Applying Post-Critical Approaches

to Refugee-Centred Education

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institutions of higher learning.

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Abstract

It is the existence of trauma and its associated responses that categorize refugees as different from other migrants. These circumstances create significant and complex special needs which this thesis suggests should be addressed (initially) on resettlement programmes. Because of the high vulnerability of refugees as a consequence of previous losses and their exposure to sustained deprivation, empathy must be a primary requisite of teachers who are responsible for delivering these programmes. This thesis enquires whether the teaching methodology and approach for refugee resettlement programmes, however, should entail **more** than just an empathic disposition and indeed whether educational programmes should seek to address the unique and very special needs of refugees through the imparting of 'critical' skills and strategies. Furthermore, the thesis investigates the various educational theories and approaches that appear to have particular correspondence with the unique needs of refugees.

The six-week period at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre represents a significant moment in the lives of refugees. It is for many the turning point from their traumatic past to a future of hope. During this 'renaissance' period, the Centre for Refugee Education under the auspices of AUT University, offers an education programme for all quota refugees. It is this programme, in particular, that forms the focus of this thesis; however the principles and recommendations have wider ramifications and could (with modifications) equally apply to refugee provision in the wider sector.

The broad aim of this thesis is to investigate what it is that refugees need on arrival in New Zealand and the extent to which the content and methodology of the orientation programme offered to refugees can be enhanced to better support and prepare refugees for the transition into New Zealand society. A teaching approach heavily nuanced by the post-structural appropriation of critical theory is discussed and it is proposed that this approach in conjunction with collaborative, participatory and constructivist elements could form a 'refugee-centred approach' which has the potential to more effectively and appropriately address the specific needs identified as pertaining to refugees.

An oft-heard criticism of 'critical theory' and its many renderings is that it is 'too theoretical' and difficult to implement. This thesis argues that the post-structuralist interpretation can, indeed translate into practice and suggestions for its pedagogical implementation represent a key outcome of this research.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Description of the Research Project

> While every refugee's story is different and their anguish personal, they all share a common thread of uncommon courage – the courage not only to survive, but to persevere and rebuild their shattered lives (Guterres, 2005).

Refugees are a unique learner group – their prior experiences are traumatic and extraordinary. This thesis examines the very special nature of the refugee background and argues that a unique teaching approach is needed for on-arrival education programmes in countries of permanent resettlement. The research has been conducted within the context of the on-arrival programme at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre (MRRC) in Auckland, New Zealand, where the author is Manager of the Centre for Refugee Education.

In arguing for a refugee-centred approach, the thesis explores pedagogical parameters and features appropriate for this unique group of learners. Examination and critique of the academic literature on teaching methodologies and refugee needs has provided the theoretical underpinning for a new teaching approach. The aim of the development of this innovative programme is to enhance the resettlement experience of refugees.

Every year 750 'quota' refugees are accepted by New Zealand in fulfilment of its commitment to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) resettlement programme. These individuals receive orientation/language classes offered by the Centre for Refugee Education (CRE), which is managed by AUT University and situated at the reception centre in Mangere, Auckland. It is the orientation part of this programme that forms the subject of discussion in this thesis, not the language programme. However, this is not to say that the principles for guiding practice could not also be applied to language (ESOL) programmes and, indeed, examples of this application are provided in chapter five.

Although the on-arrival programme for refugees in New Zealand has a specified duration of six weeks, this period is punctuated by frequent interruptions. Refugees are constantly required by other agencies on-site for housing interviews, medical testing, dental treatment and therapy sessions. This restricts the formal learning time and it is,

therefore, crucial that what time remains is well utilized and that programmes are appropriately framed and presented so that critical on-arrival refugee resettlement needs are served.

Furthermore, during the latter part of the last twenty years there has been considerable improvement in the provision of resettlement services offered by both Government and non-government organisations (NGOs) in New Zealand. Where previously there had been lengthy waiting periods for language classes for refugees (Elliott & Gray, 2001), there now exist an array of programmes (many of them free of charge) as well as resettlement information services. This has prompted a re-think with regard to the Mangere programme and whether its curriculum remains the most appropriate in the current context. It seemed timely, therefore, to consider alternative delivery methods and programme content and that is the principle aim of this thesis.

When refugees arrive in a resettling country, they require new knowledge and skills. Key amongst these are language acquisition and information about life in the new country (Bihi, 1999; Department of Labour, 2006; Dunstan, Dibley, & Shorland, 2004; Seufert, 1999). This thesis argues that, in addition to these requirements, refugees need skills for re-building after past injury and for coping with integration into the new society. The range of skills required might include: cultural and social skills, problem solving techniques, identity affirmation, skills for coping with living in a secular or culturally diverse society; parenting skills, appropriate anger management techniques and skills for dealing with host country prejudice or discrimination. Other skills may include learning strategies appropriate to the New Zealand formal education system and strategies for navigating the systems of service and support agencies.

Refugees also need the opportunity to acclimatize to a new environment. During this period they may learn to trust again, to form new relationships, and to feel safe (Anderson, 2004; Herman, 1992; Steele, 2002). At some stage they also need to recover from trauma. This thesis investigates behaviours and attributes required of teachers which promote these conditions for refugee learners. Primarily a welcoming, inclusive environment and a 'tailored' pedagogical approach are considered fundamental.

The comprehensive needs of refugees suggest a holistic approach and that is what this thesis proposes in recommending *'ecological'* principles for refugee education programmes (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). *Ecological* principles involve every aspect of

teaching and assert that the background experience, environment, teacher-learner relationships and features of programme design all impact on the learner (Bronfenbrenner, 1993). Superimposing these principles, this thesis consigns a *post-critical*[1] perspective which offers guidelines for practice that appear to align with resettlement needs. Post-critical approaches and ecological models easily coalesce to form a framework that is able to both consider the learner as pivotal and to offer real opportunities for development of the skills mentioned above.

What has <u>not</u> been systematically offered at the CRE is the imparting of those specific skills which are required by refugees for managing their changed lifestyles and culture (Elliott & Gray, 2001, p.7). Cultural and lifestyle differences are the very things which are conveyed to refugees during the orientation sessions at the Mangere programme[2]. However, whilst refugees are expected to assimilate a great deal of new information about life in New Zealand, they are given very little opportunity during the programme to reflect upon, and apply critical analysis to this material. This thesis maintains that post-critical approaches in resettlement programmes, which incorporate elements of reflection and critical questioning, allow these opportunities and it is argued that these are the very skills that promote adjustment strategies that lead to successful integration into the new society. The notions of empowerment, transformative learning, identity development, ethical behaviour and empathy enhancement are also explored in this study; all of which represent identifiers of the post-critical approach. Additionally, requirements for teachers who are implementing such an approach are examined in this thesis.

Discussions regarding refugees cannot be considered without an awareness of their prior experiences, special circumstances and their individual needs, much of which can be sourced back to trauma. It is the impact of major trauma that spawns vulnerability. Hence, a programme that can potentially induce painful memories must be carefully researched and planned in order to avoid the possibility of inadvertent trauma

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[1] The term *post-critical* is used throughout because even though some writers prefer to use the term 'critical', it is the perspective adopted by Pennycook (2001) that has primarily informed this study.

[2] The "Orientation to Life in NZ" part of the programme occupies two days per week and the remaining three days are for English language tuition.

aggravation. Because of the vulnerability of refugee learners, it seemed important, therefore, in the first instance, to consider and define the refugee experience as well as the manifestations of trauma in order to identify special needs, resettlement requirements as well as considerations for teachers.

Hence chapter two begins with a description of the resettlement process and definitions of key terms associated with this process. It proceeds with an examination of refugee needs which may result from trauma and the accretion of losses. The manifestations of trauma that may be present in the classroom environment are described. Academic literature indicates that the consequences of the refugee experience may include disempowerment and vulnerability (Anderson, 2004; Stone, 1995). This chapter, therefore, introduces these issues and explores the implications for teachers. It is suggested that educational practitioners who have an understanding of the experience of trauma and of its manifestations are more likely to be able to respond appropriately and empathically. Additionally, if they are aware of professionally-appropriate *responses* to trauma survivors, they will not cause re-traumatisation, but instead might contribute positively to the process of recovery for refugees.

This thesis suggests that post–critical approaches in education can provide elements and features necessary for addressing issues of disempowerment, marginalization and vulnerability and chapter three discusses relevant pedagogical aspects of the post-critical position. The chapter begins with a presentation of the historical and philosophical background to critical theory and 'critical' teaching approaches. This theory offers the principal philosophical framework for the proposed new 'Refugee-Centred' approach which is developed in this thesis, and which is based on the post-structuralist ('post'/'post-critical') perspectives presented by Alistair Pennycook (2001) and Suresh Canagarajah (1999). The 'post-critical' perspective contains elements that inherently impact on all aspects of *praxis* (which is the term used to describe the link between ideas and action). It makes suggestions for teacher disposition and attributes and teaching methodology. Thus it provides useful guidelines for ecological approaches to teaching.

The 'post' critical model is a questioning one which offers the capability and opportunity for critically examining elements of the existing educational programmes and approaches, as well as for the critiquing of cultural behaviours, values and norms of society. Moreover, a post-critical approach in teaching is concerned with making both

learners *and* teachers think, behave ethically and develop empathy – all of which promote positive, transformative learning. The writings of both Alistair Pennycook (2001) and Suresh Canagarajah (1999, 2002, 2004, 2005) are particularly germane to this discussion because they place 'critical' teaching within the spectrum of programmes for English as an additional language (and therefore in the domain of teachers who work on the resettlement programme)[3]. They also emphasize action at a micro-level – thus providing the philosophical underpinning and practical suggestions for educational environments.

Chapter three identifies the salient constructs and paradigms of the post-critical approach that correlate to the refugee needs identified in chapter two. These ideas are then integrated into a proposal for a dynamic teaching approach which is presented (in tabular form) in chapter four. Pedagogical features that derive from post-critical perspectives and which form the basis of the recommended approach for teaching refugees include: a learner-centred approach and the inclusion of the learner's 'voice'[4]; the development of critical thinking skills; re-empowerment through the development of agency[5]; teacher and learner reflexivity; acknowledgement of difference and identity, and, finally, the importance of a vision for societal justice.

Having examined refugee on-arrival needs and a teaching paradigm which has the potential address these, this thesis proceeds with a discussion of appropriate methods for applying that teaching paradigm. Chapter four, therefore, identifies pedagogic methodologies that align with 'post-critical' principles. It discusses collaborative, participatory, facilitative and enactivist teaching models that, when combined with 'critical' elements, form a hybrid methodology which assists in converting the principles of the 'post- critical' approach into guidelines for classroom practice. Thus the third tine of the 'refugee-centred' model presented at the end of this chapter is completed. This model also incorporates a multicultural dimension (i.e., that everyone

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[3] It is important to stress that although the principles of post-critical teaching can be applied to all areas of the curriculum in refugee resettlement programmes, it is only the "Orientation to New Zealand" part of the Mangere programme that is considered in this thesis.

[4] See sections 3.3, 3.5 & 3.9 in this document.

[5] See sections 2.4.1, 3.2 & 3.4.1 in this document.

has a right to maintain their own culture and heritage) (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2001). The model developed has been labelled the "Refugee-Centred Approach".

Chapter four also discusses the attributes and dispositions required of teachers if they are to successfully deliver a programme with a strong post-critical inflection. Teachers of refugees, this thesis maintains, should be critically reflective, and conduct themselves in a humble, empathic and ethical way. Teachers may also need to develop facilitation and active listening skills if they are to implement this model successfully. These skills, it is suggested, could be imparted in professional development programmes. Finally, chapter four also draws attention to the constraints and ethical considerations associated with the proposed approach and suggestions are provided for addressing these.

Chapter five explores the conversion of the 'refugee-centred approach' into praxis. It considers potential programme content and the design of lesson plans that embody the recommended approach. Lesson 'models' for selected problematic topics are presented and these provide exemplars of the amalgamation of refugee-centred methodologies, post-critical approaches and an understanding of the refugee experience.

The chapter begins with a brief description of the existing programme at the Centre for Refugee Education, and this is followed by synopses of selected overseas models that provide contrasting or complementary programmes and methodologies. These models incorporate facilitated discussion of critical topics and issues, or include learners in collaborative decision-making processes. Elements of these programmes are recommended for incorporation in New Zealand. The overseas models do not supply a panacea, however, for they too, have limitations or may not suit the New Zealand environment.

Chapter six provides a summary and a synthesizing of the concepts and recommendations in the thesis. The key recommendation for the New Zealand approach is that it includes not only collaborative and facilitative processes, but that it also employs 'post-critical' practices and activities that enhance opportunities for transformation, empowerment, identity affirmation and the development of skills that support integration into the host society. Chapter six applies these principles to an authentic historical setting in an attempt to test their validity. It concludes with recommendations for further research and the conceptualizing of principles for the improvement of educational programmes for refugees.

1.2 Impetus for this Research

The Challenge of Multiculturalism

There exists a compelling factor for undertaking this thesis which – although not the major factor, does nevertheless require brief comment. The impetus was based on a personal curiosity about questions posed internationally around the construct of '*multiculturalism*' and the alleged link between multicultural policies and recent bombings, racist riots and race-related crime. Trevor Phillips, the now retired chairman of the British Commission for Racial Equality (Timesonline, September 2006), announced (in relation to the aftermath of the London bombings of July, 2005) that "multiculturalism is outdated – it encourages "separateness" between communities". A number of countries in Northern Europe are questioning whether their multicultural polices have, in fact, led to minority groups feeling disconnected from the wider group. They claim this is because migrants and refugees have been allowed to keep their cultures intact, and they, therefore, do not feel part of the wider society (Singham, 2006).

However, the notion of assimilation into one amalgamated culture was unappealing, and this prompted reflection about what might be required for people from diverse cultures to both retain cultural and personal identity and to live together peacefully. This implies a question about the degree of compromise required on both sides (migrants/refugees as well as the host society) to make immigration successful. As an educator with a conviction that growth and transformation should result from learning, this provided an incentive for seeking a pedagogic response to this challenge. Indeed, an optimistic approach suggests that 'multiculturalism' can work – but only if all ethnicities involved have a strong sense of their own identity and are tolerant of difference and not threatened by it (the host culture as well as the new cultures). That belief, amongst other things, led to the exploration of the transformative possibilities inherent in post-critical theory which appear to be prepared to confront these issues as well as those described in the next section.

Desire to Improve the World

> They killed my husband in front of me. They threw me to the ground and raped me. They took one of my children away. I have not seen him again. They burned the village and

killed all of my neighbors before leaving (Wilkinson, 2005).

Story of a survivor of 'janjaweed' attacks in Dafur, Southern Sudan.

The refugee experience is not a homogenous one, however, inherent in the definition of the status of a refugee is that there exist pre-conditions of loss, disempowerment and trauma. Awareness of these conditions and of the significance of the teacher/refugee relationship was a strong motivating factor for creating change and in seeking to find the most appropriate educational response for addressing refugee needs and supporting their resettlement challenges.

The horrific stories that typify the refugee experience are available to teaching staff on the Mangere site through New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) case notes and UNHCR journals and bulletins. Occasionally poignant or excruciatingly painful moments transpire in the classroom itself. One such occasion occurred several years ago when a group of newly-arrived Bosnian refugees related experiences of their incarceration and torture in a barn converted into a 'concentration camp' by Serbian militia.

Vignette 1:

> *This conversation occurred spontaneously after a morning language session during which the learners had shared information about cultural practices regarding house construction. Following the morning tea break, however, and perhaps because of the trust that had been established earlier, the group surprised me by returning with a collection of items (newspaper clippings, magazine articles and photos) which (they said), provided 'evidence' of the events in their recent history[6]. They claimed that others in New Zealand had expressed scepticism regarding the veracity of these events. Their former country folk, in particular, who had settled in this country many decades previously, could not credence that one group in their beloved country might behave in this way towards another[7] (genocide - 'ethnic*

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[6] This is not a situation one would not normally sanction amongst teaching staff, as they are not trained counselors and there is potential risk for refugees. Nowadays, counselors are on-site at MRRC and staff are instructed to refer individuals for professional help in situations such as the one described.

[7] Madjar and Humpage (2000; Morgan, 1998) also documented reports of the tensions between the existing Yugoslavian community and the newly arrived Bosnian refugees in New Zealand.

cleansing') – this was in a country where inter-ethnic marriage had, in fact, been commonplace.

These young men proceeded to recount their horrific anecdotes. I felt their pain for months afterwards and still feel close to tears when I recall their stories even today. There were no trauma counsellors on site at that time and this particular group arrived almost directly from the place of their persecution – their experience was very raw. The men described the starvation, beatings and other gruesome acts. A young man who was beaten black and blue, "the colour of your jersey", (which was dark – almost navy blue) they told me – was returned to the barn where he was placed in the arms of his father to be left to die. "Imagine, Maria, your own son – in agony – the father begging that the captors show mercy and finish him off (kill the son) – but they wouldn't do it" they said, almost in tears.

The men in this class described how the walls of the barn were covered with the blood and flesh of the people who had been beaten and tortured; how the space was so crowded, they had to take turns sleeping (some standing, others rolled into foetal positions). They related how individuals amongst their number were ordered to commit inhuman acts upon another 'prisoner' – and when they refused, were cruelly killed. Stories of egregious inhumanity and torture – stories that were made all the more shocking because the perpetrators had been the neighbours and childhood friends of the victims [8].

When one is immersed in environments where stories such as these apply to many of the people one interacts with, one can begin to wonder what the cause of such cruel and evil behaviour might be. Questions about 'man's inhumanity to man' [9] have been debated in ontological discussions about ethics for centuries. Hannah Arendt, political theorist and Holocaust survivor (1906-1975), makes an association between 'evil' and 'thinking'. She said that the sad truth about evil, is that to a large extent, it is not perpetrated by wicked people, but by those who have simply not made up their mind to be either good or evil (Arendt, 1963). If individuals do not put their mind to the task of ensuring that should such occasions or choices arise, they would take the humane and ethical path, then evil behaviour is perpetuated. Critical thinking would appear to be important if one is to 'put one's mind' to ethical questions; but the total learning environment is also important for establishing the trust and compassion required for

[8] The accounts were later verified in the Hague War Crimes Tribunal Hearings (Goldstein, 1995).

[9] Or 'woman's'.

critical debate. This is a domain controlled by teachers and where they can make a difference. The desire to contribute towards the possible diminution of further global inhumanity – however small – has been a significant causative factor in the impetus for this thesis.

The embryo of this thesis, therefore, it can be said, is a fervent wish – a wish or dream inspired partly by the stories of refugees; and that dream is simply that change *can* occur in the world so that the humane and ethical path is taken. However, such change must occur first in people's minds: which suggests two challenges for teachers. Firstly, they themselves must be prepared to change, and secondly, they must be willing to support change in the minds of their learners. Teachers "teach to change the world", says Brookfield (1995, p.1) even if this involves just changing one person at a time. When individuals are able to embrace critical practices, opportunities are enhanced for transformation to occur in their lives and the lives of those around them. Moreover, if, as Brookfield argues, teachers guide learners towards acting with compassion and fairness in relation to one another, they will increase the amount of love and justice in the world (1995).

This endeavour, however, requires that teachers (of refugee learners) have a commitment to providing a programme that is responsive by being respectful and supportive of refugees, whilst discovering and enhancing their strengths. The typical refugee experience is a horrific one and teachers will respond most appropriately if their behaviour stems from a platform of empathy and understanding.

This thesis argues that what is needed in a refugee resettlement programme is an approach that helps refugee learners to feel affirmed, to be given opportunities for agency (empowerment), to understand their past, and to gain skills for coping with the resettlement process itself. It is essential that no time is wasted in beginning to compensate for the huge losses in refugee pasts. Hence, there is some urgency with regard to an effective, well-designed programme and also in terms of the disposition and skill of teachers, who ideally engage in reflexive (professional reflection) practice and consider both its impact on learners and potential for ongoing improvement.

1.3 A Refugee-Centred Programme

This thesis argues that it is desirable for refugee programmes to engage learners intellectually – programmes that do not merely transmit information – but that are designed such that they acknowledge and build on learner wisdom, skills and abilities (regardless of the level of prior formal education). Refugees coming to New Zealand generally have little opportunity to prepare in advance for life in this country. These knowledge gaps need to be recognized and addressed. But additionally most refugees have experienced trauma as well as repression to some degree, so a teaching approach that is compassionate and that restores power to learners seems vital. The capitalization of prior wisdom and skills is an empowering and intellectually engaging process.

A hybrid approach incorporating collaborative, participatory and critical elements has the potential to empower learners and contribute towards addressing refugee needs. A collaborative approach permits and, indeed, encourages learner control (agency); a facilitated, participatory approach ensures all individuals are involved in a meaningful way in classroom discourses and that their thoughts, feelings and opinions are listened to (it gives them 'voice'); and a critical approach which is student-centred provides the intellectual tools for both understanding one's past, as well as coping with and, indeed, <u>creating</u> change. These features promote self-esteem and capacity-building so that individuals can begin to participate meaningfully in their new environment. This research considers whether a pedagogic approach, based on the paradigms described above can provide a methodology for teaching essential skills within resettlement programmes for refugees.

A central premise of this study remains the assertion that a post-critical approach in programme development which enhances positive critiquing skills will result in improved levels of personal affirmation and empowerment for learners. The parameters of the design and application potential of the approach cited above are principally focussed on *refugee* needs, but critical reflection tools are useful for all new citizens. Hence, the post-critical model may potentially be extended to all migrants.

Chapter Two: Refugees and their Resettlement Needs

2.1 Introduction

"We feel like birds freed from a cage"

Semsudin Tahirovic, Bosnian refugee resettled in Connecticut, U.S.A (Tahirovic, 2003).

Vignette 2

> *Departure day for each refugee intake at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre (MRRC) is marked with a leaving ceremony facilitated by the Centre for Refugee Education (CRE). When refugee representatives are given the opportunity to speak, they often use allegories or metaphors to describe their thoughts and feelings. Recently a refugee from Myanmar (Burma) expressed how previously he was 'a bird without wings' (expressing similarity with the above quote) – but how arrival in New Zealand (and participation in the Centre for Refugee Education programme) had given him his wings so he now felt able to fly again. Within the context of a parable, another refugee talked about the souls of refugees being separated from their bodies, but the short time at the resettlement centre had enabled them to come together to be whole again. Children, too, frequently depict this dichotomy in their artwork – an eight year-old recently drew a picture which comprised a split 'blood-red' heart in the centre of a bright yellow sun and a large black smudge. She told the interpreter these symbols represented the happy time in New Zealand and the sadness of her past.*

These metaphors reflect the 'disjointed' feelings of people who have lived in a horrific world where they could not lead normal lives. Subsequently, upon arrival in a new, permanent country, they begin, they say, to feel 'whole' again. The six-week stay at Mangere, therefore, represents a re-defining period in the lives of refugees. And it is precisely because it is such an important time that the planning and delivery of programmes must be carefully considered. The pedagogical approaches and the programme content should recognize the significance of this 'renaissance' moment. Teachers should not ignore this, nor should they discount the reservoir of refugee prior experiences, knowledge and wisdom.

Refugees arrive in this country with highly complex special needs – needs which might be broadly categorized into three main areas – informational, psychological and social

(Abbott, 1989; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lie, 2004; Stein, 1986; Stone, 1995). The emphasis in the on-arrival programme at the CRE has tended to be on meeting informational (including language and literacy) requirements. Although teaching staff are very aware of the refugee experience (sometimes because they have been refugees themselves), there has not been an explicit articulation of a methodology and curriculum which considers as central the psycho-social needs of refugees, their background, and the on-arrival 'moment'. Addressing these needs within an educational context forms the crux of this thesis.

Examination of refugee on-arrival requirements must include an understanding of what it means to re-settle and whether or not there are discrete issues that pertain specifically to *refugees* as opposed to *migrants*. This chapter begins with a discussion of the key concepts related to the resettlement process and this is followed by an examination of refugee resettlement needs. Salient features of the refugee experience are identified and a post-critical teaching approach is foreshadowed for discussion in the following chapters as an appropriate model for the on-arrival programme.

2.2 Resettlement

In discussing resettlement issues, it is germane to define or clarify terms relating to the resettlement process. The notion of 'resettlement' itself is an imprecise one. In their discussion on refugee resettlement, Elliott and Gray (2001) provide useful guidelines for defining this concept when they refer to both the process and the outcome of resettlement. They state that people may be well settled in one dimension of their life (e.g. employment) but they may be poorly integrated in other aspects (e.g. community living). Elliott and Gray further describe resettlement as referring to acclimatization and the early stages of adaptation; whereas integration, they say, is "the longer-term, non-linear process through which newcomers become full and equal participants in all dimensions of society" (2001, p.20).

The first stage of resettlement, therefore, might be described as acclimatization and in this thesis, that term is used to describe the process through which an outsider becomes familiar with aspects of their new society and begins to feel comfortable within it. Acclimatization begins on arrival and is likely to be particularly intense during the early weeks at the Mangere Resettlement Centre, but it also continues when refugees move

into their new communities. Acclimatization includes such factors as becoming accustomed to linguistic, geographic or behavioural differences in the new environment. For refugees, it could be as literal as getting used to the 'colder' climate, as they generally come from warmer countries and frequently comment on their lack of appropriate warm clothing (McDermott, 1997). Furthermore, refugees may not have had prior schooling or have had experience of New Zealand-style toilets, houses or shopping centres, or they may not have seen wooden buildings, coastal beaches or even white faces. These differences require mental and emotional adjustment, and can be stressful if they are presented without explanation and without consideration of the fragile equilibrium of many refugees on arrival in a new country.

Environmental differences, therefore, may be the first preoccupation of newcomers during the initial period after arrival and an awareness that learners may be initially distracted by all that is new could help teachers to understand the distraction and perceived slow progress in the first few days. Following this period might be a time of adaptation or change. Adaptation is the term used to describe the modifications made by individuals or groups in order to minimize conflict or stress in unfamiliar situations or environments (Scott & Marshall, 2005). Additional to the physical adaptations described above are emotional and psychological adaptations which may involve cultural or behavioural changes. There is a process, then of transformation inherent in resettlement and there is responsibility on all parties (new and existing communities) to partake in this (Frisancho, 1995). Teachers, employing appropriate pedagogical approaches can make the acclimatization and adaptation transformations less daunting for refugees and the following chapters in this thesis offer guidelines for these approaches.

