift does not obligate you in any way. You may skip any question that you do not feel comfortable answering and you may keep the gift regardless of how many questions you answer.

BACKGROUND

- How many refugee students are you teaching this year?
- How many new students have been enrolled this year?

TEACHING

- In your opinion, how is teaching refugee students different from teaching other students?
- In your opinion, what are some of the challenges refugee students face in school?
- What are the some of the resources refugee students draw on to succeed in school?
- What are some of the challenges you face in teaching refugee students?
- What are some of the resources you draw on to help refugee students succeed?
- How much interaction would you say refugee students typically have with non-refugee students over the course of the day?
- How would you characterize the nature of interactions between refugee and non-refugee students?
- What are some of the areas in which you have received professional development or other support to meet the needs of refugee students?
- What are some areas that you would like additional professional development or other support to meet the needs of refugee students?

SPECIFIC AREAS OF SCHOOL

- How would you generally compare refugee students to non-refugee students on the following dimensions?
 - Attendance Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?

- Completing assignments Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?
- Behavior/conduct Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?
- Relations with classmates Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?
- Relations with teachers, administrators, and other school authorities? Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?
- Reading and writing? Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?
- Liking school? Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?
- Self-confidence in learning abilities? Much Better A Little Better About the Same A Little Worse Much Worse
 - How so?

We are coming to the end of this interview. Your responses have been very helpful.

- Do you have any other thoughts you would like to share about your experiences teaching refugee students?
- As was mentioned in when we talked about consent to participate in this interview, all findings used in any written reports or publications which result from this study will contain no individually indentifying information. It is, however, useful to use direct quotes to more clearly capture the meanings in reporting the findings from this study. If there is anything from this interview that you do not wish to have included as a quote, please tell me now so that I can be sure not to include it in my final report.

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me and share your experiences.

APPENDIX I

Interview Transcript for Other School Staff

Date: _____

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me. During this interview, I would like to ask you some questions about your experience working with refugee families. I would like to give you a small gift to show appreciation for your participation. Acceptance of this gift does not obligate you in any way. You may skip any question that you do not feel comfortable answering and you may keep the gift regardless of how many questions you answer.

BACKGROUND

- Had you worked with refugees prior to coming to this school?
- In your opinion, what are some of the challenges refugees face in adapting to life in Boise?
- What are some of the resources you see refugees draw on in adapting to life here?
- In your opinion, what are some of the challenges refugee students face in local schools?
- What are some of the resources refugee students draw on in order to succeed in school?
- What are some of the challenges you face in serving refugee students and their families?
- Web description of work, how is working with refugee students the same and how is it different than working with native-born students?
- Friendship discussions, how to include newcomers; Mentoring; ASSET?

We are coming to the end of this interview. Your responses have been very helpful.

- Do you have any other thoughts you would like to share about your experiences working with refugee families?
- As was mentioned in when we talked about consent to participate in this interview, all findings used in any written reports or publications which result from this study will contain no individually indentifying information. It is, however, useful to use direct quotes to more clearly capture the meanings in reporting the findings from this study. If there is anything from this interview that you do not wish to have included as a quote, please tell me now so that I can be sure not to include it in my final report.

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me and share your experiences.

APPENDIX J

Field Visit Class Observation Tally Log

	ZT 4th	ZT 5th	ZK	DC	AK	DB	HM	HK	Boys & Girls	Minutes	
01_09	-	50	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	100	
01_10	50	50	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	150	
01_18	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	
01_19	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	
01_24	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	
02_01	-	-	20	25	24	-	-	-	-	69	
02_03	-	-	20	25	-	40	-	-	-	85	
02_09	-	50	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	75	
02_17	-	50	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	
02_21	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	
03_01	-	-	37	36	-	-	-	-	-	73	
03_06	-	-	25	-	55	-	-	-	-	80	
03_13	-	-	51	45	-	-	-	-	-	96	
03_26 thru 03_30					SPRING BREAK					-	-
04_10	-	-	95	-	87	-	-	-	-	182	
04_12	-	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	
04_19	-	-	30	35	60	-	-	-	-	125	
04_24	-	-	52	58	-	35	-	40	-	185	
05_02	-	-	-	45	54	-	-	40	-	139	
05_03	-	60	52	-	53	-	-	-	-	165	
05_08	-	-	-	-	58	22	-	-	-	80	
05_10	-	-	-	36	89	-	-	-	-	125	
05_15	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	40	
05_17	-	50	40	-	-	-	-	40	-	130	
05_21	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	90	
05_22	-	50	20	-	-	49	-	40	-	159	
05_31	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	
06_07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	75	
06_12									50	50	
	50	650	504	370	480	146	100	200	125	2,625	
	0.83	10.83	8.40	6.17	8.00	2.43	1.67	3.33	2.08	43.75	