The outcome of successful resettlement is frequently seen to be integration which implies becoming an integral part of the new society. The elements that have been shown to assist refugees to integrate include: a welcoming attitude from the host community and the ability to both participate in the new society as well as to maintain their own culture (Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Loewen, & Moore, 2003). If refugees and host communities can achieve these goals, the possibility of marginalization or separation from the mainstream will be evaded (Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Loewen, & Moore, 2003). Successful integration results in a plurality of cultures existing simultaneously in a social environment – and when these are equally

valued, the scenario can be correlated with the term 'multiculturalism[10]'.

The overall process of integration from the point of arrival of an individual refugee in a new country to the stage where they are contributing to the developing multiculturalism in that society is illustrated in the figure below:

Possible stages of learning, adaptation and integration leading to a multicultural society
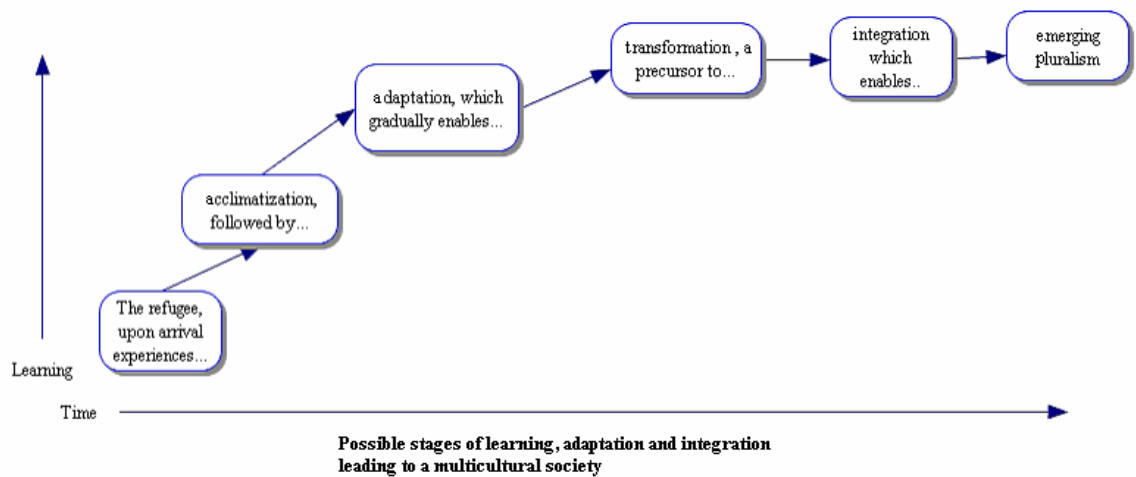
Figure 1: Stages of Resettlement for Refugees

The key principle underpinning the concepts of multiculturalism[11] is that everyone has the right to retain their language, culture and heritage. An important aspect of multiculturalism is that resettlement should not be seen as a total immersion into the new culture with a denial of one's past. Multiculturalism refers to the dynamic of diverse cultures existing alongside one another with equal regard. The tolerance and valuing of this diversity in a society is a necessary component if migrants are to settle successfully. Fletcher agrees that multiculturalism is "a two-way process involving change by both migrant and the host society" (Fletcher, 1999, p.7).

When two cultures meet, the adjustments that arise are called 'acculturation' (Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Loewen, & Moore, 2003). This term is generally used to describe the process that occurs when groups learn the cultural patterns of the other

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[10] See definition in the following paragraph.

[11] See also §3.8.4.

group and individuals acquire cultural competence; that is, competence in the language, rituals, values and goals of the other community. For migrants these skills are essential for successfully participating in the new society and also for accessing education and employment. One of the aims of this thesis is to consider the extent to which educators can impart cultural competency skills whilst also affirming and strengthening the individual refugee's cultural identity and becoming informed, themselves, of the practices and values of the new communities.

Acclimatization, adaptation, integration and acculturation, therefore, can be seen as aspects or stages of resettlement and are important concepts in beginning to understand the process refugees will be embarking on after arrival in New Zealand. Consideration must also be made with regard to how one 'measures' good settlement or integration. There are acknowledged indicators of successful or positive resettlement, and these include: English language acquisition, employment, feelings of 'happiness' and the 'ability to participate' equally in the new society (Abbott, 1989; Duncan, 1992; Dunstan, Dibley, & Shorland, 2004; Fletcher, 1999; McDermott, 1997). The studies that have determined these indicators, however, do not cite tools (apart from language and employment skills) that may be required for migrants or refugees to successfully integrate or to strengthen their ability to participate. Skills and personal development can indeed occur for learners and these could constitute tools that may enhance participation and empowerment in the resettling society. Formal education is generally endowed with responsibility for imparting skills as well as knowledge and this thesis suggests the theoretical underpinning of programmes and teaching approaches that impart the particular skills required by refugees can be found in post-structuralist critical approaches and delivery methods.

What must not be ignored in resettlement, is that its success cannot occur without affirmative policies and positive reception from the host community (Fletcher, 1999; Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Loewen, & Moore, 2003; McDermott, 1997). Although the matter of the host community response[12] is beyond the scope of this thesis, its importance must be stated and it does feature in New Zealand's Migrant and Refugee Resettlement Strategy (Department of Labour, 2006). This national strategy which was launched in February 2007, consists of six goals, whose key objectives coincide with

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[12] But see brief notes in §5.5.1 of this document.

the premise of this thesis (successful integration into the new society). In summary, the New Zealand National Resettlement Strategy's goals are for migrants, refugees and their families to:

- obtain employment appropriate to their qualifications and skills
- become confident using English in a New Zealand setting, or be able to access appropriate language support
- access appropriate information and responsive services that are available to the wider community
- form supportive social networks and establish a sustainable community identity
- feel safe expressing their ethnic identity and be accepted by and become part of the wider host community
- participate in civic, community and social activities.

(Department of Labour, 2006)

The latter three goals pertain particularly to this discussion. These strategies, which essentially delineate the processes required for successful integration, are supported by a budget of over $NZ60,000,000 spread over four years (Department of Labour, 2006). This combined resource and policy provision offers a pragmatic basis for the enhancement of positive resettlement outcomes. It should be noted, however, that the strategy does not spell out the requirement for the development of skills needed for adjusting to new social conditions and this represents a significant gap in this provision which should be addressed.

Both skills and information, and an affirming environment are required for settling in a new country and for achieving the strategic goals listed above. To this end, it is suggested teachers of refugees adopt more holistic pedagogical approaches so that not only are refugee psychological needs acknowledged, but that by participating in a critically engaging environment learners (and teachers) will be better prepared for a multicultural community.

2.3 Differences Between Refugees and Migrants

All new migrants face resettlement challenges, but refugees have quite specific additional needs and therefore must be considered as also constituting a discrete

category. Nooria Wazefados, aged 15, described a refugee as being:

> a kneeling person, kneeling in front of the captain of a ship to ask for a reduction in his escape price, kneeling to pirates to ask for mercy, kneeling in front of an international organization to ask for its help, kneeling in front of the police to ask for permission to go to the market, kneeling in front of a foreign delegation to ask to be accepted in their country (Sydney Morning Herald, June 21, 2004).

The above characterization highlights a significant difference in the relative experience of refugees and migrants and that is that their migratory experience has lacked choice and any degree of power. An internationally accepted definition of a refugee, which was approved at the Geneva United Nations Refugee Conference in 1951, states that a refugee is a person who:

> by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion (a) is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or (b) not having a country of nationality, is outside the country of his former habitual residence and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to return to that country (UNHCR, 1993).

When this definition is considered in conjunction with the refugee experience, three clearly distinguishable features emerge. Firstly, refugee migration is not voluntary; refugees do not choose their new domicile nor, indeed, do they have the opportunity to prepare for the new country. Pittaway and Ferguson (1999) make the poignant observation that most migrants <u>do</u> have this opportunity in that "they choose belongings to bring: family photos; favourite blankets; items of emotional significance. Migrants have the opportunity to farewell their families, to grieve with loved ones, put parting flowers on a grave" (Pittaway & Ferguson, 1999, p.3). Migrants also bring possessions and money with them, and, Pittaway and Ferguson stress, they bring their passports and they know where their families are so they can return home if necessary to be with them (Pittaway & Ferguson, 1999). Refugees, on the other hand, do not choose to leave their homelands in order to settle in a new country and generally arrive completely unprepared and with few possessions. This forced migration involves disempowerment and therefore the restoration of agency for refugees should be an immediate task for all personnel on introductory (as well as subsequent) programmes. The lack of opportunity for preparation for life in a new cultural and geographical environment also has implications not only for programme content decisions but for funding as well (for example, longer term funding may be required because many refugees may have had

minimal prior formal learning opportunities).

Secondly, the migratory journey of refugees is often precipitated by traumatic events and many refugees will also have endured protracted stays in the harrowing environment of refugee camps (Ahmad, 2005; Pittaway & Ferguson, 1999; Stein, 1986; Tukelija, 2005; Williams, 1990). These experiences require a teaching approach that considers this vulnerability and has the capacity to identify learner strengths and to build on them. Knowing refugee backgrounds and understanding trauma responses would seem an important first step. Teachers may also need to have the expertise required for incorporating social skills development into programmes. This in turn has professional development implications.

The third distinction between a refugee and a voluntary migrant is that because of the experience of considerable and prolonged losses, the coping skills of refugees may be diminished so that they are less well equipped to confront the new challenges of resettling (Anderson, 2004). Resettlement is an adaptive, sometimes lengthy process and the tasks for immigrants include both learning about and adapting to the new environment, as well as dealing with the loss of one's homeland. This is a very stressful process for most individuals; but it is the accretion of traumatic war experiences combined with the resettlement stress, that can result in a reduced capacity amongst refugees for coping easily with additional challenges.

A recent study on torture and trauma victims found that when trauma accumulates beyond the person's threshold of resilience, an added mild or moderate trauma could become the "last straw that breaks the camel's back" and this causes all previous trauma to come to the fore (Partenheimer, 2004). This could well be the case with many refugees. Furthermore, some individual refugees may have also acquired inappropriate coping responses to change or stress (for example, aggression, egocentricity, or flight). These responses are frequently essential for survival in war or camp situations, but in a peaceful, democratic environment may generate negative consequences or reactions. These reactions may require pedagogical interventions that provide opportunities for confidence rebuilding and the acquisition or rehearsing of new skills. Appropriate learning scaffolding also needs to be considered.

The following vignette illustrates how skills and responses from refugees might differ from those of non-refugees.

Vignette 3:

> *Recently, a staff member from another on-site agency was confronted by an agitated refugee wielding a shard of glass and threatening to kill him. The staff member, who himself had been a refugee, remained calm and took appropriate action to obtain assistance so that the threat was mitigated. In chatting to the staff member later about the incident, I commented that he must have "felt extremely frightened". I was surprised at his nonchalant response, in which he stated: "No, not really, this is nothing compared to what I have been accustomed to". However, in contrast to this, another incident revealed an uncharacteristic panic response among the refugee quota group. During an intake at the CRE, we had not been given warning about a fire drill organised by NZIS and were unable to prepare refugee students. The continuous siren caused widespread alarm in all classrooms as trauma reactions were triggered for many. Teachers took some time to reassure students that the noise was merely an alarm bell and a drill.*

Trauma may precipitate specific reactions, responses and behaviours which require appropriate responses and behaviours from teachers if they are to empathically address refugee resettlement needs and reinstate feelings of confidence, self-esteem and safety. The very nature of the unique refugee background, therefore, implies broader resettlement needs than merely the acquisition of information and language and concomitantly implies broader requirements of teachers.

2.4 Refugee Resettlement Needs

Angelika Anderson (2004, pp.64-66) describes stress factors that are present when refugees arrive in New Zealand. She reinforces previous statements made in this thesis that refugees bear memories of previous horrific experiences, and comments that they do not generally have family and friends present to help and support them at a crucial time of change. Anderson summarizes the refugee tasks on-arrival in a settling country as being to:

1. *orientate themselves to the new environment*

2. *cope with the loss of home, friends and way of life*

3. *find their bearings geographically*

4. *negotiate their way through organizations and social structures*

5. *form new attachments*   (Anderson, 2004, pp. 64-66)

To this list, could be added the notion of developing a sense of belonging (Fullilove, 1996). Fullilove believes this can be achieved by making refugees feel welcome and at home; by attending to their emotional needs, by allowing them to mourn and also to maintain rituals. A key challenge in orientation (and language) programmes, therefore, must be to incorporate understandings of these factors into the teaching methodology and programme design. This thesis suggests that teachers of refugees should consider, amongst other things, addressing these non-linguistic requirements which are categorized (below) as psychological and social needs.

Psychological Needs

As stated previously, many refugees coming to New Zealand will have experienced trauma including torture. Although one cannot generalize about the effects of traumatic experiences on individuals, the psychological symptoms may include: depression, chronic anxiety or fear, memory and concentration difficulties, mood swings, and an averseness to anything which may trigger re-experiencing the trauma. Their sense of self-esteem and of control over their life may also be damaged and they may have difficulty with personal relationships (Stone, 1995; Tukelija, 2005).

When refugees arrive in a new country, they will encounter additional stressors. These may include acquiring English skills, finding suitable employment, climate and food adjustments, dealing with the losses and memories of the past, managing isolation and intergenerational tensions (especially between teenagers and parents). There may be an initial halcyon period of relief and optimism for refugees, but this can quickly be replaced by feelings of guilt at having survived or escaped while others have not, or with a longing and nostalgia for home countries or lifestyles (Elliott & Gray, 2001). It is incumbent therefore, on teachers to ensure that the anxiety level is minimized for this group of learners.

Adjustments are required of all refugees as well as migrants when moving into a new society. However, because of their inability to prepare for the new country, the number of unknown variables and requisite adjustments is much greater for refugees than it is for migrants. It seems important, therefore, for programmes to not only accommodate the knowledge gaps for refugees, but also to recognize and seek to address their psychological 'unpreparedness' for resettlement in New Zealand. It would seem

important for teachers to recognize refugee emotional (trauma-related) needs and consider what this implies in terms of their responsibility as educators.

Trauma

Confronting the consequences of the impact of trauma is inevitable for professionals working on on-arrival programmes with refugees. These consequences include feelings of depression, powerlessness, anxiety and fear, or more succinctly, 'post traumatic stress disorder' (PTSD). Frater-Mathieson (2004, p.17) describes PTSD as:

> the diagnosis given to a collection of distressing symptoms which can come into being after an individual has experienced, witnessed or been confronted with a terrifying and often life-threatening event or events, or has experienced, witnessed or been confronted with a threat to the physical safety or integrity of one's self or others.

A symptom of PTSD is avoidance, sometimes labelled 'denial'. This occurs where the reality of the trauma or loss is overwhelming and the grieving person attempts to ward off painful or disturbing emotions by denying – this is the early stage of the grief process (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). This reaction may be reflected as numbness or confusion or blank expression. As a learner, the individual may have difficulty engaging in the learning process or with the teaching material. They may also have difficulty in relating to peers (Stone, 1995).

A further feature of the refugee experience is loss. Both refugees and migrants suffer losses when they relocate to a new country. They lose their home country, family and friends; their way of life, social status, jobs, emotional security, their sense of 'belonging' (cultural, religious, social), their sense of place, and everything that is familiar. Sociologically, the notion of loss of familiarity, routines and environment is called 'displacement' (Anderson, 2004). The displacement experienced by refugees is generally more extensive and more extreme than it is for migrants. It results from (additional) considerable non-material losses, such as loss of trust, dignity, value systems, identity and one's sense of safety (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). Refugee programmes could address these particular losses through the provision of safe, inclusive teaching environments. For many individuals, the effect of cumulative losses is a strong sense of powerlessness. Restoring personal power or agency[13] must be a

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[13] "The capacity for willed (voluntary) action" (Scott & Marshall, 2005, p.9).

priority in all refugee programmes and teachers need to be aware of ways that power can be shared.

Most refugees arrive in a resettling country when their emotional and physical resources are low and they may therefore be in a *"double jeopardy"* situation (Canadian Taskforce on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988, p. 16). This taskforce stressed that:

> While moving from one culture to another inevitably entails stress, it does not necessarily threaten mental health. The mental health of immigrants and refugees becomes a concern primarily when additional risk factors combine with the stress of migration … Persons who have been separated from family by events beyond their control – like many refugees – are in a situation of double jeopardy, they are bereft of potentially important sources of support during a difficult time and worry about the welfare of family left behind.

This sense of dislocation with the new environment, and lack of traditional support combined with past trauma, is the 'double jeopardy' situation cited above. This makes it particularly important that teaching methodologies and programmes are harmonized with refugee emotional and learning needs. Even the small changes experienced at the Mangere Reception Centre can be stressful for newly arrived refugees. The degree of strangeness, therefore, must be minimized by the presence of familiar objects and, if possible, familiar language. It is also important that competent, empathic and appropriate intervention is provided for supporting the adjustment process.

The psychological reactions of individuals who have experienced extreme trauma are likely to include changed perceptions of the world. They may have difficulty believing that the world is a safe place; they may have difficulty trusting, and they may not be able to plan for the future (Herman, 1992; Montgomery, 1998). This has implications for on-arrival programmes where environmental as well as psychological (emotional) safety of refugee learners must be ensured. In order to understand how to provide this, professionals need to know what the factors are that comprise an 'unsafe' environment. This entails an understanding of refugee trauma responses as well as knowledge of the behaviours that are normal for people who have endured trauma[14]. Any sudden noise such as the dropping of a pen could trigger a flashback of previous trauma for a refugee.

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[14] See §2.4.1.

Creating a safe environment also requires an awareness of the refugee experience; that is, knowledge of the reasons for flight or refuge, as well as of the cultural, historical, linguistic and geographical backgrounds of refugee groups – which may need to be provided through professional development opportunities for teachers of refugee learners. This will assist educators in their ability to respond empathically. Finally, the relationship the teacher has with his/her students is also critical as it is probably the first trusting relationship that is formed in the new country[15].

Awareness of the potential inability of refugees to plan for the future[16] has implications for professionals conducting needs assessments and pathway-planning interviews. Many agencies conduct these interviews with refugees shortly after arrival at Mangere; however, staff at the CRE have observed that refugees frequently resile from questions that require them to describe their dreams for the future. One individual recently articulated that this was a very difficult question because he had never been able to 'hope or think of the future before' – his daily life having been preoccupied solely with the task of survival. These questions can only engender feelings of 'inadequacy' and are therefore antithetical to the process of promoting confidence and self-esteem in learners which arguably is the objective of on-arrival work with refugees. The appropriateness of such questions so soon after arrival is questionable.

The most immediate interventions for refugee learners, therefore, must be the restoration of safety, normalcy and power (agency) (Steele, 2002). Dola Mohaptra (the Indian National Director of 'Child Fund') who has been instrumental in setting up 'Child Centred Spaces' throughout Asia, stated on the Radio New Zealand 'Kim Hill Programme' on 27 October (RadioNZ, 2006), that only 5% of trauma survivors benefit from psycho-social counselling, he added that over 90% just need to return to "normalizing activities, have trusted relationships and a safe environment". Dr Eigil Sorensen confirmed this sentiment at the National Refugee Health Conference in Auckland (2007) when he stated that participation in "normal, meaningful activities such as schooling or religion"[17] were pivotal for refugee recovery. Classrooms tend to

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[15] See §4.5 in this document for full discussion of teacher attribute requirements for refugee education.

[16] See citation, previous paragraph.

[17] Quote from notes taken during the writer's personal attendance at this conference.

represent 'normal life' where there are routines and where relationships are formed. These comments further emphasize the responsibility teachers may have in assisting in the recovery of trauma for refugees.

Apart from psychological needs, refugees may also have social needs. The social contexts they may have recently experienced include: refugee camps, prisons, war environments, years of flight (fleeing from oppressors) or oppressive environments for women or other marginalized groups (such as disabled persons). Hamilton and Moore (2004) posit that the complexity of the integration process may be augmented by the extent to which settling refugees (or migrants) are 'distant' (culturally and geographically) from the host nation. This suggests that refugees coming from cultural and physical environments that are very unlike New Zealand may require more explicit additional assistance from teachers and support workers to ensure that they are able to bridge those cultural gaps.

Socio-cultural Needs

In this thesis the term 'socio-cultural' is used to refer to the behaviours and customs that relate to the accepted social rules and processes of groups. All migrants and refugees may experience uncertainty about what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in the new society (Taylor & Nathan, 1980); but for refugees the anxiety is intensified by the fact that they may have developed coping responses or reactions that are typical of, and appropriate to, their refugee experience, but not appropriate to the new environment. These behaviours might include pugilistic or avoidance reactions. The adjustments and transformations required by refugees to conform to different social norms are not an automatic process. The residual effects of persecution and loss will have an impact on behaviour for many years (Keller, 1975).

Socio-cultural needs may also result from the experience of languishing for years in the (usually) dysfunctional societies in refugee camps. Some refugees may have spent their entire lives in camps, where there is frequently a culture of dependency and where bribery, corruption and violence are endemic (Ahmad, 2005). Prolonged tenure in camps is demoralizing and leads to feelings of purposelessness and hopelessness (UNHCR, 2006; Williams, 1990). Cleanliness is next to impossible in these environments, and healthcare is meagre. Indolence amongst some groups – especially adolescents may have led to lawlessness and violent behaviour (especially sexual

violence, e.g. rape). Camps deny control to refugees and inflict upon them patterns of dependency. They cause people to think the only way of obtaining basic human rights is through demands and this 'demanding' behaviour may continue in the new environment[18]. When refugees who have lived in these environments settle in a new permanent country, they may require support in developing or recapturing social skills and habits appropriate to the new environment. These will have to be learned simultaneously with old behaviours being 'unlearned' (Ahmad, 2005; Stein, 1986).

When individuals have witnessed or been forced to partake in abhorrent and inhumane acts of war, or have lived for protracted periods in environments percolated by fear, their identities become framed by this context. Studies conducted on refugee communities after World War II (WWII), found that behavioural patterns that are shaped by anxiety may cause the individual to regress to an infantile state – they might become apathetic and helpless or manic and aggressive (Stein, 1986). These behaviours are sometimes observed at the Mangere Centre. A programme that considers and seeks to affirm individual identity, but is also transformative, would seem necessary for beginning to address this very complex issue.

Additional to traumatic occurrences for refugees, is the impact of some cultural practices on groups within communities – such as women or individuals with special needs. In some cultures traditional gender roles allow men to physically chastise their wives and have full control over their lives (Kemp, 2004; UNHCR, 2004). Staff at the Centre for Refugee Education have also observed that physically or mentally impaired individuals are frequently marginalized by others in the refugee intake, and this places people with special needs in an even more vulnerable position. Disabled refugees and women, therefore, often need special additional support – and addressing issues of discrimination should also begin (and frequently does) at the CRE.

Intergenerational / Gender issues

Intergenerational and gender conflict are further issues that frequently arise for resettling refugees (Dunstan, Dibley, & Shorland, 2004). Intergenerational issues may

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[18] See also "Addressing the Psycho-social Needs of Refugees" – page 28.

include parenting styles that differ from those of the new culture; children learning 'new' behaviour patterns from the host culture; the impact of high parental hopes and expectations of their children; and, role reversal issues (for example, women getting work before their husbands, children interpreting for parents). Intergenerational conflict issues should be addressed openly on refugee orientation programmes. Teenage refugees, once settled in New Zealand, will learn the English language more quickly than adults and they often wish to acquire the behaviours and values of the new culture, and this can result in conflict (Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

Facilitated discussions might allow both teenagers and parents to express their feelings, opinions and aspirations about the new society and the associated potential conflict situations can be discussed and shared resolutions reached. If learners at the Refugee Centre are able to experience this model of critical learning and problem-solving – even if only once or twice during the programme, they may be able to take away with them an internalized model for further conflict resolution or problem solving.

Additionally, as stated earlier, there are often gender issues such as wife abuse and restriction of female rights (Stein, 1986). Sadly, evidence is emerging that domestic violence frequently increases for refugees after arrival in a settling country (McGinn, 2000). This may be due to the fact that men often feel disempowered in the new society and attempt to re-assert positions of power in the family. Stein (1986) says behind these behaviours is uncertainty, confusion and the need for guidance. If unacceptable behaviours are not addressed sensitively with an understanding of cultural and refugee backgrounds, there is the risk not only of women being further abused but also of helpers and the receiving communities being 'distanced' because they do not understand the cause of this behaviour and consequently may develop negative attitudes towards refugees. Refugees also will remain in states of anxiety, stress, isolation and dependence. This emphasizes the importance of addressing these issues in a variety of ways and the on-arrival programme is an appropriate place to begin this process. Guiding and informing about new behaviour or expectations should be explicit, but must also consider the refugee experience (i.e., be 'refugee-oriented'). Where men practice abusive behaviour, for example, programmes might consider not just informing about legal and social expectations in New Zealand, but also addressing the issue of uncertainty and confusion on the part of the male perpetrators.

Addressing the Psycho-social Needs of Refugees

Patterns of dysfunctional or inappropriate behaviour that occur on arrival in the new country have been described in several studies (Stein, 1986; UNHCR, 2004). The psycho-social behaviour patterns that are observed at the CRE include: depression, low self-esteem, domestic violence, intolerance of difference, psychosomatic illnesses, apparent ingratitude, demanding and attention-seeking behaviour, detachment, aimlessness and restlessness, the inability to work co-operatively, irascibility and, finally, violent and aggressive behaviour. Refugees also display high levels of resilience, optimism, joy, hope, bravery, adaptability, generosity, kindness and a willingness and openness to learn. These strengths should be built on in programmes that seek to address less appropriate behaviours, and to transform behaviour and support emotional trauma.

An understanding of the causes of 'negative' behaviours is fundamental when planning appropriate interventions. Manifestations of refugee aggressiveness can derive from misplaced guilt – which is the issue requiring addressing. Refugees may also have feelings of invulnerability from the fact that they have survived 'the worst' – and they can be relentless risk takers which may also result in aggressive behaviour (Rogg, 1974). Pre-eminently and understandably, the aggression may stem from survival tactics required in very violent environments.

A further example of inappropriate behaviour might be the 'apparent ingratitude' shown by some refugees in relation to housing allocations or other support services. Refugees sometimes express dissatisfaction about the goods and services provided for them by helping agencies and governments (McDermott, 1997) and appear ungrateful, demanding, aggressive and lacking in self restraint when their demands are not met (Rogg, 1974). Stein explains that the phenomenon derives from: "the refugees' strong belief that they are owed something by someone. Since their persecutors are unavailable, the refugees shift their demands to the government and the helping agencies" (Stein, 1986, p.11). As their requests and demands are unsatisfied they become suspicious, bitter and sometimes aggressive (Taylor & Nathan, 1980). A spiral behaviour pattern sets in, whereby the refugee distances, attacks or antagonizes his helpers, who then resent or resist helping further, which may encourage a raised level of belligerence or pugilism.

2.5 Psycho-Social Needs and Pedagogy

The psycho-social behaviours of refugees described above may derive from feelings of anxiety, fear, or powerlessness and may result in depression, avoidance and an inability to plan for the future. Understanding the causes of these behaviours is important for teachers. Following this, programmes and environments that are pivoted around the objectives of safety renewal and power restoration for refugees will help to reinstate identity, dignity, trust and hope. Teachers may begin to address social needs by creating classroom environments where students are encouraged to interact in non-threatening ways and where the environmental dynamic in the classroom is one of inclusion and affirmation (see Table 7: Affirming Classrooms, p.96). New skills for resolving conflict and dealing with anger or stress can assist in eliminating the 'flight or fight' responses that have been essential for many refugees in the past. Classrooms which patently celebrate diversity, where violence is not tolerated and where there is an insistence of respect for all persons at all times, are 'safe' places for positive behaviour reinforcement and change.

Programmes that acknowledge and seek to address the psycho-social needs of refugees could be beneficial not only to the recipients of the programme, but there would also be spin-off effects for the receiving society in terms of increased capacity for contribution to that society, and decreased levels of dependency. Moreover, programmes that prepare and educate the receiving community for valuing the diversity of multicultural communities and also for understanding the issues and concerns of refugees would be mutually beneficial. The guiding principles inherent in critical theory and post-critical approaches to teaching (discussed in the following chapter) encompass all of the above elements and could provide useful guidelines for implementing these suggestions.

This thesis asserts that the aims of the Centre for Refugee Education (CRE) orientation programme should be to provide information and also to support the development of positive psycho-social coping skills for living in a new culture (McDermott, 1997), however this aim needs to be evidenced more explicitly in the curriculum and teaching methodology. The transmission style of delivery does not appear to be the most appropriate for developing the practical skills and disposition required by refugee students for positive resettlement. This is not an issue unique to New Zealand. The Refugee Council of Australia (2000) quotes refugee feedback on a similar orientation programme in that country: "We got a great deal of information but we didn't get

help." This sentiment has been anecdotally echoed by refugees in New Zealand. It is timely to consider alternative delivery methods of refugee programmes that inculcate information in useful and meaningful ways and develop empowerment skills.

While this thesis specifically deals with implications for the Mangere on-arrival orientation programme, it is acknowledged that addressing the needs described in this chapter is a longer term task. The programme provided in the early stages of refugee resettlement should be supplemented and reinforced after departure from the reception centre. However, the advantage of the on-arrival, live-in programme at Mangere lies predominantly in the fact that *all* refugees are able to attend and they are generally very receptive to learning about living in their new home country – in spite of some initial jetlag. This is a crucial period when trusting relationships can develop and where physical and psychological safety can be restored. It is also a time when integration needs can be considered and when transformations may begin.

2.6 Conclusion

The six-week period at the Mangere Reception Centre represents a significant 'moment' in refugee lives – it is a 'renaissance' period for many. The opportunity to capitalize on this renaissance period for refugees should not be lost by teachers. The programme offered at Mangere should be underpinned by a framework that invites refugees to also take advantage of this turning point in their lives. In considering the most appropriate education programme for the Centre for Refugee Education, this chapter has proposed that the first step for teachers must be to look at what it is about refugees that renders them 'different' or 'special' and what they might require in order to achieve successful resettlement. It is suggested that in order to do this, teachers need to understand the refugee experience. The chapter has described this experience and defined the manifestations of the complex needs of refugees on arrival in a new country. It was stated that the most immediate needs for refugees, apart from 'formal' learning requirements (language and information) were: skills development for integration, the need for normalizing activities (such as daily classes), the development of trusted relationships, and a safe environment (Abbott, 1989; Anderson, 2004; Seufert, 1999; Stone, 1995).

The special needs of refugees identified in this chapter included the following: feelings

of disempowerment as a result of oppressive backgrounds and huge losses; feelings of sadness and anxiety as a result of trauma; loss of trust as a consequence of war and torture; feelings of hopelessness about the future and inability to forward plan (also due to previous disruptive experiences); inappropriate conflict resolution habits as well as substantial education deficits as a result of camp experiences and disrupted formal education opportunities (or lifestyles where formal education was not available- such as that of nomadic communities in East Africa or Northern Afghanistan). The identification of these needs has enabled clarification of the most pertinent areas for examination in chapter three, which explores the philosophical underpinnings for pedagogical approaches that seek to address the on-arrival requirements of refugees.

Chapter Three: Critical Approaches to Teaching

3.1 Introduction

Each refugee has their own experience and response or reaction to that experience. An effective resettlement programme will incorporate mechanisms that can address individual needs and acknowledge strengths and existing skills. Recognizing refugee knowledge and skills and building on these would seem to be important for reinstating power and agency to this group. Analytical and interactive skills might also be important. The opportunity to critically reflect on material transmitted in the orientation programme could provide not only intellectual opportunities but also a more powerful technique for internalizing the content. Skills for applying new knowledge in social situations would also seem to be critical in preparation for integration into a new society. A 'refugee-centred programme' therefore, this chapter suggests, might include components that recognize individual intelligences, identities and knowledge, offer skills as well as content, restore power and agency to refugees and are critically engaging. The programme might also incorporate institutional 'reflexivity' – critical self reflection for teachers (see §3.10).

Chapter two described the considerable needs of refugees arriving in New Zealand and their lack of opportunity to prepare and plan for life in this country. Refugees are required to navigate in a new geographical, linguistic and cultural environment at a time when they may have diminished coping skills as a result of previous traumatic experiences (Canadian Taskforce on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988). This chapter argues that a 'post-critical' approach has the capacity to provide guidelines for imparting coping and 'navigating' skills required by refugees for integration into the new society. Critical pedagogical approaches informed by post-structuralism ('post-critical') are explored in this chapter and the attributes, behaviours and responses that might be required of teachers adopting a post-critical teaching approach are also examined. Implementing the requirements of the 'refugee-centred programme' suggested in the previous paragraph is also discussed.

The chapter begins with a description of the development of critical theory – its adaptations over time, its key tenets and practice guidelines. An understanding of the historical development of critical theory is relevant to this discussion because it

allows explication of the various strands of critical behaviour which have been woven into the current form and can be embraced in this (refugee education) setting. Key terms and concepts that relate to critical approaches in relation to refugee needs are defined. This is followed by an examination of the post-structural interpretation and praxis of critical theory. The post-structural perspective is a problematizing or questioning one. It is inclusive and multicultural and is concerned about providing an environment that affirms and values learners. It would appear, therefore, to have the capacity to meet learner psycho-social needs concomitantly with developing intellectual skills.

Each element of the post-critical approach is discussed separately in this chapter. Links to refugee resettlement and preliminary suggestions for programme implementation are made which are further developed in later chapters. These links to refugee programmes are made contemporaneously with the discussion of each feature so that the pragmatic focus of this thesis is not lost. The chapter concludes with an examination of critical thinking and questioning skills for learners and the attributes required of teachers who are involved in imparting such skills.

3.2 Critical Theory – Definition, Derivation and Development

A questioning approach in education is not new. Two and a half thousand years ago Socrates devised a method of probing questioning (the "Socratic method") – teaching by asking and not by telling. Critical thinking, then is the adhesive of all critical approaches. Critical theory, in a formal sense, however, developed in the early twentieth century at the 'Frankfurt School' [19], and arose out of a re-examination of Marxism. "Critical Theory" is a heuristic – that is, it is an approach which has a preliminary structure around which there are variations and differences (Scott & Marshall, 2005). Hence although there is no single definition, there are guiding principles. These are about inequality, injustice and social change and underpin all critical approaches.

A key feature of critical theory which became prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th century, under the influence of modernism, was its belief in rational positivism and its

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[19] The Institute for Social Research, University of Frankfurt, (1923→). Leading figures were Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and later, Jurgen Habermas.

valuing of scientific knowledge. The huge ethical flaw in the certitude of the modernist perspective was made very apparent after the failure of the attempts by the Third Reich at creating a 'perfect society'. Auschwitz demonstrated what could happen when the application of knowledge is not viewed *critically* and when there is rigid, unquestioning belief in 'one right answer' – 'the perfect solution'. Hence the approach recommended in this thesis offers heuristic guidelines and stresses that practitioners should always engage in reflective and questioning processes themselves. The 'post-critical' approach endorses this and provides advice for self-monitoring ('reflexivity') in critical work.

Subsequently critical theory has undergone further transformation and the ideals of feminist emancipation, post-colonialism and liberalism have been added. The chief concerns of the new critical paradigm, therefore, now include: gender equity, celebration of the uniqueness of the individual; prejudice reduction, and multiculturalism (all of which have relevance in refugee education). Most recently, critical theory has been appropriated by the post-modernists/post structuralists. For the purposes of this thesis, I will conflate these two movements as it is their commonalities that I wish to utilize in this discussion.

The 'post' interpretation of critical theory consists of various strands including a critique of domination and the blending of analysis, explanation and interpretation, with critique. The domains for critique have been: society, culture and discourse. Post-modern/post-structural ('post') scholars insist on a rigorous questioning and a sceptical approach towards these domains. Furthermore, the 'post'-approach is less willing to consider global change, but prefers to address micro issues of gender, race, sexuality, and class; and to consider the notions of identity, inclusion and participation (Pennycook, 2001). It also aims to give agency to (empower) individuals to create improvements in society (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000) . Pennycook (2001) claims an understanding of discourse, race and culture are just as important in creating societal change as political determinations. He said that topics like identity, otherness and sexuality reflect positions of difference or marginalization and should be considered in the critical dialectic.

The 'post' approach also incorporates reflexivity into its practice. It suggests that critical educators need to be constantly vigilant that they do not secure hegemony for their own ideas. Pennycook maintains that the critical approach itself requires critique (Pennycook, 2001). This feature establishes an important point of departure from

previous interpretations of critical theory and practice.

Pennycook (2001) adds that even members of the same class, gender or ethnicity can oppress others and he asserts that <u>both</u> educators and learners should question their own behaviour and attitudes. This approach then is an interrogative, probing one and nothing is too 'sacred' to be questioned. This thesis assumes the post-structuralist stance described above and adopted by Pennycook (2001) in his appropriation of critical theory. It will be referred to as the 'post' or 'post-critical' approach henceforth.

3.3 'Post' Critical Approach – Key Principles

This section seeks to educe the key principles from the post-critical approach introduced in the previous section and to relate these to a pedagogical framework for a refugee resettlement context. The 'post' critical position is not about reinforcing certainty and conformity or about establishing power. It centres around conflict, difference and tension (Pennycook, 2001). This does not imply that the post approach is confrontational, but it suggests that one should deal with the inherent tensions by always questioning, always being ready to challenge and ready to adapt (Pennycook, 2001). The 'post' approach is also pluralistic, that is, it considers the possibility of the symbiotic co-existence of multiple realities. Refugee resettlement encompasses change, diversity, tension and latent conflict, so a pedagogical approach which is willing to confront these issues would seem appropriate for assisting refugees in confronting and meeting challenges and thereby gaining skills necessary for managing integration into in a new society.

Elements of the post approach that have the capacity to support integration or resettlement skills development are: a questioning (problematizing) approach to learning and teaching, empathy, power-sharing, inclusiveness (pluralism), transformation and reflexivity. A summary providing the links between key aspects of the post approach and refugee on-arrival needs is illustrated in Table 1 at the end of this chapter.

3.4 Post-Critical Approach in Pedagogy

A post-critical approach in pedagogy seeks to affect transformation through critical

analysis. Hence it has a pragmatic focus. The initial resettlement programme at Mangere is the stepping stone into the new society and is a turning point in the lives of refugees. Transformation is an inevitable by-product of transition and critical analysis can ensure this process is learner-initiated and controlled. If the curriculum is also based on the real life experiences and concerns of the learner group, there will be a stronger commitment from participants (Freire, 1970; Pennycook 2001) which will support the transformation process.

Critical metacognitive understandings are a feature of the 'post' approach which can engender or assist transformation. These are important for refugee learners not only because they may aid understanding of the resettlement adjustment process but also because they are very useful for academic learning. If refugees, for example, learn not just *that* things are different in New Zealand, but *why* they are different, this may contribute towards the diminution of conflict and feelings of difference whilst simultaneously developing feelings of belonging. Similarly, when, learners are exposed to ideas about human rights, they gain understandings about the difference between *privileges* and *rights.* Learning that free speech, liberty, education or living in safety are rights, not privileges may enhance the self esteem of refugees by unravelling the notions of 'benefactor' and 'recipient'. That is, refugees become recipients of their rights and teachers are not benefactors. Refugees do not have to be 'grateful' for these provisions – they have a human right to receive them, as we all do. This is an empowering concept and a crucial one for teachers to be cognisant of (otherwise they risk taking credit themselves for these entitlements and refugees remain in a 'kneeling' position).

Vision for Social Change

As mentioned previously, critical theory derives from a vision to address issues of domination and social inequality. Social change is a leitmotif that occurs in all critical discourses. In a critical environment, individuals learn that they may actually have the power to affect change and to improve societal conditions (Freire, 1974). Freire (1970) claimed that through critical pedagogy, students come to see themselves in different ways and they reach an understanding that they can actually create change for and by themselves. This is an empowering concept.

Refugees come from disempowering situations of oppression, violence, corruption and brutality. A post-critical approach provides possibilities for regaining power and agency.

The 'post' approach, as Pennycook stresses, is chiefly concerned with addressing power issues at the 'micro' level – e.g. race, gender or domestic violence and these issues are of concern to refugees. These topics can be deconstructed in facilitated discussion activities, so that, with empathic teacher direction, learners are given the opportunity to unravel cultural and societal beliefs and values (*both* the New Zealand and refugee cultures) and for learners to gain confidence in making autonomous decisions or taking action. Examples of how this notion has been trialled at the CRE are described in vignettes in the following chapters.

In on-arrival programmes, refugee learners can gain understandings of 'micro' democratic processes and in a 'critical' environment, can be given the opportunity to rehearse these in the classroom – perhaps initially via collaborative decision-making processes and later via classroom activities such as in 'critical' discussion activities or role-plays about areas of concern. Learners can then become the sharers of power and decision-making, and not merely recipients. When actions are self-directed in this way, learners demonstrate *agency* and agency is a key aim in post-critical pedagogy. The intention on the refugee on-arrival programme should be that learners start to become accustomed to opportunities of collaboration, decision-making, problem-solving, receiving rights and practising responsibilities; and that they will expect the same level of respect and agency in authentic contexts when they leave the Centre.

Problematization

As stated previously, a critical approach encompasses not just critical thinking skills, its precepts consider every element of teaching praxis. This implies responsibility on the part of teachers to interrogate their own behaviour and that of their 'institution' to ensure they are not inadvertently conveying contradictory or disparaging (racist, monocultural or patronizing) messages. Education, in general, and English teaching specifically, are not value-free nor are they culturally neutral – i.e. they are 'problematic' and should be critiqued.

A post-structuralist practitioner engages in sceptical questioning – 'problematization' – which may involve issues of: education, gender, class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology (e.g. religion), discourse, power, inequality, and injustice. Pennycook (2001) advises that practitioners should be sceptical about everything. Furthermore, critical analysis should be accompanied by action – e.g. when language

around gender is critiqued, society's attitudes about gender equality (and power) could be examined, and this should be followed by an investigation about how these can be changed (Pennycook, 2001). Critical analysis could also be applied (by the teacher, in particular) to the power distribution in the classroom. These issues are important for refugees who, as stated previously, generally come from disempowered and oppressive backgrounds.

Pennycook also discusses the notion of heterosis in post-structuralism. This is a useful concept for this thesis because it provides a conceptual basis for the construction of a new approach. Heterosis is the vigour that arises from hybridism (hybridity). In short this means that the sum is greater than the parts and creates a new schema; "the creative expansions of possibilities, resulting from hybridity" (Pennycook, 2001, p.9). It is not just the contemplation of language or politics, but it is the permutation of these factors combined with critical thinking that create potential for a new concept that is an improvement on its predecessor. The educational approach recommended in this thesis suggests that the refugee resettlement programme can be enhanced through the hybridization of contemporary educational and sociological philosophies, understandings and methodologies in order to establish a 'refugee-centred approach'.

3.5 A Learner-Centred Approach

A post-critical approach to pedagogy considers its learners as central, so it is their world that is represented, not the world of the people in power (Canagarajah, 1999). This aspect of critical teaching is a compelling feature for refugee students, who have not only been 'disenfranchised' previously, but whose cultures and experiences are not commonly represented in text or programme materials – certainly their diversity is not reflected. A learner-centred programme design takes its cues "from individual student needs rather than a body of subject matter" (Print, 1993, p. 100). Teachers can gain knowledge of the realities of their students and the issues that are important to them and incorporate these into programmes.

When teachers deliver a programme that has no relevance to students' lives, a disconnect occurs with students. Newly arrived refugee students in New Zealand may lack the connection between the information they are being given and their own realities. Some refugees may have come from social and physical environments that are

extremely different from New Zealand and they may have no context in which to place the information about living in the new society. Learners establish connections when they are given the opportunity to express their own knowledge and belief systems and to contrast new information with prior understandings and experiences. They also feel 'connected' when their world is reflected in the classroom or institutional environment and when they are 'included' or involved in key processes.

An 'inclusive' teaching and learning approach, is one which includes and reflects the learners' backgrounds, experiences, opinions, ideas, culture, and even language. This is empowering and it assists learners in gaining confidence in their new identities. It is appropriate, and indeed, critical that refugees who have been 'excluded' in previous environments are actively supported to regain voice and agency [20] in their new environment. A crucial requirement for the inclusion of learner voice is the employment of bilingual assistants in every refugee language.

3.6 Learner Identity

A post-critical approach acknowledges that learners have their own cultural, linguistic, historical, experiential, sexual and gender identities. And identities are not uniform within cultures nor are they fixed (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook 2001). For refugees, identity may be complicated by the fact that if they have spent lengthy periods in a country of refuge, they may have 'lost' their first language and cultural connections, so their ethnic identity is compromised. They may also have had to conceal their identity in order to remain safe. On arriving in a new country, they are given another ('un-chosen') identity: 'refugee'. Later they may develop a further identity as a New Zealander. Shawn Loewen comments that because refugees have not chosen to take on these new identities, their acquisition could be more traumatic than it is for other migrants (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). This thesis suggests, then that identity development and affirmation is critical in all refugee programmes.

It may be that refugees wish to blend or even shed other identities or develop a new hybrid identity. For example, women who have lived in countries where there have been

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[20] Further discussed later in this chapter.

significant disparities in gender rights or freedom, may wish to adopt the identity ascribed to women in the new country with its accompanying benefits (or they may see these benefits as 'constraints' or causes for alienation from their own communities and choose not to adopt them). Alternatively, refugee learners who have lived for prolonged periods in refugee camps may have developed a 'camp identity' which is generally considered to be unhealthy (Adkins, 1999; Williams, 1990). This identity may need to be re-negotiated through understandings of behaviour appropriate to the new cultural context. Alternative behaviours can be explored in a critical learning environment and presented in a way that allows the learners, themselves to make decisions about which behaviours they wish to transform, adopt or reject.

Vignette 4

An example of a refugee learner identity that has been developed in less than favourable circumstances is that of 'boy soldiers'. New Zealand has accepted two or three such groups within its quota numbers. These boys were generally 'taken' as young teenagers (11 to 16 years of age) by paramilitary forces and used as porters or trained as soldiers. It is known that boy soldiers are treated extremely cruelly – they are required to carry huge loads and they may even have been forced to kill or rape in their own villages or inflict harsh punishment on their counterparts. This brutalizing process combined with the innocence of their youth can destroy value systems and make them less able to question abusive practice. The boys spend their teenage years without models of empathy or compassion. When they are rescued and come into a new environment, they may need to de-construct this identity and re-construct a new identity that is empathic, nurturing and non-violent.

Identity can relate not only to individuals, but also to groups. If a minority group in a society has a strong identity, it will not feel threatened by the majority culture and individuals might still retain their own cultural identity, whilst at the same time acquiring the tools of the main culture (Anderson, 2004). The extent to which people are able to maintain identity depends on whether they can be with their own cultural group and engage in cultural practices. An issue that can arise for refugees on resettlement with regard to identity is that they can develop a non-cultural 'in-group' identity because of their shared losses and feelings of alienation from the mainstream (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). Because refugees are in the host country involuntarily and because they frequently have low status in the new country – a collective solution they may find is to develop a strong group identity which they do not want to lose. This could make it

very difficult for them to 'cross cultural boundaries' and could further compromise their ability to integrate into the new society (Ogbu, 1995). Affiliation to cultural groups and language maintenance, therefore can be seen to be important for refugees, however, if this affiliation represents dependency or insecurity, individuals can remain isolated culturally. It is important, therefore that teachers consider identity in refugee programmes so that their integration in the new society does not merely become a process of socialization. Programmes that embrace a post-critical approach exist to affirm the identities of individuals and of the group. In this way the self esteem of participants is augmented.

Identity and Discourse

A further consideration for teachers with respect to the issue of identity lies in the sphere of language and discourse. Discourse is a term that includes language as well as forms of pedagogy and patterns of behaviour intrinsic to the practice of institutions (Smith & Zantiotis, 2006, p. 123). The 'post' critical approach sees individuals as 'constructed' by the discourse that surrounds them. Teachers, therefore, need to ensure that they do not contribute to the hegemony of the dominant culture by unwittingly articulating the patriarchal discourse of colonial and post-colonial racist ideologies (Pennycook, 1998). This discourse can be characterized by a patronizing or even condescending approach towards refugee learners.

Language is a feature of discourse which provides a means of expressing one's identity. Allan Luke says that because language is intimately connected to individual identity, there should be scrutiny of the rules of exchange for naming and questioning the world (Luke, 2004). It is incumbent upon teachers, therefore, he says, to regularly critique their own language and examine the inherent cultural biases, values or agendas. Teachers are in a position to decide which discourses are 'allowed' in classrooms. They are also well-positioned to model and inculcate tolerant, inclusive language; to celebrate cultures and difference through discourse, and to create non-sexist, non-violent learning environments. This underscores the critical importance of reflexivity in teaching practice is, for without it, teachers may inadvertently repeat oppressive practices refugees have endured in the past.

3.7 Empowerment

In this thesis, the term 'empowerment' is used to describe the imparting of skills so that individuals are able to confidently engage with the new environment. The term, which is used extensively in educational theory, also implies that individuals are able to be courageous about creating change. It may refer to the process of learning to question and "selectively appropriate those aspects of the dominant culture that will provide them with the basis for defining and transforming, rather than merely serving, the wider social order" (McLaren, 2003, p. 89). The concept of power (in em-'power'-ment) is intended to be in the 'enabling' sense, rather than in the constraining sense (that is, not in the sense of power to 'dominate'). The critical perspective suggests it is social action that results in empowerment, but empowerment is also a generator of social action.

'Agency' is a term frequently associated with empowerment and describes the ability and confidence of an individual to take action not determined by an external structure. Consideration should also be made of the fact that the meanings attached to agency and empowerment may be culturally and contextually based. Teachers may need to be aware that the degree and mode of agency for refugees may be quite different from a Western/European or feminist or other ideological perspective. Empowerment and agency are important concepts in the education of refugees who have lived in environments of oppression and then settle into communities where they could experience further marginalization and/or racism. In fact, if educators do not work actively to empower refugees to be able to take control of their own lives, they may contribute to their further disempowerment. It is through gaining agency that refugees can re-establish control over their lives. Agency can be afforded to refugees through power-sharing processes in classrooms which, as stated previously, might include collaborative decision-making and the offering of choices. Additionally, acknowledgement of refugee prior knowledge and wisdom is an important strategy for deconstructing power bases, as is the process of informing learners about procedures, structures and justifications for actions and behaviours.

Forced migration is often associated with dependence, vulnerability and helplessness (Hamilton & Moore, 2004, p. 67). It would seem crucial, therefore that teachers waste no time in inaugurating programmes that seek to encourage learner autonomy. Teachers may need to begin encouraging independence through praise, the incorporation of challenging yet achievable tasks and the teaching of learning strategies. When

students are encouraged to partake in self-initiated education, they are empowered through being able to take control of their own learning. This can also be achieved in an environment that permits learners to further investigate what they want to know (Brooks & Brooks, 2001). The pace of learning, too, can and arguably, should be determined by the learners not by the teacher.

3.8 Transformation

All interpretations of critical theory see possibilities for change and transformation which are generated as a result of critical analysis or action. Transformation has a variety of referents: the learner, the teacher, society and the thinking process itself. The learner transforms newly acquired information by adding to it what (s)he already knows, so that a new understanding emerges – this process is also known (in education) as *constructivism* [21] (Brooks & Brooks, 2001). Situations of real challenge or conflict may result in an enhancement in cognitive behaviour, and this provides the opportunity or stimulus for re-thinking ideas and beliefs – thus creating the potential for a paradigm shift to occur (Brooks & Brooks, 2001). This concept termed by Kuhn (1962) describes the situation whereby individuals change their view of the world by gaining new understandings. Teachers, likewise, become transformed if they engage critically in the process of listening, learning and reflecting.