APPENDIX K

Field Visit Student Observation Tally Log

Dates	Han ELL	Han Main	Ing ELL	Ing Main	Yam ELL	Yam Main	EhW ELL	EhW Main	Isa ELL	Isa Main	Luc ELL	Luc Main	Lev ELL	Lev Main
01_09	No student names at this point													
01_10	50	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-
01_18	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
01_19	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	-	-	-	-
01_24	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	-	-	-	-
02_01	-	20	-	20	-	-	-	20	-	20	-	24	Out	
02_03	-	20	-	20	-	25	-	25	-	20	-	40	Field trip	
02_09	50	-	50	-	50	25	50	25	50	-	-	-	-	-
02_17	50	20	50	20	50	-	Out		-	20	Field trip to CWI		Field trip to CWI	
02_21	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	-	-	-	-
03_01	-	37	-	37	-	36	-	37	-	37	-	-	Out	
03_06	-	25	-	25	-	-	-	25	-	25	-	55	-	55
03_13	-	51	-	51	-	45	-	51	-	51	Out		Out	
SPRING BREAK														
04_10	-	55	-	55	-	45	-	55	-	95	-	87	-	87
04_12	-	22	-	42	-	-	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-
04_19	ISATs	-	ISATs	-	ISATs	65	ISATs	-	ISATs	-	ISATs	60	ISATs	-
04_24	ISATs	52	ISATs	52	ISATs	58	ISATs	52	ISATs	52	50	35	40	50
05_02	-	-	-	-	-	45	-	-	-	-	Out		40	54
05_03	60	52	60	52	60	-	60	52	60	52	-	53	Out	
05_08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	-	58
05_10	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	89	-	77
05_15	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
05_17	-	40	-	40	-	-	-	40	-	40	40	Out am	40	Out am
05_21	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	50	-	40	-	40	-
05_22	-	20	-	20	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
05_31	45	-	45	-	45	-	45	-	45	-	-	-	-	-
total	505	414	505	434	455	446	405	424	405	412	130	501	160	404
	8.42	6.90	8.42	7.23	7.58	7.43	6.75	7.07	6.75	6.87	2.17	8.35	2.67	6.73
BOYS & GIRLS CLUB NOT COUNTED IN TALLIES														

APPENDIX L

Field Visit Days of the Week Tally Log

	Mon AM	Mon PM	Tues AM	Tues PM	Wed AM	Wed PM	Thurs AM	Thurs PM	Fri AM	Fri PM	
01_09	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
01_10	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
01_18	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
01_19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
01_24	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
02_01	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	
02_03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
02_09	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
02_17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
02_21	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
03_01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
03_06	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
03_13	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
03_26 thru 03_30	SPRING BREAK										
04_10	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
04_12	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
04_13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
04_19	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	
04_24	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	
05_02	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	
05_03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
05_08	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
05_10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
05_15	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	
05_17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
05_21	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
05_22	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
05_31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
total	-	2	5	5	1	2	4	7	1	2	

APPENDIX M

Field Visit Interview Schedule

DATE	PERSON	TIME	CATEGORY
02_21_12	ZT	40	TEACHER
02_21_12	2337 MOTHER	35	PARENT
02_29_12	2337	50	STUDENT
03_01_12	2337	30	STUDENT
03_11_12	4477 FATHER	42	PARENT
03_17_12	3462 FATHER	45	PARENT
03_18_12	7447 MOTHER	58	MOTHER
03_20_12	HR	51	COUNSELOR
04_09_12	1197 FATHER	34	PARENT
04_12_12	1197	15	STUDENT
04_12_12	4477	30	STUDENT
04_15_12	0413 MOTHER	35	PARENT
04_19_12	0413	13	STUDENT
04_19_12	1197	8	STUDENT
04_19_12	4477	15	STUDENT
04_19_12	7447	15	STUDENT
04_24_12	CS	45	SOCIAL WORKER
04_24_12	0413	8	STUDENT
04_24_12	1197	6	STUDENT
04_24_12	4477	35	STUDENT
05_03_12	3462		STUDENT
05_03_12	7447	15	STUDENT
05_08_12	WS	43	PRINCIPAL
05_08_12	3462	15	STUDENT
05_12_12	AK	30	TEACHER
05_15_12	DB	6	TEACHER
05_17_12	DB	38	TEACHER
05_17_12	ZT	20	TEACHER
05_21_12	HK	15	PARAPRO
05_22_12	BS	22	BEHAVIORAL INTERVENTIONIST
05_31_12	ZK	25	TEACHER
06_06_12	CS	22	EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT
07_02_13	JM	15	ELL TEACHER FROM DIFFERENT SCHOOL
	MINUTES	876	
	HOURS	14.6	