A recent development from constructivism that also results in transformation is *enactivism*. Enactivism is an emerging educational theory that encompasses ideas from constructivism, ecology, and critical theories (amongst others) and adds action and identity to constructivist knowledge (Begg, 2000). This enhancement (to constructivism) considers transformations of the type that potentially lead to action (Bateson, 1972). Begg (2000) says enactivism shifts learning from being teacher-directed to being based on learner-growth. "It assumes complexity rather than cause and effect, and it moves the role of the teacher from one of instructor with knowledge to one of co-learner and facilitator" (Begg, 2000, p.2). In this way enactivism assumes a post-structuralist perspective and it provides the link for the post-critical approach, constructivism, facilitative methods and collaborative styles. Post- structural approaches and enactivism

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[21] See also Appendix C.

consider learning to be transformative. "Learning affects the entire web of being, and it follows that what one knows, what one does, and who or what one is cannot be separated" (Begg, 2000, p.2). The learner, his/her world, communities, culture, humanity 'co-emerge'. Importantly, Begg (2000) comments that "wisdom emerges when an ethical dimension is added to understanding and from this comes the possibility of personal and cultural transformation" (p.3).

Canagarajah (1999) describes how personal transformation occurs when learners are challenged to draw from different cultures, ideologies and languages. When there are conflicting ideologies or where discourses appear incompatible, Canagarajah (1999) proposes an approach that empowers students to negotiate their way through the conflicts. He calls this 'critical negotiation'. Critical negotiation involves critical reflection, compromise, and the construction of multiple discourses or identities. Ricento (2005) supports this notion and talks about a 'third place' where students can reformulate identities as 'hybridizations'. He describes this as 'transnational identity' (Ricento, 2005).

All individuals have several 'identities' but there is more poignancy with regard to refugee identities (see §3.6). Refugees may have experienced a range of cultural contexts on their peripatetic journeys but have not been able to settle permanently in any one place to enable them to consolidate these identities. The 'third place' provides them with an intellectual position they are able to inhabit whereby they can speak in one vernacular in one situation, and adopt alternative identities or behaviours in another situation. There will undoubtedly be adjustments and conflicts in the new settling country, and the notion of a 'third place' or compromise position could be very helpful for refugees in negotiating a range of 'conflict' situations.

Transformation in a critical programme can occur not only for the learner – but also, as suggested above, multi-dimensionally – for society, and more significantly, Pennycook (2001) and Canagarajah (2005) suggest, for the teacher. In fact, the teacher's role and persona in a critical programme could be seen to be the most important, 'critical' factor. The post-critical approach demands of educational practitioners that they share power, are reflexive (see §3.11 of this chapter), and empathic, value diversity and are open to further learning and transformation. They may also need to be good facilitators who are not afraid of engaging with conflict.

Conflict and Resistance

When two groups that are different come into contact, there is potential for conflict or resistance – one or both parties must change, acculturate or accommodate. If the host society does not accept the new group and the new group is unwilling to assimilate, there will be conflict. If there is a power imbalance and one group lacks the cultural capital to succeed (i.e. the tools and knowledge of the ways of the dominant group), this can result in problematic actions. These actions may include prejudiced or negative behaviours or attitudes. Most people feel uncomfortable in 'alien' environments – such as the first time at an auction or in a maternity hospital, on a marae[22] or in a foreign language speaking country – but they "acculturate" and subsequent visits are easier. A recent classroom discussion illustrates this.

Vignette 5:

> *During an orientation class an Afghani man, upon hearing the differences in rights and freedoms of women in New Zealand, declared: "I've come to the wrong country – these ideas (about women) are bad". At first glance this comment sounds shocking to an emancipated, feminist ear and one could be tempted to think that the speaker would not be a suitable migrant for this country. Indeed, that thought did, fleetingly cross my mind, however, awareness of the man's background and the impact of culture shock informed my response and I acknowledged his feeling of anxiety about the changes ahead of him. The discussion continued with a range of opinions being expressed. Towards the end of the session, I had the opportunity in summing up, to talk about and elicit ideas for ways of dealing with negative feelings about the new culture.*

> *On reflection about this situation and having observed the way the Afghani man did actually change during the lesson (he was much more positive and relaxed), I realized how important it was to have allowed and 'heard' his statement. Although, the man's comments conflicted with my own, it was crucial that I understood that he was expressing his feelings about how diametrically different this society was to everything he had ever known. He was not literate and had never been outside his small mountainous village in Afghanistan. Interestingly, after three or so more weeks of classes and exposure to aspects of New Zealand society, this man had shifted in his thinking and was expressing much more conciliatory opinions and compromises: "maybe it's not so bad – maybe for the younger people", he said,*

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[22] New Zealand Maori (first nation) name for the traditional meeting place for groups and communities.

echoing what older people (in all cultures) have opined about 'difference and change' for generations.

Conflict and resistance from a post-critical perspective present opportunities for transformation, cognitive development and possibly even social reform. Conflict is inevitable in a multicultural, pluralistic environment.

Multiculturalism/Pluralism

The construct of multiculturalism is characterized by an acceptance of diversity and the presence of culturally safe practices and environments within institutions (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). Concepts associated with multiculturalism are: pluralism, integration, citizenship, cultural pride, equity, diversity, tolerance (Ogbu, 1995) and critical self reflection (Ford, 1999, p. 26). This approach sees the minority cultural learner as having potential and being an asset to society rather than a drain on resources.

Mervin Singham, director of the Office of Ethnic Affairs (New Zealand), in the recently launched: "Aotearoa Ethnic Network" journal discusses questions raised about the tensions and challenges of multiculturalism that have come to the fore as a result of recent events overseas such as terrorist bombings, racist riots and immigrant marches. New Zealand is a very multicultural society, Singham says, and he adds that we can no longer assume that diverse ethnicities will continue to live peacefully alongside one another (Singham, 2006). He comments that "multiculturalism is a complex issue with potential for both disaster and opportunity" (p.33) and "a strategic approach for dealing with diversity is vital to the future" (p.34). Singham is optimistic, however, and he relates how New Zealand has a unique history with regard to race relations. Since the nineteenth century, migrants have been welcomed to our shores and the founding document for this country is a Treaty[23] which has been surrounded by a history of debate and reconciliation which in turn have given New Zealanders experience in dealing with the complex issues of race relations.

Singham offers advice for the success of multiculturalism in New Zealand. He says:

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[23] The Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) is seen as a founding document of Aotearoa (New Zealand) and represents an agreement between NZ Maori (indigenous/first nation people) and British colonizers. It promises equity to all parties.

In order for multiculturalism to be fruitful in New Zealand, each individual must consider his or her relationship to others. … Perhaps the biggest benefit lies in the enrichment of our human spirit when we choose to open our minds and hearts to new ideas and different ways of doing things. The journey to understanding and accepting others ultimately leads back to understanding one's self (Singham, 2006, p.37).

Individuality, identity, self-awareness, self-esteem and the ability to connect with others who are different are contributing features of successful multiculturalism. It may be important to create or reinforce in each ethnicity – in each individual, even – a sense of value in their own specialness and uniqueness – both personal and cultural. This should not be tokenism, it must be genuine and teachers on multicultural programmes must, themselves, value a pluralistic society. Howard Perlmutter (1991) quoted in "Globalization and Language Teaching" (Gray, 2002) says that he believes that different peoples and different ideologies can co-exist and "syncretize" (Gray, 2002, p.911) so that values are shared but may be interpreted differently. Singham thinks we have that type of society in New Zealand already and it is underpinned by the Treaty of Waitangi. Terry Ford (1999) describes a cyclic process of transformation which progresses from self-awareness through stages of reflection and consciousness-raising, increased awareness and further reflection which leads to increased social awareness and finally to social action. The figure below has been drawn to summarize this process:
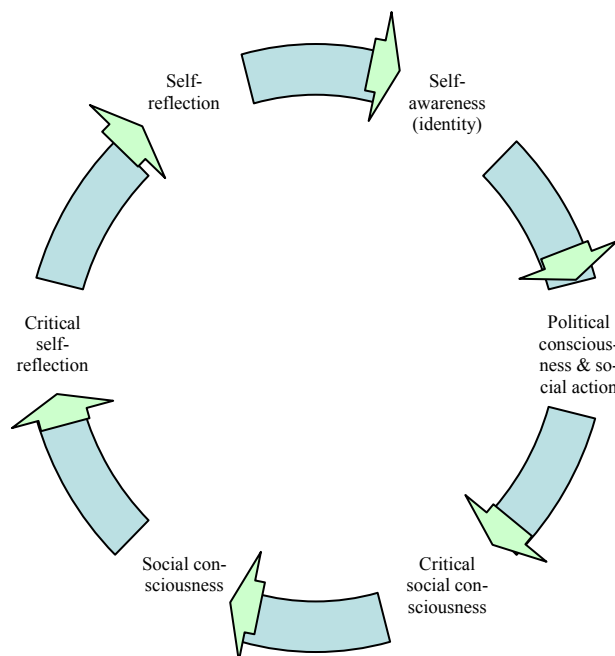

Figure 2: Identity Awareness to Social Action Model

Interpretations of multiculturalism in educational environments can be merely celebratory tokenism and may have little to do with critical pedagogy. The post-critical approach situates multicultural education within a critical perspective. Lisa Delpit says that celebrating cultures and sharing voices is not enough – learners need to be aware of the discourses of power – they need to deconstruct discourse and discover the inherent power hierarchies (Delpit, 1995). So, although, the post-critical approach celebrates diversity, values difference and is inclusive of all genders, religions, ethnicities, sexual preferences, and political beliefs – it is also sceptical about any givens. Problematic sexist or racist assumptions must be challenged, deconstructed and then reconstructed. In doing so, an opportunity for understanding difference and its relationship to power is presented.

An orientation programme that disseminates information about the new culture is helpful for newly-arrived refugees, but a programme that allows the opportunity to critically consider the implications of living in a new and complex multicultural environment is empowering and transformative and might better support the ease with which adjustments and negotiations can be made in the new society.

3.9 Critical Thinking

Critical thinking (CT) emphasizes explanation, demonstration and the application of knowledge. It incorporates dialogue and shared decision-making. Peter Façione (1998) says critical thinking includes interpretation, analysis, evaluation, and inference as well as almost all types of logical reasoning. A 'post' approach defines CT as a set of critical practices and says "critical thinking is used to describe a way of bringing more rigorous analysis to problem solving or textual understanding, a way of developing more critical distance" (Pennycook, 2001, p.4). Critical thinking is arguably vital in academic learning. Without it, learning is transitory and superficial. But critical thinking is not only an important tool of enquiry; it is a powerful resource in one's personal and civic life. The skills derived from critical engagement can be extremely useful for newly arrived migrants and refugees as they negotiate their way through power relationships and an alien cultural environment.

Wette (1999) stresses that where students are not given the opportunity to think critically, they "merely receive, file and store deposits … to adapt to the world as it is."

But, she adds, society is not "static-homogeneous" nor is knowledge – so students are not actually being prepared for the real world. Auerbach (1995) claims learners are frequently encouraged to "fit in" – and not to question. She is critical of programmes that do not allow a student "voice" and that provide little or no opportunity for critical thinking in formal learning environments. Auerbach and Burgess (1985) say that when learners believe that society's rules are fixed, they tend to blame themselves when things go wrong (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985, pp. 480-482). This scenario has the potential to tip the delicate balance of emotional equilibrium of refugee learners. Critical skills, then can help refugee learners to:

- negotiate and navigate in a 'strange' new society
- understand not just that things are different, but why they are
- develop skills so that they can analyse and understand difference and conflict when they encounter it outside the classroom
- gain skills for contributing to shared decision-making and collaboration
- adapt to change
- retain identity and authenticity – not feel that they have to 'fit in'
- feel part of the new society, knowing they have a 'voice'
- contribute towards a multi-cultural environment
- understand that society's rules are not 'fixed' (this also supports individuals who wish to ignore unwanted or undesirable cultural expectations).

Developing critical skills in learners, encouraging them to analyse, to question and to reflect, will permeate personal lives. Indeed, it could potentially occur that through an examination of one's own views and assumptions, learners and teachers may come to see themselves in different ways (Freire, 1970). This may result in transformation for an individual or even for society as a whole. It could result in the learner moving apart from their own culture, and this prospect should be discussed with learners beforehand and, if necessary, strategies provided for managing this outcome[24].

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[24] This 'critical' issue is further discussed in §4.6 in the following chapter.

3.10 Teacher Reflexive Practice

A 'critical' teacher should not be merely a transmitter of knowledge. He/she cannot successfully employ a post-critical approach in teaching if he/she is not reflective about his/her own practice and aware of hidden (or not so hidden) agendas in educational settings. When a practitioner communicates his/her reflection to others, this process is called '*reflexivity*'. Elsa Auerbach says: "dynamics of power and inequality show up in every aspect of classroom life, from physical setting to needs assessment, participant structures, curriculum development, lesson content, materials, instructional processes, discourse patterns, language use and evaluation" (Auerbach, 1995, p. 9). Teachers who do not practise professional reflection (or reflexivity) may bring their own agendas into the classroom, and, if they are unaware of these, they themselves are 'objects' or victims of the power constructs within their institution or social setting – and they inadvertently impose their values, perspectives and power models onto learners.

Such behaviour is inappropriate in an environment where learners are adults and may have quite different, but valid values, opinions and behaviours. In order to avoid complicity, Ford (1999), suggests that teachers deconstruct themselves as 'object' and reconstruct themselves as 'subject'. Through a process of critical examination of their own worldviews and prejudices ('*deconstruction*'), they have the potential to become 'subjects', 'doers' and agents, that is, they gain understandings of implicit power constructs in their own lives and how they might be controlled by these; and this knowledge makes them agents for they now have a choice about whether or not to succumb to these pressures. This is also a process refugees can go through in order to gain agency. However, Ford stresses that teachers must begin the process of critical reflection with themselves before transmitting it to learners. (See also: Tables 6 & 9 on: Teacher Assumptions and Teacher Critical Reflection).

To conclude the discussion on post-critical teaching, the following table (Table 1) attempts to connect the key ideas about post-critical teaching approaches from this chapter and the refugee needs described in chapter two. The table illustrates how elements of a post-critical approach correspond to refugee on-arrival needs or requirements.

Table 1: Addressing Refugee Needs

Refugee Needs	'Post-Critical' Intervention
Feelings of hopelessness	∗ Vision for the future
	∗ Inclusiveness
	∗ Power sharing
Disempowerment (social inequality; hegemony; hidden agendas)	∗ Empowerment
	∗ Participation
	∗ Agency & voice restoration
	∗ Collaboration
	∗ Reflexivity
Lack of trust	∗ Trusting relationships
Trauma	∗ Compassion
	∗ Empathy
	∗ Welcoming environment
	∗ Inclusiveness
	∗ Reflexivity (provides understanding)
Oppressive environment	∗ Questioning stance
	∗ Inclusiveness
	∗ Agency and empowerment
New Culture	∗ Transformation
	∗ Reflexivity
	∗ Critical thinking skills
	∗ Confidence-building
	∗ Negotiation skills
	∗ Expression of own voice
Identity	∗ Identity work
	∗ Expression of voice
Conflict	∗ Conflict resolution skills
	∗ Critical thinking skills
	∗ Negotiation skills

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the key elements of the post-critical ('post') interpretation of critical theory. The distinguishing features of the 'post' approach are, first and foremost, a problematizing or a questioning stance – that is, taking nothing for granted, problematizing givens, and challenging certainties. This feature incorporates teacher reflexivity – the notion that teachers should reflect on their own behaviour (including hidden agendas) and constantly question educational practice, systems and approaches. A post critical approach asserts that adherents should never believe they have the only or final answer.

This perspective incorporates a vision for social improvement – a vision which relates to equity, social justice and empowerment. These issues relate critically and intrinsically to refugee resettlement and recovery and this chapter argued that the implementation and modelling of these concepts must begin in the classroom. The notion of heterosis which encompasses ideas of hybridity and eclecticism was also described and it was stated that this is a useful concept for thinking about critical, refugee-centred programme design.

The post-critical approach has commonalities with other critical approaches and these include: concern about making the learning relevant to the learners, and about the enhancement and affirmation of learner identity. These features, it was asserted would enhance the meaningfulness and accessibility of the learning and create an environment where the learner feels included and gains confidence. Furthermore, critical approaches seek to empower and transform through critical thinking processes.

The emerging theory of 'enactivism' was discussed. This approach, which is learner driven, considers the learning to be transformative, and this leads to action. This approach aligns with a post-critical approach in this respect but also because it considers ethical behaviour to be paramount.

Finally, the post-critical approach promotes the notion of reflexive practice. This concept involves shared teacher reflection on their teaching, values, programmes, behaviours and responses. The 'post' interpretation suggests that even the critical approach itself requires introspective critiquing. It is reflexivity that ensures teachers do not inadvertently impose their own values or judgements on learners and are able to consider the possibility of their own patronizing or racist behaviour. It also

assists teachers in considering learner feedback and implementing processes for adjusting to each new group's needs. It is crucial in a context where there are vulnerable learners.

The significance of a post critical approach in refugee education lies in the fact that not only is it willing to confront challenging issues such as those that might relate to refugee concerns (e.g. racism, gender issues, secularism, culture-clash, domestic violence), but this approach also offers pragmatic guidelines for managing those issues. The guidelines, however, may require methodologies borrowed from other disciplines and these are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Four:

Pedagogical Approaches and Methodologies

4.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies the teaching methodologies that correspond to *both* the post-critical teaching approach described previously *and* to the resettling needs of refugee adults.

Critical teaching approaches derive from theoretical perspectives (i.e. critical theory), and although some aspects of the 'post' approach translate readily into pedagogic practice, the transference of other elements is more problematic. Stephen May (1999) talks about the disjuncture between 'ivory tower' academics and the reality of classroom life. He says that in the past critical educators have not successfully related theory to practice (May, 1999). This chapter grapples with the challenge of applying post-critical 'theory' to a refugee on-arrival programme and provides interpretations for teaching methodology and practice. The chapter begins with a summarized delineation of the key post-critical features described in chapter three, and then considers teaching methodologies that cohere with these features. The methodologies which appear to correspond with critical thinking and enactivist learning are: collaboration, participation and facilitation. Each of these is discussed and suggestions for programme implementation are made. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the attributes and skills required of teachers who are implementing this approach.

Key Tenets of the Post-Critical Approach

A summary of the post-critical approach described in chapter three is provided in the table overleaf in order to clarify the linking process between theory, refugee needs and teaching methodology. Key post-critical features are summarized in the left-hand column of the table, the central column aligns these with the associated refugee needs and the right-hand column lists the programme and teaching elements that derive from post-critical perspectives and that give the practical application to the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings.

Table 2: Post-Critical Approach – A Summary

Post-critical Feature(s)	Refugee Need(s) Addressed	Elements of Programme & Teaching Methodology
View the students' world as the basis for learning Begin by ascertaining existing student knowledge, attitudes and perceptions	Acknowledgement Inclusion Affirmation Safety	Enactivism / Constructivism 'Strengths'-based Freirean approach
Expect students to be curious, to solve problems and to question	Compensate for educational gaps Prepare for integration process Understand resettlement process and past issues	Critical thinking Metacognition
Consider that empowerment is the purpose and outcome of a critical approach It is characterized by relationships and co-operation which begin in the classroom	Empowerment Recovery from trauma Form trusting relationships	Critical thinking skills Teacher/learner relationship Collaboration
View transformation as an essential component of empowerment and of a post-critical approach	Resettlement & Integration	Facilitated discussions incorporating critical issues & thinking skills
View problems from a variety of perspectives and incorporate a plurality of views and opinions	Resettlement & Integration Understanding previous trauma/issues	Critical thinking in a multicultural environment with facilitated discussions
Support and scaffold critical thinking, reflection, and action if relevant	Empowerment Opportunity to move on from the past	Critical thinking
Create the conditions that encourage student voice in the classroom	Identity development, Belonging, inclusion Affirmation Empowerment	Enactivism Collaboration Multicultural/pluralist environment
Insist that both students and teachers engage in reflective practice	Acclimatisation Integration Trauma recovery	Critical reflection
Account for and work within an understanding of power relations	Empowerment Agency	Exposure of hidden agendas Power-sharing Collaboration

The post-critical teaching approach demands particular cognitive skills and 'affective' dispositions of its practitioners as well as of its learners; and, as can be established from the list above, there are also expectations of the teaching programme, the classroom and the institutional environment. Critical thinking skills support learner autonomy and the processes of evaluating and synthesizing new information. These skills can assist new migrants when they engage in reflective contemplation about aspects of the new society[25]. For refugees critical analysis may also assist in later consideration of their previous situations and experiences. Critical reflection may contribute towards the recovery process by providing an intellectual framework within which feelings can be reflected upon, analysed and managed.

4.2 Collaboration

A collaborative approach in pedagogy is characterized by shared decision-making and information-sharing, as well as genuine communication and collaboration among students. Elsa Auerbach is a strong advocate of this approach and has written extensively about its application in refugee and migrant programmes. She recommends teachers negotiate with students the programme content, delivery methods and language learning rules for the classroom (Auerbach, 1992). Wette (1999) also supports the notion of learner collaboration and adds that mostly "entirely invisible in the curriculum is the fact that adult migrants have their own values and practices for all aspects of communication and are expert in their cultures as we are in ours" (Wette, 1999). The importance of eliciting and acknowledging learner expertise and wisdom cannot be understated. It is through the process of collaborating, that adult refugees' own strengths and skills can be validated.

A priority for teachers, however, is maintenance of a 'safe' environment that contains some familiarity for learners. Introducing unknown methodologies can alienate learners and make them feel inadequate if they are unsure about the requirements expected of them. Pre-teaching and scaffolding of discussion processes and skills might be required. Collaborative decision-making regarding programme content is a process that should be used with discretion and with due consideration of learner expertise. Brookfield says

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[25] Cf. Chapter Two (§2.2), 'Acclimatization'.

that teachers should retain the 'privilege' of being able to choose whether or not it is worthwhile following up on learner suggestions (Brookfield, 1995). The teacher is qualified to make professional judgements about what is most appropriate and beneficial for learners – but this does not exclude the opportunity for learners to express opinions or to be given choices. Brookfield (1995) advises it may be useful to ask students whether or not they want to continue learning about the current topic or not. Alternatively, he suggests asking *how* they want to continue. Learners may wish to nominate their preferences from the range of tasks and methodologies the teacher has presented thus far. Morgan (1998) agrees with this sentiment and also suggests asking learners for feedback on content such as: "Is this useful for your community? How will your community react to this information? How would you change or improve this topic or presentation?" (p.15). These suggestions could be implemented with refugee classes, and the latter questions could be utilized in regard to topics such as domestic rape or sexuality which are problematic with some groups.

Paramount in teachers' minds should be the understanding that the process of contributing in a collaborative way is an empowering one and opportunities for refugee learners to do so should begin as soon as possible. The disempowering experiences of refugee past experiences may have diminished their self-esteem which could affect confidence in decision-making. Indeed, the negotiation of what are normally considered aspects of the 'teacher's domain', could also be threatening for newly-arrived refuges and, rather than empowering adult learners, could have the counter effect of making them feel inadequate. Collaboration, therefore, at the Centre for Refugee Education may begin later in the programme and should be preceded by scaffolded support in preparing learners for this practice.

The scaffolding process might begin with the collaborative establishment of classroom 'rules'. Auerbach (2002) proposes one rule could concern when first languages be used in class for aiding learning, and when it is best to attempt to resolve the problem using the English language only. Rule-setting constructed in this manner is appropriate in an adult learning environment. Auerbach also suggests teachers could negotiate how and when bilingual assistants should be used for interpreting or translating – and when this translation might assist or impede learning. Shared negotiation of class rules such as these, provides learners with metacognitive and critiquing skills, both of which are empowering activities (Auerbach, 2002).

Collaborative processes can also take the form of co-operative learning, such as group activities, role plays, group problem-solving and so on. Co-operative learning skills promote meaningful social interaction and encourage individuals to become autonomous learners. They have also been shown to result in higher achievement (Slavin, 1987). Moreover, they may help learners feel more comfortable about interacting with others from different backgrounds and cultures (Fridland & Dalle, 2002). Co-operation and collaboration can, therefore, be seen to provide potential for enhancing skills development and agency among refugee learners.

Teachers require training and practice in this technique and so do learners, but the outcome of learner agency is a worthwhile goal. Professor Auerbach cautions that this process does not necessarily come "without struggle". Teachers can be reluctant to let go of control. Auerbach says of her team: "We had to work at redefining roles and relationships along the way in our attempt to 'practice what we preach'" (Auerbach, 1992, p.2). Teachers need to model listening and sharing behaviours and may need both a sense of humility as well confidence about taking a less prominent role in the classroom. Teachers can begin by sharing about themselves (but not 'over-sharing'[26]), accepting their own mistakes, using humour[27], sharing food, and enquiring about their students (although not about their traumatic experiences). The quality of teacher responses during discussions and their commitment to this methodology will determine the extent to which the classroom is a safe environment for learners to make mistakes in, to take risks in, and to offer opinions that differ from the norm. Section 0 in this chapter describes the facilitation skills that teachers may require for managing collaborative class activities or class discussions.

Importantly, educators on refugee programmes need to allow some time for trust to be established before asking for input from learners (Auerbach, 2002). One study found that Somali women were not able to tell facilitators what they wanted or needed in a programme and the researchers surmised that the learners may have found it

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[26] A term used to describe revealing information that is very personal and normally considered private. Teachers could use anecdotes from their personal lives to illustrate what they are teaching, but they need to censor these for appropriateness and relevance.

[27] See, for example (Kelly, 1984): "Everything you always wanted to know about using humor in education".

uncomfortable to make suggestions to an authority figure or to the male interpreter (Fridland & Dalle, 2002). The writers did not discuss the interpretation that the question itself was too complex, and this may have been a possibility also. In fact, recently a young refugee student at Mangere, who was asked what he wanted to learn, succinctly replied: "I don't know – what **can** you learn?" Fridland and Dalle (2002) suggest a better approach might be to dedicate the first few weeks to establishing trust – to get to know students as individuals first – and then to begin asking what they want. This is an example of pedagogic scaffolding.

Scaffolding implies building on the 'known' or 'familiar' and including increasingly greater proportions of the desired learning method or content. If learners are familiar with predominantly rote learning methods, a scaffolded approach might be that teachers include some rote activities (perhaps rhymes, poems and songs) in the initial period (this helps the learner feel comfortable by having some familiar learning patterns), but gradually increasing the variety and complexity of teaching and learning methods.

A possible scaffolded collaborative programme for the Centre for Refugee Education is provided in Appendix A. This table offers suggestions for both learner activities and teacher methodology in three stages over the six-week period. Weeks one and two emphasize empathy and trust-building – familiarity and routines are the key features. During the following two weeks, it is suggested teachers incorporate more new types of activities and that these should include some critical thinking challenges. Group work and collaborative opportunities might be introduced during this period. The final two weeks at the Centre can be seen as a period for consolidating new methods and developing critical thinking skills, confident questioning, and decision-making skills. There may be more learner-sharing and collaboration during this period as trust is developed.

Teachers of refugee learners may need to be aware that trust could take longer for refugees to build than it does for other migrant learners. A question as simple as asking about family members could trigger a traumatic memory in a refugee and therefore elicit one of the responses described in chapter two – withdrawal, silence, or sadness. Furthermore, learners who lived for lengthy periods under oppressive regimes, may never have been 'allowed' to express opinions previously and may find it daunting and disempowering if they are required to give one. Some cultures, too, do not have patterns or habits of discussing feelings. These examples underscore the importance of teacher

empathy, receptiveness to feedback, inclusive teaching approaches, and a comprehensive understanding of the refugee background and experience.

4.3 Participation

Collaboration and participation go hand-in-hand. Learners are experts in their own lives and when they share this expertise – everyone is transformed (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). Refugees should not be merely the receivers of knowledge transmitted by teachers, they have experiences and ideas to contribute and can participate in sharing these. On the other hand, Stephen Brookfield (2005) comments that teaching which explicitly or implicitly proclaims: "You have all the knowledge – I have none" or "You teach me as much as I teach you" (p.74) does not necessarily affirm learners. He says, in fact those "protestations won't ring true" (p.74) as learners will know teachers have more knowledge and this will make them seem disingenuous and lacking 'authenticity'[28]. The participatory process that needs to occur is one in which learners share, compare and critique their experiences, cultures and beliefs with the new material that has been provided by the teacher.

In order for the collaborative, participatory processes to be successful, teachers need to be good listeners. Active listening is not always an attribute teachers practice – they tend to prefer to be the ones listened to! With refugee learners, however, the capacity of teachers to be active listeners is a valuable trait as it enhances their potential to support this vulnerable group. An ethos of listening in a classroom provides the opportunity for a multiplicity of voices and experiences to be heard and everyone's world is expanded through the process.

Auerbach (1992) talks about operating in partnerships with refugees and using the combined knowledge to create change (transformation). She discusses the notion of reciprocity and posits that negotiation and conflict might be inherent aspects of partnerships. Resolving conflict is generally a productive exercise, she says, and quotes studies that show this again and again. This echoes the 'post-critical' perspective (Pennycook, 2001). In her edited book, "Community Partnerships", Auerbach presents

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[28] Discussed further in §4.5.

descriptions of successful partnerships in programmes with refugees, and the New Zealand Home Tutor Scheme is discussed in one of the chapters (Auerbach, 2002). The Early Childhood Education Centre at Mangere also provides a good model of partnership where parents are encouraged to share parenting values and techniques with the teachers who care for their children. Although there can be no flexibility with regard to violent behaviour towards children in this Centre, parents are able to share information in relation to sleeping, feeding, and traditional learning practices which can be adopted or supported at the Centre. This model could be adapted and used in the adult programmes too.

When students are actively engaged in sharing ideas, feelings and decisions in the classroom, a different 'management' style may be required of the teacher. The term 'management' tends to imply an authoritarian, 'top-down' approach where the teacher is active and the students passive; however, participatory management is about relationships and processes. It is concerned with co-operation and autonomy and aims to shape behaviour and to develop critical thinking in relation to values, so that the participants become moral agents. A participatory classroom is an evolving, dynamic process (Danforth & Smith, 2005). It is a collaborative environment where learners and teachers are transformed through the process of learning, creating and problem-solving. The principal responsibilities of the teacher in this environment are to facilitate learning, to model behaviour and to be 'neutral' (NB: this does *not* imply the tolerance of unethical behaviour).

Folowing is a summary of the guidelines for successful participatory behaviour. This list derives predominantly from descriptions of successful models in the writings of both Auerbach (1992) and Danforth and Smith (2005) which have been adapted so that they apply to the refugee context. It can be seen that many elements included in this table which define collaborative, participatory pedagogy are also intrinsic components of the post-critical approach.

Table 3: Collaborative Teaching and Learning

Programme Requirements:	Teacher Requirements:
• Shared goals, e.g., supporting cultural adjustment, promoting language or literacy, challenging communities to make changes • Flexible programmes • Time dedicated for discussing with learners what they want or need to know • Bilingual assistants are present • A bond is established with learners • Learners are invited to raise issues • Culturally familiar content and genres are incorporated – e.g. story telling or poetry • Art and other forms of creative expression are incorporated • A record of the learners own experiences and cultures is made (e.g. books with stories from students) • The wisdom and knowledge of the community is valued	• Capacity to listen actively • Ability to be responsive • Reflexivity about one's own values, behaviours and beliefs • Willingness to engage and to share • Ability to cope with the unexpected • Willingness to let go of control • Willingness to change or be transformed • Knowing the learners and having concern for their needs • Ability to ensure all students are able to contribute if they wish • Ability to nurture a classroom community • Willingness to take risks • Patience • A critical framework • Mutual respect • Humility • Extensive teaching skills & knowledge

4.4 Facilitation

When learners are invited to participate in the learning process, the teaching style could be described as facilitative, rather than teacher-directed. The facilitative teaching approach is well suited to developing a multicultural environment within a critical

framework because it allows everyone's perspective to be heard and its aim is to promote understanding and respect for difference (Fenstermacher & Soltis, 2004). A good facilitator honours difference and seeks to create a community in the classroom which respects individuals and reflects the values of inclusiveness, cooperation, equity, affirmation and sensitivity towards others (Auerbach, 1995; Fenstermacher & Soltis, 2004; Fridland & Dalle, 2002). The approach requires that the teacher model these behaviours, discuss their importance and encourage or acknowledge when class members demonstrate them.

The vignette below illustrates this type of learning (although this was only a 'trial' of the facilitated model and still requires reflective interrogation – but it does demonstrate how this approach can be transformative for the learners – and the teacher).

Vignette 6:

> *On the adult orientation programme, a question was raised by a refugee student after he had heard a news item about a debate which was occurring in France. He asked whether a Muslim girl should be required to remove the 'hijab' (headscarf) at high school in order to conform to school uniform requirements. I invited other members of the class to their offer opinions regarding this question and during the ensuing discussion, different ideas were expressed – all of which were interpreted by bilingual assistants and written on the board. The summarized statements from the board were then read out and students were asked to confirm whether these accurately expressed what had been said[29]. The student statements represented a full spectrum of differing opinions. I then asked the class which of the stances on the board they thought might be the 'right' or best answer or solution to this problem. Once again, there was a range of opinions and one person indicated that he had changed his mind after having listened to the arguments presented by others (he had initially thought students should conform to NZ uniform codes). At this point there was a compromise position offered ("perhaps just wear a small scarf in the school colours" and I led the group in a discussion about how this position could be negotiated with the school. The group were surprised to hear that there had been precedents in NZ (of relaxed uniform regulations) although I mentioned that I was unable to guarantee that every school would take a liberal approach. I also explained that this was a good example of how sometimes there were 'grey' areas regarding 'rules' where there appeared to be no one right answer, and if a decision had to be made, a mediator or judge might be required to determine a judgement.*

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[29] This strategy is also useful for checking the back-translations provided by the interpreters.

But what the students particularly liked was the notion of negotiated compromise. I made a mental note to introduce this idea again when another issue arose to provide further opportunities for the learners to rehearse the process in different 'conflict' situations so that they could become familiar with it and learn the language components associated with it.

In addition to understanding the practice of negotiation and compromise in the New Zealand cultural context, this vignette provides a good example of the post-structural critical practice of the incorporation of a 'plurality of views and opinions' as well as the concept of there being 'no one right answer'. It also demonstrates the attributes described previously for collaborative pedagogical approaches. An extension to this example might be to ascertain from students different cultural practices of compromise and to investigate how these might work within the New Zealand context.

When the learning is discussion-oriented, as seems appropriate in the adult orientation programme at the CRE, a facilitated approach is needed; but this may not be a straightforward approach for teachers to adopt. All the elements and features listed in Table 3 (page 69) need to be present and teachers will need to have the ability to 'manage' or facilitate discussions. In the context of refugee participants, strategies have to be put in place to ensure firstly, that vulnerable learners are not harmed (psychologically) and secondly, that everyone gets an opportunity to express their point of view. Teachers working on post-critical programmes will need to have competence in managing group dynamics, diverse opinions, and a colloquium-style classroom in which the direction is determined by the process, and not by the teacher. Teachers may require specific training in order to gain these skills. The topics that could arise for discussion with refugees in a facilitated group environment are topics that will likely reflect their interests and concerns, but these topics may be controversial (because refugee backgrounds often include issues of conflict or trauma) and could create potential for conflict or the powerful expression of emotions in the classroom.

The sharing of personal and tragic stories in a classroom environment can be perilous. There is the potential for inadvertent injurious comments to be made by peers, and there is also the possibility that other refugee learners could be re-traumatized. Additionally, teachers may not know how to manage the emotions that accompany these horrific stories. If a teacher has had some counselling training, she/he can be paired with other teachers to provide mentoring and role modelling of appropriate responses. It is also very important in these circumstances for teachers to be aware of boundaries that

should surround the types of information that can be safely shared, and they require skills for managing those boundaries. However, with refugee learners, it is also important not to minimalize their very tragic experiences, by ignoring them. The teacher requires a high level of facilitation skills and a developed sensitivity to these matters. Being aware of the types of discussions that can occur with refugees is a way of preparing for them and an empathic response (but not a counselling one) is required.

Empathy is a critical disposition required of the teacher/facilitator in refugee discussions as it will aid and guide her/him in forming and framing her/his responses. Additionally, the teacher requires some expertise in collating ideas and converting the shared input into learning and growth opportunities for everyone. Learners must be guided to understand the context. In the above situation, for example, learner understanding and knowing about human rights legislation in New Zealand, is not only empowering, it may also be therapeutic for refugees (i.e. help with trauma recovery), as it may result in awareness that they now have protective mechanisms (human rights legislation) from the abuses and situations of exploitation they may have experienced in the past.

It may sometimes be appropriate in the context of facilitated discussions to remind individual students of the availability of professional (on-site) counselling. Situations have been observed at Mangere, where refugee students have shared very emotional statements in the classroom and the teacher, not knowing how to respond, has ignored the comments – this is also an inappropriate reaction, although an understandable one. A suggested response for teachers might be an empathic acknowledgement of the tragedy or circumstance ("That is a sad story"), and then moving on – perhaps to return to the individual at the end of class and in checking their wellbeing, suggest that they talk to a professional counsellor.

The facilitative approach within a post-critical programme is an unpredictable method of teaching and it is difficult to plan the content or lesson direction in advance – "teachers have to be prepared to allow the class to degenerate into pure spontaneity" says Auerbach (1992) and teachers may fear losing the control they like to have in the classroom. It is certainly a challenging pedagogical methodology and probably does not suit all teachers – however it is very inclusive, empowering and critically engaging and therefore appears to be an appropriate 'refugee-centred approach'.

Facilitation skills and tasks

Of primary importance in discussions with newly-arrived refugees, is the presence of interpreters or bilingual assistants to ensure that language does not constitute a barrier to discussion. The room should also be organised in a welcoming and discussion-friendly way. The first task when the group session begins is for facilitators to establish group discussion 'rules'. These can be elicited from the group and suggestions might include: "No put-downs; everyone listens without interrupting, speakers don't talk for too long, everyone gets a turn to speak first before individuals have a second turn" etc. Teachers might also need to have practice guidelines for themselves to ensure the discussion runs smoothly and that all participants are able to express feelings and opinions in a safe environment. The guidelines that follow in the table overleaf (Table 4) may be useful for teachers facilitating discussions with refugee groups. These suggestions, which derive from Fenstermacher and Soltis (2004), have been extended to apply to a refugee educational setting. The table categorizes the guidelines as either attitudes (disposition) or actions (behaviour) that promote successful discussion.

Table 4: Promoting Successful Discussions - Teacher Dispositions and Behaviours for Group Facilitation

Teacher Disposition	Teacher Behaviour
∗ Respect that the student has already learned some things (they are adults) and this learning matters ∗ Genuinely care for students – this will guide your actions ∗ Get to know learners and attempt to connect the learning to their lives ∗ Places value on what the students bring to class ∗ Be empathic ∗ Understand that mutual respect is important ∗ Value diversity, difference and plurality ∗ Be an active listener ∗ Be aware of your own values and agendas ∗ Know your professional boundaries	∗ Encourage and nurture students ∗ Show interest in what learners bring to the discussion - their needs, wants, interests, concerns, fears and their diversity etc ∗ Give constant positive feedback ∗ Establish clear expectations of interactions and commend actions that accord with those expectations ∗ Censure inappropriate or unkind behaviour - but in a constructive way ∗ Share your own perspectives when appropriate ∗ Find and publicly praise what is different and special or worthy in individuals ∗ Give learners choices ∗ Check the point of view of others in the group before responding yourself ∗ Summarize along the way ∗ Ensure key ideas are addressed ∗ Tie up loose ends before moving on ∗ Don't indoctrinate ∗ Don't impose your own ideas, ideologies ∗ Ensure the learner's 'voice' is heard

Adapted from ideas and suggestions in (Fenstermacher & Soltis, 2004)

As stated earlier, an essential element of facilitated discussions is the ability to listen well, and one must also be mindful that the worldview of the learners may be quite different from one's own. Teachers working with refugees need to ensure that they do not show disappointment or disapproval, or stop discussions when responses are made that they personally disagree with. This could occur, for example, in discussions on women's rights and roles. Although it is crucial that Human Rights and legal issues in class discussions are seen as non-negotiable, it is also important for teachers to actively listen during these discussions and to attempt to understand the perspective of the learner. Active listening occurs when teachers listen with all their senses – when they suspend internal distraction and work hard to interpret and try to understand the message being conveyed (Delpit, 1995). One must focus completely on the speaker and communicate interest to him/her. An active listener does not allow her/himself to think about anything other than what the speaker is saying. Finally, it is important with refugees to remember that even with interpreters present, learners who are unused to offering opinions are disadvantaged and may feel uncomfortable. They may take some time to learn that it is safe to speak.

Facilitating Problem-Solving

Facilitated discussions are an appropriate model for problem-solving with groups. Conflict situations may arise within discussions regarding the differences between refugee societies and New Zealand society. A potential conflict situation arose recently in a discussion session on the CRE orientation programme. The circumstance is portrayed below.

Vignette 7:

The topic was 'Living in Secular and Non-secular Societies'. One member of the group (a Muslim man), asked how they could possibly be expected to follow the requirements of their religion (to pray five times a day), if there were no bells to remind them when to pray, and no prayer breaks. I asked what the requirements of the faith were and discovered that the prayer times were very short and that there were only two prayer times during the average workday. I informed the class about the regulatory morning and afternoon tea breaks in New Zealand (as well as the lunch break) and it was discovered that these coincided roughly with prayer times. A brief discussion followed about how to negotiate break times with employers should the prayer times differ from standard break times. The group was interested to hear that the possibility for compromise might exist with employers, and some even appeared surprised about the range of opinions expressed within the

group itself about individual commitment to prayer times.

The men were also concerned about observing important Islamic religious days that were not public holidays in New Zealand. When informed about annual leave provision in New Zealand, the group was able to utilize skills they had developed in the previous part of the discussion to resolve the issue by themselves.

Problem–posing

Teachers on 'critical' programmes can provide opportunities for rehearsing problem-solving strategies by deliberately inserting 'problem-posing' questions into the curriculum. This can be achieved through a process of posing open-ended questions which generate discussions and draw on learner knowledge, values and aspirations. Real-life problems may come out of this. The 'problems' can then be deconstructed and resolved collectively. Topics which may be considered for problem-solving or posing on the on-arrival programme include: culture change, culture shock, positive parenting, intergenerational issues, domestic violence, bribery, human rights, women's roles, living in a secular society[30], collective versus individualistic societies, consumer rights, racism and prejudice (which may include affirmative issues for minority groups such as persons with a disability).

It can be time-consuming and challenging for teachers to manage these sessions, but the benefits are considerable. Refugee learners gain portable skills and evolve practical procedures which will aid them in making the multitude of decisions they will face in the new society. Facilitative approaches assist learners to develop critical thinking skills, experience the process of transformation in a safe environment, become empowered, develop problem-solving skills and hear different perspectives. These activities also strengthen the sense of community in the classroom which is important, because as mentioned previously, the establishment of new relationships for refugees is essential for re-building self esteem, identity and a feeling of belonging.

There are, however, also constraints related to facilitated group discussions which may militate against their effectiveness. One constraint might be that the group is too large or that there are too many different languages operating at once with interpreters (creating

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[30] NB: A secular society does not mean that religion is excluded; on the contrary, it means that all religions are accepted (provided their practices are within the law).

a cacophony of noise in the classroom). Brookfield and Preskill suggest a solution to this might be to have two to three-minute 'buzz groups' (mini-discussion groups with up to five participants in each) or reflection pairs, followed by random sharing with the large group. Later in the lecture/lesson, the teacher can comment on student reflections and responses, hence drawing their ideas into the lesson (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005). Another constraint might be that the teacher feels uncomfortable with the approach because it is so different from traditional teaching methods. Brookfield suggests that in that case, they should find a colleague who is more confident and observe or co-teach with that person to get a better sense of what to expect with this approach.

Additionally, facilitators need to take care not to drift towards becoming 'executives' (i.e. the dominating controllers of the group). They also need to resist the temptation to indoctrinate or impose their own ideas on learners. There is a difference between sharing ideas and imposing, and the teacher should always be aware of his/her position within the group and the weight that this might give his/her own ideas. If the group are in a deferential position in relation to the facilitator, as is frequently the case with refugees, the teacher could 'silence' members whose opinions are different. On the other hand, a learner may wish to remain silent – the topic may be triggering past memories or be culturally sensitive. Teacher-facilitators in a refugee classroom need to be aware of all of these considerations. Teacher reflexivity, therefore can be very important in implementing this practice, as is constant awareness of the refugee experience. The framing of questions and teacher responses may also require careful consideration.

Finally, a further constraint with facilitated discussions is that they might take a disproportional amount of time, resulting in other programme content being sacrificed. This is of no serious consequence, for, as Brookfield and Preskill (2005) state, there should be some latitude with regard to content, especially as covering content for the sake of it without ensuring that learners engage with it, is generally a waste of time.

The critical process that occurs as part of facilitated discussions can result in thinking changes and 'paradigm shifts'. Paradigm shifts are an intrinsic aspect of critical teaching/learning and can occur at individual or societal level. (For example in the past, major shifts in public opinion have occurred in various parts of the world regarding slavery, colonialism, women's rights, the Maori language, marriage and homosexuality.) Becoming a facilitative-critical teacher may require a paradigm shift as the teaching

style is so different, and the power relationships in the classroom are changed. This might present a challenge for some teachers[31], especially as teachers "are known to be resistant to change" (Batstone, 2006, p.75). Paradigm shifts may occur for learners too, which may have dramatic consequences[32].

4.5 Teacher Attributes

The UNHCR guide to refugee resettlement lists the skills and attributes required of orientation "providers" (teachers/facilitators) as: cross-cultural awareness, awareness of adult learning techniques and principles, understanding the impact of trauma and torture, knowing the possible personal consequences of working with traumatised individuals[33], listening skills, and finally, the ability to establish rapport with learners and to manage group discussions (UNHCR, 2002, p.159). The relationship the teacher engenders between him/herself and the learners is pivotal in a facilitated, critical environment.

Stephen Brookfield cites characteristics of effective learning relationships which correlate to the post-critical approach and also to refugee needs. He says that relationships should be "credible" and "authentic" (Brookfield, 1995). In order to establish credibility, the teacher must be seen as someone with something worthwhile to impart, but he/she must also be someone the learners can rely on, trust and like: someone who is "open and honest". The latter qualities constitute authenticity. Authentic teachers do not "keep agendas private" (Brookfield, 1995, p.67), they disclose expectations and assumptions. They demonstrate "congruence" in their behaviour (between actions and words) – for example, they don't 'bristle' when someone disagrees with them (p.74). This is a powerful combination, says Brookfield, who quotes Palmer: "we teach who we are" (Palmer, 1998). Without credibility and authenticity, it is difficult for learners to trust the teacher – and this is essential if teachers are to take them on the "intellectual journey" of critical education (Brookfield,

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[31] See also Appendix B which illustrates the difference between the transmission and constructivist approaches.

[32] This is further discussed in §4.6 under 'Ethical Considerations'.

[33] See also: §5.4.

1995). Bronfenbrenner – who developed the ecological model quoted earlier in this thesis, also insists that positive relationships are at the core of successful learning (Bronfenbrenner, 1993).

Refugees have unique needs when they arrive in a new country and particular dispositions (as noted previously) are required of teachers if they are to be successful in implementing approaches which meet refugee needs. Kaaren Frater-Matheson (2004) says if teachers are responsive to refugee needs, they can restore a sense of safety and foster the development of self esteem in learners. If teachers understand the coping mechanisms of refugee learners, it is likely they will develop appropriate, intuitive responses in the classroom. A list of appropriate responses for teachers of refugee learners is provided in the table overleaf.

Table 5: Responsiveness to Refugee Learner Needs

Being responsive to refugee learner needs involves:
• Knowing the refugee experience and cultural background
• Knowing the <u>individual</u> experience and showing an interest in the student's life (Fridland & Dalle, 2002)
• Knowing appropriate teacher responses to trauma reactions (e.g., listening, referring on to other professionals where appropriate, providing cultural and linguistic affirmation, allowing 'silent' periods, remaining calm etc)
• Knowing what the trauma 'triggers'[34] for refugees might be
• Setting boundaries, but at the same time appreciating that certain behaviours might be normal for individuals who have suffered trauma
• Talking *and* listening
• Being positive and enthusiastic
• Being flexible, i.e., being able to change the direction, level, genre, topic, or even the entire programme according to class needs, responses and interests
• Having the ability to create a sense of community in the classroom
• Genuinely valuing multiculturalism
• Encouraging learner collaboration and participation
• Having empathy, but not sympathy; humility but not timidity
• Having a strong sense of ethical behaviour and an understanding about strategies for inculcating this in learners

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[34] A single item or incident, like a sound, a smell or even a word, may trigger a trauma response of a vivid memory of pain or loss in an individual.

Teachers of refugee learners also need to have cross-cultural competence (UNHCR, 2002) – they need to be aware of their own cultural beliefs and those of their learners and this requires knowledge as well as empathy. Empathy is engendered through the accrual of information about learner backgrounds and the concomitant attempt to 'put oneself in the shoes' of others in order to gain an understanding of their perspectives. Fenstermacher and Soltis (2004) claim that self-understanding precedes empathy (Fenstermacher & Soltis, 2004). Self-understanding is critical for ensuring one's emotional response is in relation to refugee needs and not one's own. It is inevitable when one works with refugees, that emotional responses are triggered in teachers as well. Refugee losses are considerable and their previous recent experiences and emotions are sometimes disclosed or revealed in written or oral communication or conveyed through behaviour. The vignette below illustrates how feelings can be triggered in teachers, in a situation which had no obvious presentation of trauma.

Vignette 8*:*

Several years ago when a group of unaccompanied young boys came to the Refugee Centre as part of the Tampa group[35], such a situation occurred. I was working over the Christmas holiday period and had my four year-old daughter with me one day. During the lesson, I observed the strong interest and obvious joy the boys had in entertaining my daughter. There was virtually no common language between her and the boys, but they drew pictures for her, wrote her name in Dari[36] and continuously sought to entertain or amuse her. They were certainly more focused on her than they were on the teaching programme, although not disruptively so. Their behaviour and disposition towards my four year-old was kind, gentle and nurturing. But the expression on their faces conveyed deep sadness. This was a situation one might not normally observe with a group of teenage New Zealand boys. However, older children in many countries look after the younger ones – and they bond with them in ways parents do here, so it was natural for these boys to act in this way. It was a poignant moment for me to observe the losses of these boys reflected in their faces and behaviour. I realized that they missed their younger siblings and this

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[35] A group of Afghani refugees who were rescued by the Norwegian freighter 'Tampa' and accepted by NZ as refugees as an emergency intake. Within this group were approximately 32 'unaccompanied minors' – boys under the age of 18 with no accompanying adult.

[36] The majority language of Afghanistan.

realization triggered in me an emotional response of guilt that I still had my children and family with me.

Teacher Reflection

The situation described above demonstrates how refugee losses can potentially trigger emotions in teachers. The stories teachers may encounter in regard to refugee students may be painful and distressing. Teachers, therefore, would benefit from reflective practices so that they can consider whether the emotional impact is influencing their responses in the classroom.

Teachers also need to reflect on the impact their own teaching has on students, with regard to both the emotional response and the learning outcomes. The emotional responses in the case of vulnerable learners such as refugees should not be ignored. Stephen Brookfield in his book on critically reflective teaching, says that "what we think are democratic, respectful, ways of treating people can be experienced by them as oppressive and constraining" (Brookfield, 1995). Brookfield adds that teaching is never "innocent"; that is, human relationships are complex, and we can never guarantee that the way we intend our actions to be received is, indeed, the way they will be received. This emphasizes the importance of reflective and reflexive practice for teachers. A post-critical approach prefers 'reflexive' practice which occurs when others are involved in the process – in this way teachers can gain the perspective or opinion of a peer. Fenstermacher and Soltis say teachers only become professional when they reflect on their practice and they stress that reflection should be integral to all teaching (Fenstermacher & Soltis, 2004). During critical reflection, teacher assumptions should be questioned and stated explicitly (Brookfield, 1995; Pennycook, 2001); however, because it is in the nature of assumptions that they are taken for granted, teachers may not be aware they are, indeed, operating under their auspices. Batstone (2006) found in a study of teacher beliefs that it was the personal nature of these assumptions (especially about power and control) that made teachers so resistant to change and he concluded that educators, therefore, must find ways of making these beliefs explicit. Table 6 contains an exemplar of a template teachers might use for reflection on personal assumptions, and Table 9 (§5.5) suggests questions for reflection on critical teaching.

Table 6: Questions for Uncovering Teacher Assumptions

Complete the following statements: **(examples only – to be adapted as appropriate)**

1. **A refugee learner has high needs because………….**

2. **Learner-centred teaching means……….**

3. **The best way to help students learn is to …………..**

4. **The best way to deal with multi-level classes is to ………..**

5. **My own religious beliefs are ………**

6. **The best way to assess students' learning is to …………**

7. **Adult learners are different from adolescents in that they ……**

8. **The best schools are ones which……….**

9. **Democracy is important because ….**

10. **Refugees need help because …….**

11. **The reason some countries are poor is because ….**

12. **British and European colonialism helped / didn't help colonized countries in that …..**

Now, take three of your assumptions and write a contrary position with a justification for each.

Discuss these statements (both positions) with two other colleagues.

Consider your own experiences of learning. Which were positive? Which were negative?

Which have influenced your teaching?

Which models have you sought to emulate?

What pedagogical values do you hold? (Brainstorm and list on board)

Now rank these in order of importance for yourself. You can re-word the assumptions from the board to suit yourself.

It may also be useful for teachers (in groups) to scrutinize a text about teaching and respond to what it says about their own beliefs and assumptions – for example – the text might be about 'learner-centred teaching'. Teachers should be encouraged to be as critical as they wish (Batstone, 2006).

Reflection is not always an easy process; especially if change is to occur and if teacher perceptions are to be challenged. A critical reflection process, for example, might result in teachers becoming aware of their own racism or patronizing behaviour. However, if one is unaware of racism or condescension towards learners, this is in fact, worse (for the students). Janet Isserlis (1996) insists that teachers should consider their own attitudes towards critical issues. She says they must not only critique their teaching and classroom behaviour, but also their 'habits of mind' – i.e. the explicit and implicit attitudes they bring to the workplace (Isserlis, 1996). They may have a strong desire "to help the needy". However, excessively solicitous or overly compassionate helpers risk creating dependency (and co-dependency) and this creates a 'giver'–'receiver' hierarchy. Furthermore, this behaviour makes refugees feel the need to be grateful and implies that they are incapable of helping themselves. Neither of which support learner autonomy, empowerment and the enhancement of self-esteem.

A post-critical approach demands that educationalists examine their own attitudes and behaviours towards people of difference (religious, sexuality, ethnicity etc), and people who serve them such as cleaners, packers and waiters. The latter category contains the jobs that many refugees will occupy initially and teachers must scrutinize their own attitudes and feelings towards people who are commonly thought of as having a lower level of status. They may wish to reflect on how they introduce and discuss job vocabulary and categories. Are cleaners or rubbish collectors even mentioned in the lists of jobs, trades and professions in language lessons, for example? It is virtually impossible to empower or even to seek to empower people whom one considers to be socially inferior; and the post-critical stance asserts that generic social attitudes and assumptions are transferred into the classroom. This further emphasizes the critical importance of teacher engagement in processes that reveal their own hidden assumptions.

Critical self reflection (or reflexivity) is the feature that distinguishes the post-structural

from other critical approaches and this thesis contends it is what makes the post-critical approach valuable on programmes with vulnerable or disempowered learners.

Teachers should also confront their own fears – the fears that some students may invoke in them. A reflective teacher may discover a latent fear of diversity, plurality or non-conformity. This can derive from their own anxiety about the loss of their personal or classroom identity or power. Moreover, the teacher may unconsciously interpret 'different' as 'abnormal' (Danforth & Smith, 2005). This teacher tries in subtle and pervasive ways to get students to conform and 'be like them'. The vignette below encapsulates such a situation.

Vignette 9:

> *Recently at the CRE, a teacher noticed Afghani men hugging and touching each other affectionately in class. She pointed out that this type of intimacy with one's own gender could be interpreted as homosexuality in New Zealand. The men, anxious about this interpretation, immediately ceased the behaviour. Later, they mentioned this to another teacher whose response reflected her political stance: "… but this of course doesn't matter – your compatriots will not come to this conclusion about you. Besides, there is only a problem if you think homosexual activity is bad. In New Zealand not only is it not illegal but, in fact, most people now find it perfectly acceptable so they would not even look twice if they saw two men hugging".*

The first response caused the men to cease touching one another. This may be seen as an unfortunate consequence for a group whose members are not culturally permitted to show physical affection to the *opposite* gender, and who, having already experienced trauma, may have a strong need for demonstrative companionship. The less homophobic response was a more tolerant and inclusive one, however, an even more critically engaging response (time permitting) might have been to allow learners to arrive at this understanding themselves through a facilitated group discussion.

Facilitating discussions is not easy and the fear that teachers may feel in relation to discussion-work is not shameful, say Danforth and Smith (2005). However they stress that the only way to address this is to confront the fears. Teachers may, for example, fear loss of control of quiet, orderly classrooms, which become unstructured during facilitated discussion sessions and where neither output nor outcomes can be predetermined. This teacher may fear losing autonomy and 'authority' in the classroom, and, if they subsequently admit to others that they cannot 'manage', they may

further fear their inadequacies being exposed and attracting criticism or disdain from colleagues. A solution to this issue is the development of collaborative relationships with other teachers where teachers are encouraged to share their difficulties and support one another in finding solutions. It may also be helpful for teachers to have an understanding that they (the teachers) are not the only authority in the classroom – this applies especially to adult learning environments. Most importantly, the teacher must be committed to the concept that facilitated, critical classrooms should be dominated by compassion; – it is compassion that leads to transformation, not control.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Compassion and ethics go hand in hand. The post-critical perspective maintains that there is no normative morality, no fixed body of codes; but that ethics must be part of a way of thinking and acting about diversity, justice and human life (Pennycook, 2001). In a critically-oriented programme, teachers are not only guided by ethics, but students are also supported to develop ethical thinking processes. The teacher's role in participatory discussions is focused primarily on the matter of holding and managing the discourse in such a way that precedence is given to comments that reflect concern for not harming others.

A further consideration with regard to critical work and ethics is that the effects can be profound and even dangerous (Pennycook, 2001). The consequences of empowerment which occur for individuals as a result of critical transformations can mean that learners become marginalized by their own community if they step outside normal cultural boundaries. Students might become ostracized by their community or relationships can be damaged if, for example, a person seeks a divorce after being exposed to new ways of thinking or developing more autonomous behaviour (Pennycook, 2001). Issues of marginalization from communities could also occur when, for example, a woman refuses to accept an arranged marriage, violence in marriage or the procedure of female circumcision[37].

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[37] Also called FGM (Female Genital Mutilation).

The question then might arise for the critical teacher as to whether these issues should be avoided in the classroom. Pennycook (2001) argues that topics on sexuality, gender violence, racism or religious freedom should, indeed, be included in critical programmes. To ignore these topics is to say they are unimportant (Morgan, 1998). It would seem imperative, therefore, that teachers of refugees include discussion about the consequences of changed behaviour or attitudes and about strategies for dealing with these (Pennycook, 2001). It may in fact, be helpful for teachers to have some form of supervision (in-class, or using the health sector/counselling model) or reflective feedback in order to be able to examine the learner (and teacher) responses critically and objectively. The guiding parameter may be that teachers only include critical and 'sensitive' topics if they have quality reflexive practices or supervision in place.

It can be seen that choices in teaching do not just concern curriculum. There are choices regarding how the teacher responds and interacts with the learners, what the classroom looks like and how it is arranged, which teaching approach, materials and assessment methods will be used, which aspects of language will be taught, whether or not one continues with a controversial topic, and so on. Elsa Auerbach (1995) considers that all teacher decisions should be based on ethics and if it is decided that it is beneficial to introduce 'sensitive issues' into the curriculum, the ethical choice for teachers will centre around ensuring that the methodology employed for teaching these considers learner sensibilities. Classes may need to be gender separated for certain topics and more time may need to be allocated to ensure the learners or participants have the opportunity to express discomfort or to explain cultural contexts.

Auerbach (1995) agrees and advises that learners be involved in the process. The ethical approach would appear to be to consider, in consultation with other experts (including community leaders), which 'sensitive' topics should be included in the curriculum and then ensuring that teaching strategies and methodologies are used which allow for information to be shared in a non-threatening manner. This process may require firstly that teachers are well informed about cultural and refugee issues, that they employ inclusive teaching methods, that they constantly seek and respond to feedback and that their own disposition is one of humility and critical self-reflection.

4.7 Conclusion

The main concern of this chapter has been the exposition of pedagogical methodologies for underpinning the praxis of a critical, refugee-centred approach to teaching. The recommended teaching methodologies were: collaboration, participation and facilitation; which all align with the post–critical approach favoured in this thesis. These methods were discussed individually and strategies for their application provided. Many of the suggestions were summarized and delineated in tables. Attention has also been drawn to the constraints of these non-transmission teaching styles, and proposals were offered for circumventing these limitations. In particular, it was stressed that pedagogical methods that might be alien to refugee learners should be introduced gradually using a scaffolded process that enables students to retain a sense of 'safety' in the classroom, whilst concurrently being challenged and (hopefully) captivated by new methods. These new methods not only familiarize students with the practices of the New Zealand formal education system, but they also promote skills for coping with the challenges of the new society.

Collaboration was described as an empowering, inclusive methodology because it acknowledges learner expertise and wisdom; however teachers were advised to assume caution in introducing this method and to ensure learners have the skills and knowledge to be able to participate in decisions confidently (but teachers were also advised to teach these skills, if necessary). Participatory methods were also favoured because they invite learners to voice their opinions, thoughts and feelings; and, in this way to feel that they can make worthwhile contributions to the new society. This method of teaching also generates a forum for shared intercultural problem-solving – a key skill for integration into a new society. Collaborative and participatory methods assist refugees to not only feel the education is for them (it includes their experience and knowledge), but to also feel part of the system and, indeed the society, through gaining a share of the power and 'voices' in the classroom.

Finally, the facilitative methodology was presented and endorsed. Facilitated group discussions can be inclusive and empowering and promote understanding, co-operation, and critical thinking. Important teacher requisites of facilitated group work were described as: the ability to listen actively and to be reflective about one's own values, beliefs and teaching. This chapter also recommended that teachers on refugee education programmes (in particular) discuss with students the consequences of changed

behaviours if these contravene their cultural norms.

The teacher disposition and expertise in imparting critical topics and skills was stressed and the importance of empathy, humility, credibility and authenticity in the teacher-learner relationship were emphasized. Teacher responsibility for reflexivity and a personal critical stance was also stressed. The chapter concluded by highlighting the unambiguous relationship between the post-critical approach and ethical behaviour.

4.8 The Refugee-Centred Approach

The diagram on the following page presents a summary of the key ideas from the preceding chapters in this thesis. This model includes features of institutional practice, of programme design, of teacher behaviour and teaching methodology as well as post-critical approaches that contribute towards a total environment - a holistic approach that supports refugee learning and individual psycho-social needs. The learner-centred elements of this approach ensure the teaching is strengths-based and focuses on the learner as pivotal – hence the title: "Refugee-Centred Approach".

Institutional Features

Non-racist practice

Equity

Diversity valued

Environment reflects the learners

Teaching Methodologies

Collaboration – learners included in decisions

Facilitation – group discussions of critical issues, learner input valued

Enactivism – knowledge & action are connected; dynamism, transformation, adaptability

Constructivism – start with what learners 'know' – learners 'construct' knowledge

Pedagogical Features

Post-Critical:

- critique
- reflection
- transformation
- questioning
- problematization
- empowerment
- ethically based
- reflexivity

Power-sharing
Determined by empathy
Learners 'voice' is elicited and heard

Programme

Scaffolded

Multi-level

Conflict seen as a challenge

Questions and problems posed

Intellectually engaging; 'critically demanding'

Includes aspects of learners' lives, i.e learner interests & issues

Refugee-Centred Approach

Learner Centred Features

'Refugee experience' & trauma known & acknowledged

Learner has 'control' and shares power

Identity developed / affimed

Multi-cultural & pluralistic environment

Emotions allowed

Teaching moments "captured"

Learners are reflected in programmes and classrooms

Teacher Qualities & Skills

Humility

Empathy

Compassion

Flexibility

Willing to get to know learners

Ethical behaviour

Affirming behaviour

Reflective

Critical thinking

Active listening

Facilitation

Effective teaching

Knowledge of learner background

Aware of own assumptions

Vision for Social Justice

Adult learners seen as equals, but teacher also acknowledges her/his own expertise and shares this
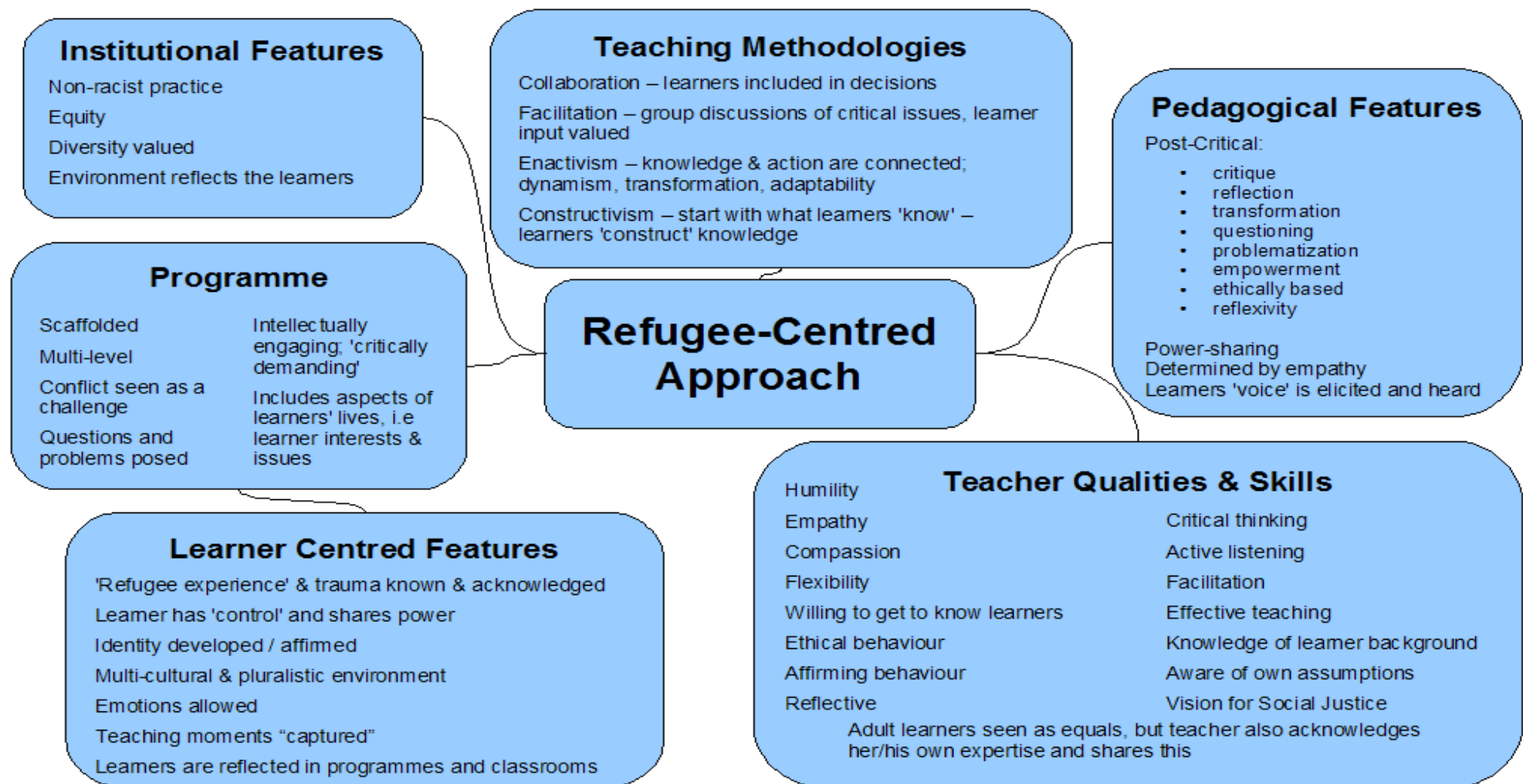
Figure 3: Refugee-Centred Approach

Chapter Five: Programme Models

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores implementation guidelines for a post-critical refugee-centred approach. Programme considerations are explored and exemplars of praxis provided. The chapter begins with a brief description of the existing on-arrival programme at the Centre for Refugee Education and comparisons are made with overseas models. Post-critical elements are identified in the international models with a view to possibly emulating these. Strategies for developing critical facilities are discussed, and in doing so, this chapter examines pedagogical practices and activities that enhance opportunities for transformation, empowerment, and identity affirmation. These practices also encourage the development of skills that support integration into the new society. Lesson exemplars illustrate how philosophical underpinnings of the post-critical approach can be applied to praxis. Finally, the issue of programme content (topics) and materials-selection is discussed.

Refugees are likely to be more vulnerable than other migrants as a result of previous trauma. Responsive approaches will incorporate educational activities and environments appropriate to their special needs. These programmes therefore, may not necessarily be the same as programmes for migrants and may include elements for addressing trauma or issues of conflict. This chapter attempts to demonstrate the application of some of those elements.

5.2 New Zealand and Overseas Models

Salient Features and Comparisons

The duration of the Mangere adult reception programme is approximately five weeks and comprises discrete 'Language' and 'Orientation to Life in New Zealand' components. The content of both programmes dovetail, so that if the orientation topic is 'The New Zealand Medical Service' for instance, the language programme will cover speech items for doctors' visits, accessing emergency services and reading prescriptions. The English language programme is currently offered three days per week and the

orientation component is delivered bilingually over the remaining two days and consists of a wide range of topics about living in New Zealand.

Liev (2001) suggests that an effective orientation programme should: "provide information to enable refugee students to live harmoniously with others in every aspect of their life" and also " support the development of psychological and social coping skills for living in a new culture" (Liev, 2001, p. 9). Susan Elliott, a previous manager of the Centre for Refugee Education, said all refugee service providers should "emphasize accessibility, inclusiveness, empowerment, cultural sensitivity, collaboration, accountability, and respect" (Elliott, 2004, pp. 8-9).

The challenge is to translate these aims into praxis. Previously the orientation programme at the CRE has employed a predominantly lecture format and transmission approach (see Appendix B, which contrasts this approach with Enactivism). Bilingual interpreters who are present during these sessions, frequently prefer this approach as it is one they are familiar with and it allows easy and efficient transference of large chunks of information within limited timeframes. Transmission teaching, however, is neither inclusive of learners nor does it seek to impart thinking skills or to develop personal or social characteristics in learners.

Recent innovations at the CRE have incorporated a participatory, facilitated approach in a trial programme. The success of this has been evidenced by an enthusiastic refugee (and teacher) response. The Centre also has other inclusive, collaborative and accountability practices such as the existence of an "Advisory Board" of community representatives who advise about local and cultural issues. Staff monitoring and 'de-briefing' practices and some learner choices are also incorporated. But there are areas for improvement and the approaches discussed in this document could be applied to both the language and orientation programmes (although they are particularly pertinent to the latter).

There exist in Norway, the Netherlands, the United States and Australia, refugee orientation programmes which incorporate methodologies containing strong student-centred features. These programmes also – to a greater or lesser extent – provide opportunities for students to reflect on, contribute to and apply the information conveyed.

Many overseas models also acknowledge the importance of 'citizenship' programmes for new migrants. These programmes incorporate the notion of participatory action (enactivism) which is linked to agency and empowerment. The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE)[38] emphasizes that the role of empowerment in integration is crucial and it recommends that programmes include opportunities for refugees to develop agency (European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2002). Citizenship programmes generally encourage empowerment and may include the following features:

- information about the new country
- understanding the rights and responsibilities of being a citizen in that country
- an identity based on the democratic ideal (Mutch, 2005) - for example, that participants see their own role in democratic processes
- a commitment towards the betterment of one's community through participation
- the capability needed to function effectively as citizens

(The Advisory Council of Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2002)

Mutch (2005) comments that in the USA, Canada, Australia and Great Britain, citizenship (or 'civics) programmes are compulsory, yet in New Zealand they "barely rate a mention" (2005, p.49). Her article argues, however, that these notions have indeed been embraced (albeit subtly) by the New Zealand education system; but they "exist in a range of disguises" (p.49). Mutch adds that there is huge potential for strengthening and enhancing existing provision and she believes citizenship programmes should be made more explicit in this country. Her concept of what should be included in such programmes coheres with many of the precepts of critical teaching proposed in this study. She says the programme should be 'ecological', that is embedded in the curriculum, as well as in teacher and institutional practices (Mutch, 2005).

Elements that could be incorporated into a citizenship programme include: co-operative learning, understanding and coping with cultural differences, critical thinking strategies, non-violent conflict resolution skills, awareness of environmental issues, and "attitudes

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[38] ECRE is a pan-European organisation which promotes the integration of refugees and others in European communities.

and values that help positive relationships between individual citizens and the state"
(Barr, 2005, p. 56).

In the 2002 ECRE[39] position paper, the primary recommendation is that integration programmes should occur as soon as possible after refugees have received permanent residency (European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2002). In New Zealand, permanent residency is granted to quota refugees on arrival in the country, and the five-week CRE programme occurs simultaneously. The development of skills and attitudes promoted in this thesis is a long-term process, which suggests that either the period of learning at Mangere should be extended, or there should be a continuation of resettlement programmes in communities (which include critical orientation topics, language and literacy).

The ECRE report describes the challenges and requirements that integration poses, and it suggests the following as programme content 'domains' to support refugees in meeting those challenges:

- Language tuition
- Citizenship information
- Social responsibility education
- Understanding and respect for the plurality of cultures in communities.

All Dutch and Norwegian language programmes must include a social or civic element (Strauss & Hayward, 2005). Additionally the goals of the Norwegian resettlement programme stated in the Immigration Department brochure for new migrants are: to reduce culture shock, to understand the values and culture of the host country, and to restore control (agency) and reduce anxiety (UDI, 2004). To this end, the Norwegian resettlement model incorporates provision for the employment of 'minority advisors' who inform educators of refugees (and other service providers) regarding cultural issues. They also advise and support refugees during the integration process.

The UNHCR Resettlement Handbook (2002) recommends the inclusion in programmes of 'critical issues' such as parenting, changing family relationships, drug use, bullying

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[39] See footnote on previous page.

and racism (p.260) as well as domestic violence and intergenerational conflict (p.142) and it stresses the importance of restoring control to refugees and promoting their capacity "to re-build a positive future" (UNHCR, 2002, p.140). They are in concord with sentiments expressed in this project that methods for imparting skills, ideas and strategies should be empowering and should include interactive techniques "such as discussions, group work and role plays" (p.145). The UNHCR handbook also cites "cultural understandings" as being critical for both the receiving and the refugee communities[40]. It says programmes should "reflect an understanding and respect of the culture and past experiences of resettled refugees" (p.145); and adds that "resettled refugees may have not previously analysed their own cultures and values in a systematic way. Awareness of one's own culture often comes about through exposure to a new culture" (UNHCR, 2002, p.145). These statements underscore the importance of programmes that enable reflective, critical consideration of ideas, issues and behaviours including those of teachers.

Both the Norwegian and Dutch orientation programmes include drama and role plays for developing personal skills, allowing personal expression and for encouraging critical reflection on learned material. In these sessions participants have a safe forum for expressing disagreement or discomfort and they have the opportunity to experiment with new roles and cultural behaviour (Strauss & Hayward, 2005). Role plays are a useful strategy for incorporating student voice and expression of creative responses to the new culture. Refugee dramatic performances, however, may include reference to their prior traumatic experiences. In this case it may be necessary for teachers to have professional training, and 'de-briefing' or professional supervision. There is a model of therapeutic role-play/drama being implemented in an Australian English Language Centre (for teenagers) (Massing, 2006). In this programme students use their own 'voice' to tell their stories of flight. This depersonalises the (often painful) stories and when they are performed publicly, host communities gain insights into the refugee experience.

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[40] Host community education is a critical component for successful refugee integration. However, strategies for its implementation are beyond the scope of this thesis.

The International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) in the United States embraces an approach to refugee education which has 'post-critical' elements. Interestingly, in the 'Introduction' to their programme booklet it is stated that educators found that "providing refugees with information and facts was <u>in</u>adequate. … Bosnians were having difficulty transferring the information they had acquired within the context of American culture" (ICMC, 2004, p.2). The new ICMC resettlement programme, therefore, seeks to make information more accessible and transferable, and it has adopted a facilitative approach in order to achieve this. The planners developed a series of exercises they felt would enhance, amongst other things, self awareness and self esteem, problem-solving skills, tolerant and open-minded attitudes, and information processing skills. Critical topics addressed in the ICMC programme include: Post Trauma and Self Care; Coping with Health Issues; Upward Mobility; Equality of Differences; Stereotyping; Stages of Culture Shock; Family Roles; Expressing Feelings. These topics reflect common integration concerns for refugees.

The ICMC programme (USA) is delivered by means of facilitated group activities with participants involved in panels, role plays, discussions, observations, and pair-work. Learners are involved in a learning cycle of sharing, interpreting, generalizing, applying and experiencing. The aim is to assist the participant's ability to transfer the knowledge and information s/he acquires during the orientation programme (ICMC, 2004). This is consistent with the aims of the 'refugee-centred' approach suggested in this thesis.

5.3 Is it ESOL?

One of the questions to be addressed with regard to the provision of refugee resettlement programmes, is whether English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)[41] teachers and language programmes are indeed the appropriate location for the incorporation of what are conventionally known as 'orientation' or 'citizenship' topics. There are persuasive reasons for this being the case. However, teachers may need to undergo additional training in order to be able to overlay a post-critical, facilitative approach onto current language programmes (and in the case of the CRE, on to the

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[41] Also known as EAL (English as an Additional Language).

orientation programme). The rationale for placing orientation/citizenship programmes within ESOL is primarily that there is credibility in language classes amongst migrant (including refugee) learners and also teachers are trained and experienced in working with students from other cultures.

The UNHCR refugee resettlement guide also discusses what it terms "the advantages of delivering orientation in the context of language training" (p.151) and agrees that one can expect improved participation rates on these courses but, perhaps more crucially, in combined language/orientation programmes refugees can acquire conceptual understandings simultaneously with the "language they will require to negotiate systems and resources in the receiving society" (p.151). They add that the language acquisition itself will be improved because the content is more relevant to immediate refugee interests and needs (UNHCR, 2002).

A further vital issue is the maintenance of trust and safety for refugee learners. Chapter two of this thesis discussed the impact of the refugee experience on the learner's ability to trust, and subsequent chapters suggested that a staggered approach in introducing unfamiliar teaching methods and learning strategies was necessary, so that trust could be re-established. Fridland and Dalle (2002) found that beginning a programme with language content and then moving on to cultural topics was a very successful model for establishing trust. ESOL teachers are the primary initial providers of education for refugee learners, and are therefore ideally placed to present positive experiential opportunities to newly arrived refugees and to promote constructive attitudes and behaviours for integration (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). However, although ESOL programmes usually cover cultural adaptation topics, they do not generally look critically at the issues. It would seem, however, that the safe environment of the language class is a good place to begin the more challenging critical work. At the Centre for Refugee Education (CRE) at Mangere, there is the luxury of splitting the programme into two discrete parts, however, a truly successful, critical resettlement programme requires more than 5 weeks, and this thesis suggests the continuation of the orientation occur within the framework of ESOL programmes in the community.

The inclusion of critical topics within ESOL enriches that field as well. Rajagopolan says the greatest merit in critical pedagogy lies in the fact that issues previously outside the realm of ESOL can now be exploited (Rajagopolan, 2000). He adds that in implementing a critical programme, teachers inculcate in learners a critical attitude with

respect to the way they see the world. This attitude is important in preparing migrants and refugees for integration and should be included in all English language programmes that serve this group.

5.4 Programme Delivery Methods

The post-critical approach has been discussed in depth previously in this document. The following section examines methods and strategies for implementing this methodology and begins with a discussion on instilling critical thinking techniques in students.

Models for teaching critical thinking

Critical thinking is one element of the critical approach. The teaching approaches or styles identified with the Critical Thinking Model are: Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS[42]), Socratic Dialogue, The Hands-on Approach and Constructivism/Enactivism. Discussion of these terms and their application to a refugee education programme follows.

In Critical Thinking programmes, Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS) (Pogrow, 1996) are incorporated explicitly into the curriculum. HOTS emphasize explanation, demonstration and application of acquired knowledge. These strategies can be imparted using Socratic Dialogue, Constructivist/Enactivist models or other approaches. Critical thinking skills should not be dealt with superficially as discrete 'topics'; they should be incorporated into all aspects of the programme and used to develop critical faculties so that genuine interrogation of issues or assumptions can occur (Brookfield, 1995; Facione, 1998, 2006 (updated 1998 article); Huitt, 1993; Pennycook, 2001). A practical application for the language and orientation programmes at the CRE, is that cultural practices, discourse matters and social issues can be shared, contrasted and critiqued using HOTS strategies.

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[42] This term was coined in the United States 25 years ago, where HOTS programmes were designed to assist disadvantaged learners.

Socratic Dialogue is the term given to discussion during which student thought is elicited, and thinking skills developed. A prototype Socratic method might proceed as follows:

- an issue is raised
- structured discussion follows during which the teacher/facilitator attempts to probe beneath the surface, stimulate questions, identify and reflect upon assumptions, and discover implications and consequences.

The types of critical thinking skills teachers might wish to develop using Socratic dialogue are: interpretation, analysis, evaluation, inference, explanation, and self-regulation. The dispositions that are favourable for critical processes are: inquisitive, judicious, truth-seeking, confident in reasoning, open-minded, analytical, and systematic (Façione, 2006). The Socratic Method can only succeed if facilitators themselves are critical thinkers. Assuming this to be the case, this is an approach that can readily be applied to critical topic discussions on the CRE orientation programme (see §5.7 later in this chapter).

'Hands-on, Minds-on' activities are those in which participants are engaged actively in physical processes during learning. They perform activities, formulate questions, brainstorm to find answers and then may evaluate or discuss their own results. Learners construct meaning out of experiences (constructivist[43] approach) and are given the opportunity to think critically, to work through problems and make connections with the real world (enactivist approach). These activities are generally performed collaboratively. This genre is one that may be successful with learners who have had minimal prior formal education and who have previously learnt through observation and active participation. On the other hand, it may be very unfamiliar to learners whose previous formal education has primarily been delivered using solely transmission methodology. Hands-on, minds-on activities, therefore, should be selected and scaffolded as appropriate for each group. The approach assists in developing problem-

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[43] See detailed comparison of this approach with the conventional 'transmission' approach in Appendix C.

solving skills and in enhancing learner collaboration as well as autonomy[44]. It also promotes relationship-building.

Pedagogical Dispositions and Models

Bonds and relationships are pivotal in post-critical programmes. The importance of positive relationships for instilling trust and confidence in learners has been stated previously. It was also posited that authentic teacher/learner relationships assist in reinstating feelings of safety – a critical element in recovery for refugees. Further aspects of this relationship are now explored and ideas for teacher practice are presented.

Danforth and Smith (2005), in a chapter aptly entitled: "Teaching as Relationship", stress the importance of developing caring, empathic relationships with learners. In refugee learner situations empathy is critical if teachers wish to respond appropriately in relation to trauma. Chapter four suggested empathy can be acquired from an understanding of refugee experiences and the manifestations of trauma. Empathy is also an important quality to develop in learners. Teacher modelling of empathic relationships nurtures the same quality in students which can be further fostered through exercises that generate personal connections with discriminatory experiences (Danforth & Smith, 2005).

A further helpful attribute for teachers working with refugees is a sense of humility. Refugees suffering from trauma may have diminished self esteem and confidence combined with feelings of vulnerability and disempowerment (Stone, 1995). Humility is an important component of active listening and is a contributory factor in learner affirmation (see Table 7 which follows) and the restoration of agency. An overly confident or self-assured personality could make tentative or nervous participants feel overpowered. The following table summarizes the features provided throughout this thesis in relation to affirming behaviour and makes suggestions for praxis.

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[44] Section 5.7 of this chapter contains lesson models incorporating this approach.

Table 7: Affirming Classrooms

An affirming classroom is a place where learners are valued, their ideas and opinions are heard, and their backgrounds are reflected in the environment. Below is a list of characteristics that might pertain to an affirming classroom:

- Learner work displayed
- Countries or languages of the learner displayed
- The teacher knows the learners, their histories, cultures, needs
- The classroom is 'safe' – the learner can express feelings and opinions which are listened to, he/she feels valued and cared about**.
- Learners respect and care about one another
- The teacher models how to solve problems – including student behavioural issues which are dealt with in a positive, constructive way that has the potential to result in transformation or personal growth
- Learners feel free to ask questions
- There is a modelling of reflection, dialogue and negotiation
- Listening skills are fostered
- Class 'rules' are created collaboratively
- The teacher ensures there are no dominating individuals in the room (including the teacher)

** *Students may not feel safe when they are continuously confronted with tasks or lessons that are very different from what they have experienced previously – e.g. group discussion, programme critiquing, talks on sexual health or women's rights, and so on. These topics will need to be considered carefully and teachers should also take appropriateness, timing and pacing into account. Group discussion skills may need to be explicitly taught, modelled and scaffolded.*

An additional teacher attribute required for post-critical teaching is self-awareness of values and assumptions. Teacher praise, for example, is an indicator of teacher values. Praise is also a powerful re-enforcer of learner behaviour and the things a teacher chooses to praise reflect her/his own values. Values which may be inclusive or

exclusive can be conveyed through praise. Teacher management of inappropriate behaviour in the classroom similarly indicates teacher values and may even reveal their own insecurities or prejudices. This highlights the importance of teacher reflexivity. Similarly, teacher response or reaction in discussions will reflect his/her own views or biases and, as stated in chapter four, scrutiny of one's own outlook is critical for ensuring that assumptions are made explicit. Secondly, and equally importantly, the teacher's own ability to think critically will determine the extent to which he/she is able to inculcate similar strategies in learners.

A practice engaged in at Centre for Refugee Education is a "Debriefing Session" at the end of each intake, during which teachers discuss issues and concerns and share examples of effective teaching practice. Occurrences of inadvertent teacher bias can be uncovered during these sessions and transformative learning can occur (for teachers) if these are challenged in a trusting environment. An example of such a discussion might be: the presentation of the 'Christian' rather than the 'cultural' interpretation of Easter to students. Subjecting this practice to critical scrutiny might question the rationale of presenting this personal meaning of Easter (and hence also the hidden assumptions) in a secular education programme. Critical examination of teaching materials and practices cannot effectively be implemented without teacher assumptions being made explicit.

The de-briefing session at Mangere is a useful model for supporting teaching staff in coping with the personal consequences of dealing with traumatised individuals. It provides a forum for the expression of feelings and reactions and creates the opportunity for mutual support and 'closure' at the end of each intake. The session is managed using similar guidelines to facilitated group discussion (described in chapter four).

5.5 Features of Post-critical Programme Design

Features cited previously in this document as important in refugee-centred programmes include the following: cultural sensitivity, inclusiveness, pluralism /diversity / multiculturalism, and classroom safety. The application of these features in programmes is now explored.

Cultural sensitivity

It is generally agreed that programmes must be delivered in culturally appropriate ways to avoid alienating learners who will then be less likely to be able to assimilate the learning (Auerbach, 1992; Fong, 2004; Hamilton & Moore, 2004). McDermott and Liev (1991) stress the importance of constantly monitoring the cultural appropriateness of teaching approaches in refugee orientation programmes. If teachers are well informed of refugee cultural backgrounds, they will act more sensitively towards learners. If strategies, systems and methodologies are employed that ensure learner information is conveyed to teachers, classrooms will be culturally inclusive. Cultural advisors, community advisory boards, reflexive and reflective practice, monitoring, supervision and de-briefing are all examples of such strategies. Post-critical and enactivist approaches insist that teachers also always elicit information and feedback from learners and this feedback (applied 'critically') should influence programme design and teaching methodology. Culturally inclusive environments become multicultural environments.

Inclusiveness

Women, minority ethnicities, single parents, gay and lesbian learners (though rarely identified amongst refugee groups), pre-literate or disabled learners, are all examples of minority groups who might be represented in a refugee classroom. Ideally all groups within the refugee class should be represented in materials (texts, displays and posters), in discussion topics and in the classroom discourse. If teachers engage in reflexive practice (perhaps peer appraisal), they can assess whether their language is inclusive of all groups within the class. Reflective teachers could, for example, examine what names are used in examples, or how their responses might alienate or discriminate against any group or individual. The table (Table 8) overleaf provides some suggestions for teacher reflective questions regarding 'inclusiveness'.

Table 8: Learner Inclusiveness

- What features in your classroom reflect the current learner group?

- Are the voices on tapes or people on videos gender balanced? Also, what are the roles of different genders? Are they stereotypical?

- Are **refugees** depicted in materials, texts, videos or stories? (Gray, 2002)

- Do the learner tasks provide for multiple levels and abilities within the class?

- List your assumptions about the different learner groups within the class.

- Do illustrations reflect the range of refugee learners in the current group?

- What cultural practices are you aware of that should be catered for in your planning? How can you ascertain more knowledge of these?

- Is the work tailored so that all learners are included in contributions? (Pair and small group work and targeted questioning might assist in achieving this).

An inclusive teacher creates a pluralistic environment. Terry Ford (1999) says that pluralism (see Footnote 18) in education can only succeed if teachers change (with each group of students). Furthermore, if teachers are not conscious of their own worldview, they cannot assist others in sharing theirs, and if they are unable to critically analyse their own cultural perspectives, they will be unsuccessful in supporting learners to do so (Ford, 1999). Teachers could critique their own worldview in professional development sessions with questionnaires or in discussion groups. Table 9 (overleaf) provides questions for teacher reflection as well a list of some of the requisites of 'inclusive' or 'multicultural' teachers.

Table 9: Questions for Teacher Critical Self-Reflection

- Can I articulate a philosophical framework for my teaching? (i.e., Do I hold beliefs that underpin my teaching style and curriculum choices?) What are they? Now think of a contrary position and try to justify that position.

- What are my aims and values in relation to my teaching? (Listen to and compare the aims of other staff members)

- Is problem solving important? What do I do in my classroom to help students solve problems?

- What practices do I engage in to ensure that I can obtain objective evaluations of my teaching?

- How could my own background impact on my teaching and on learners? (What are the aspects of my background that could influence my relationship with refugee learners and the emotions they may trigger in me?)

- Could my methodologies have a negative impact on the development of autonomy in my students? (For example, an overly solicitous approach encourages co-dependence.)

- What do I understand about the principles of approaches and methodologies appropriate to refugee learning?

- How are lessons best planned so that content is accessible and digestible to learners?

- How is my classroom organized (e.g., furniture, displays, routines) and what does this reveal about my pedagogical framework or biases?

- How does my classroom reflect the learners who study init?

- How do I ascertain the prior knowledge of my students?

- How is new learning assessed? How can I justify my means of assessment pedagogically and philosophically?

- How is feedback given – and what feedback is given to learners?

- What did I find out about the students – their background, interests, talents and concerns?

- What relationship do I have with my students, and what type of relationship do I want to have? What do I believe about teacher-learner relationships?

- What areas of improvement can I identify for myself? If none are visible, what further methods can I employ to identify these?

- Are there hidden agendas in my teaching or in my programme or in the institution I work for? How can I seek to identify these?

- Am I inadvertently 'silencing' any groups? How would I know if this was occurring?

- Am I a critical thinker myself – how is this reflected in my practice – in particular, in the classroom?

- Am I encouraging my students to be critical thinkers? How?

- What evidence do I understand about 'power' and the classroom?

- Is there any research to support what I am trying to achieve?

- When was the last time I engaged in academic reading?

Cusher, in (Hamilton & Moore, 2004) also suggests teachers prepare students' minds to include a diversity of viewpoints, behaviours and values, thus preparing them for life in multicultural societies. In order to accomplish this, teachers need to acknowledge the diversity of opinions and cultural behaviours that are already present in the classroom. Cusher further comments that teachers should also set clear behaviour expectations which promote a co-operative climate. A list of multicultural behaviours and guidelines for education are provided in Table 10 (following) and in Appendix D. These ensure that not only is the environment inclusive for learners, but also that learners themselves are supported in gaining multicultural perspectives. Multicultural environments modelled in classrooms will have implications for the wider society.

Table 10: Multicultural Behaviours for Teachers

- Acknowledge the cultural diversity in the room - look at the similarities and differences in the various cultures represented
- Appreciate difference – see difference as positive
- Attempt to understand the reason behind the fact that laws and practices are different in different societies
- Have a commitment to a multicultural society

- Ensure multiculturalism is reflected in the classroom – displays, books, languages, arrangement of furniture etc
- Be tolerant of difference and willing to compromise
- Discuss universal values (kindness, fairness, tolerance etc)
- Share details about all the cultures represented (in the room) to others in the class
- Practise culturally appropriate responses
- Accommodate different learning styles
- Eradicate cultural stereotypes

Appreciation of diversity and difference contributes towards the promotion of principles of social justice. In a critical environment meaningful learning which is related to the world of the student will potentially develop critical thinking and empathy and these qualities enhance the possibility of social responsibility, which in turn lead to social action. Giroux reminds us that the aim of the post-critical approach is to see the shortcomings in society and to take action (Giroux, 1992). There is a degree to which the success of acculturation and integration of refugees is dependent upon the responses of the host community through interactions and especially through policy. The receiving community need to be educated too and should be informed about:

- Who the new group are (ethnic and historical backgrounds, the refugee experience)
- How they (as hosts) can be welcoming – what steps they can take to show this (e.g. the media could represent the newcomers positively and consider occasionally reflecting their languages, culture and identity in pictures and stories)
- The value of multiculturalism and its contribution towards the texture of society, the joy of experiencing things that are different, the excitement of experiencing different cultures and an understanding through all of this that we share a common humanity.

The ramifications and ratification of the above recommendations are, however, outside the scope of this research – although it must be stated that without them, the success of recommendations in this thesis are limited.

Restoring safety

Critical in the success of a resettlement programme is the establishment of a 'safe' environment for learners – physically, emotionally and psychologically. The following features contribute to classroom 'safety':

Table 11: Features of Classroom 'Safety'

- The classroom is welcoming; i.e. the furniture is arranged in a tidy, welcoming and if possible, culturally appropriate manner; the room is airy yet warm; display walls and bookshelves contain materials that learners can identify with – reflecting their own countries, cultures and languages.
- The teacher is calm and friendly (and smiles).
- The teacher explains what is going to occur and why. Learners are advised of any change in routine. Perhaps a daily timetable is written on the board.
- Routines are set and followed – when there has been instability in the past, the restoration of routine is important; constant disruption to routines is a further risk factor for refugees (Ahearn & Athney, quoted in Hamilton & Moore (2004)).
- The teacher behaviour is consistent – unpredictable behaviour can be disturbing for refugee learners.
- Discussion about human rights can validate the importance of the refugee experience and restore a sense of safety (Frater-Mathieson, 2004).
- Teachers practise culturally appropriate behaviour in the classrooms (e.g. checking whether females feel comfortable sitting next to males, teachers do not touch students of the opposite gender, respect and accommodation is shown for religious practices etc). Teachers learn the cultural 'manners' of each group.
- Teachers are aware of cultural practices and religious or national festivities or celebrations – this information can be obtained from students if it cannot be accessed via the internet.
- Teaching environments need to have strong leadership, a positive attitude (towards refugees) and effective teaching – all of which will help create safe learning environments for learners (Hamilton & Moore, 2004, pp.84-91).

5.6 Critical Programme Topics

Careful topic selection in a critical programme can provide opportunities for problem-solving – an important skill required in integration. Paolo Freire used students' own cultural and personal experiences to teach problem-solving skills He discussed issues in the students' lives and encouraged them to think of ways they could address the challenges they were facing (Freire, 1970, 1974). Freire provided students with the knowledge they needed in order to solve these problems. Critical issues raised by refugees in New Zealand were cited in chapter three (§3.4.1). A range of resettlement issues that New Zealand refugees identified as requiring support were highlighted in the NZIS Dunstan report (2004). These included: parenting; adolescence; generational conflicts; gender roles; coping with change; skills for fitting in to a new society, culture or educational institution; dispute management and information about current affairs. The topics, skills and issues listed above should feature in the on-arrival orientation programme and be consolidated in follow-up programmes. A facilitated discussion approach would seem the most appropriate methodology for embracing these topics.

A list of suggested critical programme topics is provided in Table 12 overleaf.

Table 12: Critical Programme Topics

Topic Suggestions:
- Parenting in a New Society   - Intergenerational Issues for Refugee Migrants   - Gender Roles & Issues   - Religion and Secularity   - Culture, Culture Shock & Cultural Change and Adjustment   - Polygamy, FGM, Arranged Marriage   - Domestic Violence   - Positive Anger Management / Conflict Resolution   - Ethical Behaviour   - Discrimination, Prejudice, Racism   - Social Class   - Sexuality & Sexual Health   - Ethnicity   - Intergenerational Conflict   - Human Rights   - Services and Provision for Refugees in New Zealand   - Safety – Household, Water, Road, Sun, Food   - The Law in NZ & Police   - NZ Maori and the Treaty of Waitangi   - Budgeting, Consumer Rights, Loan 'Sharks', Bribery   - Politics, Elections, Democratic Processes   - Preventable Accidents   - Drugs, Alcohol, Smoking   - Respect & Tolerance of Difference

Teachers of refugees may be tentative about introducing controversial issues into the classroom. The post-critical approach endorses the inclusion of controversial topics, but

insists that careful consideration needs to be applied to the consequences of doing so. Most ESOL programmes incorporate cultural adaptation topics – that is, topics about living in the new country and the daily functional language requirements. But very few programmes include discussion opportunities about controversial or confrontational material. Shor, Hinchey and Wink agree with the post-critical stance that facilitators or teachers should focus the instruction on 'problems' or controversial issues that might concern the learners. They advise teachers to begin by gathering materials and resources and then to problematize these topics. This should be followed with dialogue during which the teacher assists learners in exploring ways of thinking about the problem and ultimately perhaps taking action (Hinchey, 2004; Wink, 1997).

Textbooks and course materials seldom include controversial topics. These resources are frequently sexist and rarely, if ever, inclusive of refugee learners. Gray (2002) says language texts "are highly wrought cultural constructs and carriers of cultural messages" and they are not 'critical' – because, asserts Gray, publishers avoid controversial topics in their efforts not to offend anyone. Coursebooks generally comprise a series of 'safe' topics such as: travel, holidays, shopping, going to the doctor and socializing. However, Morgan (1998) pointedly states: "Students are not just entering a new culture of holidays, sports, and food. They are also entering a new culture of politics, employment, education, and family life". And he adds:" Students enter a social world where sophisticated forms of exclusion persist." This emphasizes the importance of including topics that relate not only to the real concerns and issues of students, but also that look at subtle societal power constructs which they may need to circumvent.

It can be possible to teach controversial topics in a safe way – (without sanitizing them) and the methodology for doing so is detailed in previous chapters. Incorporating topics about the real concerns in students' lives, proffers the possibility of student-centred, enactivist learning. Moreover, for refugee learners, it is frequently the controversial topics that contain the most relevance. The UNHCR recommends that orientation programmes *do* include topics "on sensitive cross-cultural issues, such as female genital mutilation, polygamy, domestic violence (spouse, elder and child abuse), and rights of the individual, including gay rights" (UNHCR, 2002, p.159).

5.7 Model Lesson Plans

This section includes practical suggestions for applying the post-critical rules and principles discussed in this thesis. The proposed lesson plans are guidelines only and provide a basis upon which more detailed or individualised programmes can be written. The tables and figures in this thesis also provide a framework for designing and planning programmes.

Learner Centred Approaches in Language or Resettlement Programmes

1) Language Experience Approach (LEA) -with a critical perspective

The LEA is an approach based on learner input which is used extensively in literacy programmes. Learners contribute ideas and language which forms the shared written text. This is later read by the whole class and the language provided by the learners is used to create further classroom activities and tasks which reinforce reading skills. This model can be altered to incorporate a critical dimension. The example below illustrates how a typical topic can be converted by adding a critical discussion:

LEA Topic: Names

1. *What are your names?*

2. *How are individuals named in your culture?*

3. *In New Zealand, we generally use just two of our names and the first name is the name we are called by. Our second name is our family name.*

4. *Let's list all our names on the board.*

5. *Allow learners to write their own names on the board (using their own script if they wish). Bilingual aides could assist pre-literate learners. Read all names together - teacher and students.*

6. *Write an introductory phrase (in English – e.g.: My name is …) appropriate to class level, in front of learner names. Practice various reading and speaking exercises associated with names, introductions etc.*

7. *Share cultural practices regarding introductions. There may be some hidden agendas in some of these practices and these could be examined – for example, in English the sexism inherent in the honorifics of Miss & Mrs versus Mr. Polite and impolite introductions could also be discussed.*

8. *Or: discuss onomastics (naming practices): (higher level) e.g. the fact that female first names are frequently diminutive versions of male names e.g.: Paul,*

Paulette; Joseph, Josephine; Daniel, Danielle or Daniella. Or that it is acceptable to give a girl a boy's name, but not the other way round – e.g. Leslie; Sidney (Sydney); Jo, Sam, George (the latter three are diminutives which can be used for girls and boys, but male diminutives that sound like girls names are never used e.g. Josie (for Joseph), Francie etc). And male names like Evelyn, Vivian, Hilary – when they are appropriated as female names, they stop being used as male names. Female names also often have softer sounds e.g.: Isabelle, Alicia, Joanna, Charlotte. What do these naming practices tell us about our society's attitudes regarding gender? Discuss other cultural attitudes and practices regarding naming.

9. *Name cards (for desks): Put student names in English on one side of the card and in student home languages or script on the other side.*

10. *As a teacher, practice using both names (English and home language) in your own notes and communications – this will make your teaching more 'inclusive'.*

2) Problem Posing

Ideally problems or issues will emerge from classroom discussions. The perceptive teacher will recognize these and seize the learning moment. Potential topics could arise from classroom issues – for example interaction difficulties between students, or from a response to the learning material, or responses in relation to learning to live in a new culture (acculturation or integration challenges). One model is described below:

Gender Role Changes

1. *Tell me about the respective male and female roles in your societies. What do you know about NZ gender roles? (Add these to the brainstormed lists. Look at the differences and similarities).*

2. *Why do you think these differences exist? Are role differentiations to do with culture or religion or habit?*

3. *Do roles or cultures change? Can you think of any examples? Why do roles change?*

4. *What do you think will happen in NZ? Do you think the roles in your family might change?*

5. *Why do you think family roles are different in different cultures? In NZ – why do you think the role of women has changed in the last generation or so?*

6. *Have you had changes in your family before? How did you cope with the change?*

7. *How will women/men (in this group) feel about changes that might occur?*

8. *In many countries men are used to much more authority in the home – but in New Zealand, women have equal rights and freedom e.g. property, divorce and paid employment – what do you think about this? When you move into the*

community, women may get employment before their husbands – if this happens in your family, how will it change the way adults feel and act in households?

(**Note**: *Both men and women need support in adjusting to the changes.*)

The vignette in Appendix C describes a recent attempt to apply a critical approach in a discussion about gender equality.

3) Using Story-telling and Metaphor in a Critical Programme

Story-telling is a common way of learning in many cultures. Understandings about culture or values can be shared through story-telling. Shared stories are also a useful medium for learning about the different cultural perspectives in the classroom. Traditional tales (not Eurocentric ones) can be obtained from libraries and used for language teaching. Alternatively, stories can be used for introducing critical discussions. Examples are detailed below:

1) A Chinese tale goes like this: A man lost his axe. Then he saw his neighbour's son walk by. The son looked like a thief, acted like a thief, dressed like a thief. Then the man found his axe. The neighbour's son walked by. He walked tall, he looked like an honest boy, acted like an honest boy and dressed like an honest boy.

Do you think the boy was a thief? What is the message this story is telling us? What is the message about the way we see or perceive things? Are they always what they seem?

2) Show pictures of optical illusions. What do these pictures tell us about perception?

What message do you think these two exercises might tell us about moving into a new society? How can these ideas help with settling into a new country?

Optical illusions in art or illustration are a useful and entertaining way of introducing the apparent contradiction of opposing ideologies co-existing. Take the well-known vase/two shadows picture or the old lady/young lady – where viewers see either one picture or the other although with careful observation may even see both images at once. These images demonstrate metaphorically the maxim that either things that appear different, in fact often are not, or that there are alternative ways of viewing the same idea. This introduces the idea of pluralism.

4) Refugees Recovering/dealing with Grief or Loss

A post-critical approach in programme design seeks to meet learner needs and for refugees this might include the language required for talking about emotional needs. Below is an example of how this can occur in a class with vulnerable learners. The questions reflect learning in a critical or questioning environment.

1) Teach vocabulary for emotions

2) Questions:

* ∗ *"Name as many emotions as you can. List these on the board*
* ∗ *Which emotions are acceptable to express in your cultures? Under which circumstances?*
* ∗ *How is it acceptable to express these emotions? (Do each one separately, and record different cultural practices in relation to each).*
* ∗ *Is it good to be angry?*
* ∗ *What are the good ways of expressing anger – and the 'bad' ways?*
* ∗ *What might be seen as embarrassing or shameful in your culture?*
* ∗ *What is shameful in NZ culture?*

Notes for teachers:

In New Zealand, people generally express grief by: crying or talking to close friends or to family or to a counsellor. They might say: "I am feeling very sad, depressed, upset".

It is generally acceptable:

* ∗ *to cry amongst friends*
* ∗ *for both men and women to cry (although only women tend to cry openly*
* ∗ *to show sad emotions*

It is acceptable to express anger in the following ways: leaving the room, doing vigorous exercise (e.g. housework, running or sport), playing music, praying or meditating, telling someone "I feel angry" etc.

Being able to talk about emotions can be a helpful and healthy way of coming to terms with them.

In designing facilitated discussion programmes or lessons, it is important to keep questions as open as possible. The initial component of the discussion should comprise questions (not teacher input or information). This allows participants to feel confident about sharing ideas that may be different from the teacher's or the host culture. All responses should be accepted and not 'judged'. Responses that appear to harm others, however, should be questioned or gently disallowed with an explanation given.

5) Sharing Cultural Practices:

A different type of discussion process that is also very relevant to the refugee orientation programme is that of sharing, comparing and contrasting cultural practices, values and beliefs. A process that can be used is that of introducing discussion with the phrase: "Tell me about …." (e.g. domestic responsibilities; birthing rituals; making

bread, …. in your culture). This 'open' statement gives the learners control of the input they contribute. If a '*comparing and contrasting*' exercise follows, this task becomes 'critically' challenging.

6) Problematizing Pedagogy

Teachers can make ESOL topics problematic – e.g. culture, religion, values, women's roles – they can introduce discussion that draws attention to conflicting ideologies. They can problematize their own practice with enquiring questions such as:

* *What is learning?*
* *What is teaching?*
* *What is the difference?*
* *Do teachers learn? When?*

Complete these statements with as many phrases as you can:

* *Students learn best when ….*
* *Teachers teach best when …..*

Also try:

What is culture?
What is language?
What defines morality?

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter acknowledged the challenge of applying the 'post' perspective of critical theory to practice. The observation was made that although aims for refugee education programmes in New Zealand had been articulated previously and these aligned with the proposed theoretical approach for the Centre, these goals had not been implemented in perceptible ways. The reasons for this disparity could derive from the challenges associated with applying the 'theoretical philosophy' to praxis and also from the fact that post-critical approaches to pedagogy require specific skills and dispositions of the teachers. Neither of these aspects is, to my knowledge, explicitly covered in ESOL teacher training programmes. This disparity must be addressed through professional development opportunities if 'refugee-centred' approaches are to be implemented.

Although this chapter cited international resettlement models which contained elements that reflected a post-critical approach, these programmes seemed to be the exception rather than the rule (especially if one peruses programme texts and course books). However, European policy statements regarding refugee resettlement programmes stressed the criticality of empowerment opportunities for refugees, and a couple of programmes (United States and UNHCR) offered compelling models comprising facilitated group discussions with opportunities for rehearsing issues related to the resettlement experience. The USA model sought to address the difficulty refugee learners have in internalizing the plethora of new information presented to them on programmes that employ transmission or lecture-style teaching approaches. It was mentioned that similar concerns have been raised about the New Zealand programme.

This chapter also presented arguments in *favour* of placing critical 'citizenship' programmes within the ESOL framework. There was a preliminary discussion regarding the definition and possible content of 'civic education' programmes and later arguments were presented for combining civic or orientation programmes within language courses. When facilitated group discussions are contained within a language programme, the methodology can be balanced with other (less demanding) activities, and English language skills can be taught concurrently with cultural information which has symbiotic advantages.

Chapter five built on the previous chapter's discussion regarding methodologies appropriate for delivery of the post-critical approach and suggestions for application were provided. The importance of teacher critical development and awareness of personal assumptions was once again stressed. The crucial critical elements of critical questioning, cultural sensitivity, inclusiveness, pluralism and teacher reflexivity were presented with applied examples cited. The chapter also provided the precepts for pedagogical approaches upon which teachers can, themselves, design programmes that incorporate the key tenets of the pedagogy promoted in this thesis. Examples of culturally inclusive, learner-centred, critical lesson plans were included in this chapter to illustrate the application of key concepts. Also included were teacher check-lists and questionnaires which may be useful in applying the multifarious and complex aspects of the post-critical, refugee-centred approach.

Chapter Six: Connecting the Threads

6.1 The Bosnian Experience

Vladimir Madjar (2000), who interviewed Bosnian survivors of the Serbian concentration camps of Trnopolje, Omarska and Kereterm believes them to be the most traumatised group of refugees that have ever been accepted under New Zealand's resettlement programme (Madjar & Humpage, 2000). With this in mind, this conclusion begins by referring back to the vignette on Bosnian refugees presented in Chapter One. An alignment of the implicit salient issues for that group and the associated feature of the post-critical, refugee centred approach illustrate the relevance and implications of the theories and methods discussed in this thesis.

Trauma: The trauma of the Bosnian men was very apparent – their extreme anxiety, vulnerability, obvious recent malnourishment, and the verbalization of their own torture and recent losses – were all made explicit. It is the presence of trauma that establishes a very real and discernable difference between refugees and migrants regardless of whether it is articulated by refugees themselves. In fact, this rarely happens in classrooms although teachers of refugees are generally aware that it exists. The important point here is that it has been argued within this thesis that developing an understanding about the typical traumatic occurrences of the refugee experience – horrific though they may be – is a necessary pre-condition for teachers. They need to understand so that they can develop the requisite personal 'toolkit'[45] that will ensure their responses are appropriate, empathic, genuine (authentic) and helpful. The Bosnian story shown in the introductory chapter demonstrated, amongst other things, how psycho-social needs can be just as important as educational needs for refugees.

However, this thesis also proposes that in spite of significant trauma, the strength of the human spirit and its capacity for resilience can prevail. The Bosnian group exemplified this. They were able to laugh, joke and appreciate their resumption of 'normal' daily

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[45] Knowledge, skills, responsiveness, sensitivities, empathy etc.

behaviour; they quickly engaged in classroom badinage and even included their teacher in their sardonic humour.

Losses: The Bosnian men had lost a great deal – family members and friends, their homes, jobs, lifestyle, language, their neighbourhood, material possessions and especially their much loved homeland. They talked about their homes which they had built themselves and which were turned to rubble. One young man talked about having owned a BMW. They now had to start again and their new life began with the undignified process of 'accepting charity'. Hence, the evaporation of dignity, of trust in human nature, in God even, was added to their inventory of losses. A couple of men in this group revealed that they had lost their 'faith' as they could not believe 'Allah' could allow such terrible things to occur in a world He cared about. This is not a universal response, however. Sometimes refugees become more religious as they find that their spiritual beliefs are, to all intents and purposes, 'all they have left'.

This thesis has emphasized that the implication for teachers regarding loss issues is not only to ensure that they themselves are 'authentic' and predictable, but also that they do not unwittingly drift into the role of 'generous benefactor' to whom refugees should be eternally grateful. It would seem imperative that teachers be aware of the need to raise refugees from the "kneeling position"[46] (described earlier in this document) that denotes dependence, subservience and supplication as well as gratefulness.

Need a trusting relationship: The men from the Bosnian group had been betrayed by people they had always trusted – their friends and neighbours. They had also lost trust in their country's ability to protect them. One of the dreadful occurrences in war is that friends are often asked to inform on apparent 'enemies'. The purpose being to instil distrust and to polarize communities. Students from a Kosovar group clearly expressed this lingering polarization of communities to me. Responding to the frequently disparaging comments made about the opposing ethnic community, I asked them: "Is everyone from this (other ethnic) group guilty? Will you ever forget or forgive them?" "No," was the unequivocal response, "We cannot ever forgive". I was presented with a homily, the impact of which remains with me today. "It's not what they did to us or to

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[46] See §2.3.

our homes", they said. "It's what they did to our children. Imagine, if it was *your* eight year-old daughter, and they took her away and did terrible things to her – would you ever forgive them?"

Empathy can be developed through the process of 'stepping into the shoes' of others – but it seems that occasionally, refugee students actually need to force us into those shoes[47]! However, responses to 'the other' and to their right to have agency, varies. For instance, I was asked by a student in one class if I was aware that there was a member of the 'other' ethnic faction in the group. I replied in the negative and asked how she felt about the situation[48]. She responded saying she was 'fine with it', as he was a nice person. These two examples not only illustrate a range of reactions but also highlight just how important it is for teachers to engage in 'active' listening. They need to show empathy whilst assessing each situation separately. But above all, there must be a level of trust between the learner and the teacher; such a trusting relationship is clearly required if these discussions are to occur in the first instance. (This situation also underlines the significance of employing a heuristic approach[49] in refugee education – that is, an approach which acts as a guide only and around which variations are possible).

Regaining trust in strangers and compatriots is, therefore, an important step in the recovery process for refugees which is another feature emphasized in this thesis. The primary relationship developed by refugees on arrival is generally with their teacher and it is, therefore, crucial that this relationship restores dignity, power, self-esteem, the learner's own 'voice' and a sense of safety. All of these are elements of trust. Hence, if a teacher is inconsistent or lacks authenticity, it follows that learners will be less likely to trust her/him. If that individual is an excellent teacher, is empathic, authentic and consistent, the relationship will become even more significant. The Bosnian group had, regrettably, lost trust even in the reliability of their friends and neighbours. Following

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[47] Cf. Illustration in previous paragraph.

[48] These incidents did not occur on the on-arrival programme, but during language programmes post-Mangere.

[49] See. §3.2.

this, some were reluctant to develop trusting relationships with their New Zealand community and clearly, it would have been very damaging for them had they also not been able to 'trust' the first person they formed a relationship with in their new educational environment. Hence, this thesis has stressed that the re-establishment of a trusting relationship is an important precursor not only to psycho-social recovery but also to undertaking successful learning.

Safety: Refugees come from 'unsafe' environments. The Bosnian men had lived their entire lives in safety and comfort until suddenly this was overturned. Specific teachers and judges were singled out for torture and murder by recalcitrant Serbian students and criminals in the paramilitary as reprisal for punishment those professionals may have meted out in the course of their work in the past (McAllister, 1992). Moreover, ethnic and religious affiliations marked certain individuals as targets for rape, pillage and murder. Within this category nobody was safe. Equally, other refugees have lived for many years in very unsafe contexts. This thesis has, therefore, canvassed the various ways in which teachers can create safe environments in their classrooms. Vigilant teachers will thus be able to observe behaviours which might trigger trauma reaction and they will also know to show an appropriate form of responsiveness. In short, this thesis has reasoned that the establishment of a safe environment helps refugees to gradually readjust and become less fearful.

Language: Refugee learners also need to acquire, as quickly as possible, the rudiments of the language of their country of resettlement. Without this, resettlement is more stressful, challenging and difficult. They will, it is reasoned, integrate less easily. Individuals may be less likely to make friends and less inclined to see the new environment as their home. They will also not be able to express their needs, wants and feelings to others in the host community.

The Bosnian men were fortunate in that they had some English and so were able to collectively express their feelings. This thesis has proposed that successful integration requires a 'feeling of belonging' and this is partly the responsibility of the host community, but notwithstanding this, achieving a sense of belonging is clearly aided by language competency. Inability or difficulty in communicating is a blunt daily reminder to newcomers that they might not 'belong'. The importance of language acquisition, therefore, should not be ignored in discussions about refugee resettlement education.

Familiarity: Most refugees have not experienced the type of learning that occurs in New Zealand classrooms, and many have not had prior formal schooling experience at all. In order to help refugee learners feel comfortable in the learning environment, therefore, teachers, it has been proposed, should learn how to incorporate items or practices into their teaching with which refugee group members are familiar. This might include music, language (from the learner group), pictures, books or cultural practices. I do not recall what might have been familiar in the classroom the Bosnian men joined so many years ago – I suspect there was very little. However, on reflection, I could have placed pictures or materials of Bosnia in the room; this may have been very affirming for a group of people who were missing their homeland. On the other hand, these items may have been trauma triggers for individuals who had so recently lost not only personal items but also landmarks in their home town (such as historical structures). An experienced, aware and well-informed teacher would, I have argued in this thesis, be in a better position to make the sort of judgement call that would be required in this situation. Bilingual assistants, it must be noted, also provide that vital link between cultures and accordingly, they should always be employed on refugee programmes. This factor should, therefore, be intentionally calculated into funding packages, yet that rarely seems to be the case.

Teacher Disposition and Behaviour: The 'voice' of the Bosnian group was not 'heard' by their Yugoslavian compatriots in New Zealand. They, themselves, however, expressed the need to have their stories heard and validated. Although this type of disclosure is not something that would normally occur in an ESOL classroom, this particular group was distinctive because of their very recent trauma (the Kosovars similarly revealed traumatic experiences in the classroom). Generally, the experiences of refugees are made known through official documentation (such as case notes) and teachers are discouraged from allowing personal revelations in class (unless a trained professional is present). Awareness of the refugee experience and empathy for trauma survivors will be reflected in teacher behaviour, and learners will perceive this. Teacher conduct will demonstrate the extent of this understanding. This will be shown in: the organization of the classroom, the selection and design of materials, the teaching methodology, teacher language, and perhaps most importantly, the responses to each individual person and situation in the classroom.

It is axiomatic that methods employed by teachers for facilitating and responding to issues which arise in the classroom are also a reflection of their skills and of their awareness of refugee-centred methods of teaching. The way teachers facilitate discussions, manage learner 'input', affirm, praise and appraise learners do matter. The way teachers themselves, learn, adapt, reflect and improve practice also matters because, teacher disposition, which is the sum of such traits, affects learners. This thesis has proposed that the qualities teachers reflect should include: humility, adaptability, reflexivity, empathy, willingness to learn, a non-judgmental attitude and a desire for improving society (or the world). These behaviours and practices, it is concluded, assist learners to regain voice and agency. They also align with ecological, post-critical perspectives.

The Bosnian men who have formed the basis of this discussion had become powerless and silenced in their homeland. The classroom in New Zealand, however, was a place where they could begin to express their reactions, to voice their opinions, their humour and to display their cultural behaviours. They were, for instance, able to 'host' a meal and entertainment session for staff later in the intake.

The men had been deprived of choices and had been removed from decision-making – UNHCR decided where they would be re-settled, they were 'given' the clothes they wore and were told where they would be living within New Zealand. In class they were told what they would be learning and how they would learn it. Within the confines of these prescribed frameworks, teachers (and indeed support-workers) needed to find every opportunity they could for giving agency – for enabling individuals to express themselves in tandem with making their own decisions. Examples of strategies for prompting this have been provided in previous chapters, and in short, these represent inclusive and learner-centred teaching approaches and programmes.

The Bosnian class was just one of hundreds who have passed through the Centre for Refugee Education in the last twenty years. Their experience was unique to them just as the vignette that has been the basis for this discussion is also unique. But emerging from this 'story', it is argued, are a series of generalisations about refugee needs which can be applied more universally and above all, these underscore the importance of *empathy* and *critical* processes as key elements in the delivery of effective, responsive education for refugees. Finally, although these key components are axiomatically learner-centred,

they are, manifestly, teacher directed and hence the importance of systematic professional teacher development cannot be understated.

6.2 Summary

The aim of this research was to explore possibilities for the design of a 'critical' education programme for refugees for the crucial period immediately after their arrival in New Zealand. Such a programme would not only capture the 'specialness' of the timeframe but also inherently acknowledge the extreme vulnerability of this particular group of learners.

To that end, the thesis began with a story about Bosnian refugees, a story revisited in this final chapter. The impact of this group (and indeed, the impact of all refugees), created the motivation and impetus to explore the development of a more 'refugee-centred' resettlement programme. Such a programme, to be educationally effective as well as refugee-responsive, it has been suggested throughout, must be uniquely designed. This is necessary in order to begin the process of addressing refugee resettlement needs.

Before the pedagogical parameters of such a programme could be explored, however, it was necessary to ascertain, interpret and describe those particular resettlement needs. The initial section of this research, therefore, examined the nature of the refugee experience and the range of needs that are generated either as a consequence of their routinely traumatic experiences or because of the vastly divergent backgrounds from which they had escaped as refugees. This section of the thesis also investigated and critically evaluated post-critical approaches in education. It did so for the specific purpose of being able to implement such approaches for a refugee resettlement programme in the reasoned belief that it would better address the needs of vulnerable and traumatised learners. Moreover, it was demonstrated in this thesis that there remains a gap in resettlement provisions in Aotearoa because there has not yet been a programme designed specifically to develop skills and strategies as well as providing essential information. Hence, a central aim of this thesis was to propose a new approach and make initial implementation suggestions.

Salient refugee needs were determined in the first two chapters of this thesis and these were characterized as fitting within two categories: those pertaining directly to the *experiences of war and cumulative losses,* and those which relate to the *resettling experience* itself. *Resettlement* integration needs were then further discussed as comprising the need to acquire cultural, linguistic and societal knowledge and the need to develop adaptation skills for enabling successful living within a new society. It was also noted that an initial acclimatization period occurs and that opportunities to begin reflecting on the implications of the integration process should be facilitated during this time. The importance of inclusiveness in initial programmes was also stressed. In this way learners can begin to develop a sense of belonging and identity within the host culture/s. This process in particular, in tandem with others, contributes towards a state of multiculturalism. If individuals or groups don't feel that they are part of the new culture, they could develop a separate identity and risk alienation from the main group.

Needs related to the *refugee experience* itself were also identified and these included the need to address issues relating to trauma, the fundamental human right to feel safe, the desirability of forming trusting new relationships as a necessary pre-condition to being able to experience empowerment and ultimately to be able to express one's own 'voice'. There was also acknowledgement of psycho-social needs which may derive from camp or war experiences and this thesis suggested that there were, indeed, responses that could be enacted in an educational setting in relation to these needs. Those responses included incorporation of environmental factors such as multicultural teaching resources, the strengthening of the learner-teacher relationship, critical thinking skills and opportunities for learners to contribute to decisions and discussions and to provide feedback. Furthermore, studies were critiqued from which it was apparent that in order to recover from trauma and to feel safe, refugees need to have 'normalizing' activities including schooling and routines.

Chapter two specifically suggested that teachers who have a clear understanding of the refugee experience and of the manifestations of trauma will have more appropriate and empathic intuitive responses. Additionally, it was argued that if they are also aware of the appropriate *professional* responses to trauma, they would be less likely to trigger re-traumatisation, and instead, would be better equipped to be able to contribute to the recovery process. A compassionate, empathic disposition was, therefore, prescribed as being required by professionals in order to effectively and responsively support trauma

survivors in the classroom. Strategies and approaches for restoring power to refugees thus were seen as critical for refugee resettlement which means that teaching methodologies and approaches that aim to empower learners and give them 'voice' in the classroom represent the ideal for which teachers should be working. How to achieve this ideal was discussed in subsequent chapters.

Logically, it was more appropriate in this thesis to explain the context of the refugee before undertaking any form of critical review of relevant pedagogical theory if only because approaching matters in this way enabled the important role of pedagogical theory to be 'located' against the reality of those entering our country as refugees. Accordingly, chapter three explored the theoretical underpinnings of critical approaches to teaching adult refugee learners. Specifically within this study, the post-structuralist interpretation was favoured because it considers 'micro' issues of social justice and power imbalances whilst also incorporating guidelines for teachers. Micro issues were determined to be more relevant during the refugee on-arrival period which was described as a 'renaissance' period for refugees – the beginning of a new future.

In its practice guidelines, the post-critical approach insists that both teachers and learners engage in continuous reflection, questioning, adaptation and transformation. Refugees as learners are about to embark on a journey of adaptation and change and this should not only be acknowledged by informed and reflexive teachers, but should also be confronted during the orientation programme. The 'post-critical' approach, which is a problematizing approach, requires that issues of 'conflict' or 'difference' (which resettling refugees inevitably face) be addressed rather than being glossed over or even ignored. It was suggested that this process is *'critical'*[50] and suggestions were made for its implementation at initial refugee reception centres such as Mangere, in Auckland, New Zealand.

The 'post-critical' approach was shown to be especially pertinent to refugee education because of its inherent empowering elements. The process of war or marginalisation is, by its very nature, disempowering to most and chapter three discussed how re-empowerment must occur immediately and at every level. Learner affirmation,

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[50] 'Double entendre' intended.

transformation and critical thinking were identified as essential contributors towards empowerment in educational settings. Pedagogical practices that promote power-sharing were also outlined.

The post-critical approach, this thesis indicated, emphasizes compassion, empathy and ethics all of which would appear to be essential components when working with vulnerable learners. This approach is not, therefore, solely concerned with the development of critical thinking skills and a questioning approach (although these are important). The learners and their world, their needs and their interests are paramount in a post-critical programme. Finally, inclusiveness was also highlighted as an important feature of the post-critical approach. Teachers could be seen to implement inclusive practices by accepting diversity, encouraging tolerance, establishing safe cultural practices and environments, and by seeing the minority cultural learner as having potential and as being an asset to our society.

It was stressed throughout this thesis that it is not sufficient to simply apply the principles of a post-critical approach to a refugee programme. The delivery method is equally crucial and chapter four critically examined methodologies that appear to align with the 'post-critical' approach and within these methodologies, the constructs of empowerment and dealing effectively with issues of vulnerability remained pivotal. The methodologies suggested were collaborative, participatory, enactivist and facilitative approaches. The techniques inherent in these methodologies complement and enhance the post-critical approach through their acknowledgment of prior learning, their emphasis on learner identity and the encouragement of learner input. These strategies affirm and empower learners and support transformative behaviour.

Teacher attributes and dispositions were also critically discussed because these are critical if teachers are to successfully deliver a programme with a strong post-critical inflection. Teachers, it was argued should be critically reflective, inclusive, humble, empathic and ethical. Most importantly, they should be critical thinkers themselves. Additionally, teachers, if they do not already have them, will almost certainly need to develop facilitation and active listening skills. These are required by teachers who wish to implement approaches and methods which allow for learner contributions, discussion and even dissent.

Chapter five, therefore, provided practical suggestions for the application of the post-critical approach in refugee education. These suggestions included guidelines for teachers in becoming critical reflexive practitioners. Examples of critical ecological applications for the teaching environment were thus given but most importantly, this chapter presented exemplars of culturally inclusive, learner-centred, critical lesson outlines which illustrate the application of key post-critical concepts.

The thesis also discussed ethical concerns for critical programmes. When learners are given empowerment skills, they gain understandings of the existence of a range of options and they may make choices that are contrary to those expected or desired by families, communities or society. This may result in ostracization or exclusion from cultural or ethnic or 'other' groups and a post-critical programme must not only inform about this possibility, but provide skills for the negotiation and management of these conflicts. Teachers can best impart these skills when their own thinking patterns are imbued with 'critical' processes.

6.3 Conclusion

This thesis has delineated and endorsed programme elements, ecological features, teaching methodologies and practitioner skills which, in sum form a composite post-critical approach. This was represented diagrammatically at the conclusion of chapter four and was labelled a "Refugee-Centred Approach". This diagram was intended to describe a unique or innovative applied approach to refugee education which was born as a consequence of critically examining programmes delivered at the Centre for Refugee Education in Mangere, New Zealand. However, the theoretical underpinnings of this approach are well grounded in the research of others and there are international as well as national variations on this approach which are well established. Importantly, though, it is reasoned that the "Refugee-Centred Approach" can be applied within a broader framework because it is also relevant to the further education of refugees and also of new migrants – particularly those from non- English speaking countries.

An important component in this thesis has been the inclusion of tables, figures and appendices that summarize or tabulate the salient features of all aspects of the proposed 'refugee-centred approach'. The goal was not to write the programme as such, but to

research and apply (to a limited extent) the theoretical underpinnings of a programme that suits the New Zealand context. The key was found in a predominantly post-structural critical approach with methodological components from collaborative, participatory, facilitative and enactivist models. It was found that these approaches weave together well and indeed are complementary. A critical refugee-centred approach is, therefore, seen to be appropriate in refugee (ESOL as well as orientation) resettlement programmes. Critical also means 'important' or 'crucial' and this thesis suggests that a 'post-critical' teaching approach for refugees is exactly that.

Recommendations for Further Research

It would be remiss not to conclude by offering a series of recommendations for further research and development. Recommendations for education are detailed below. A summary of recommendations for refugees is also appended (Appendix E).

It is recommended:

- That a programme prototype which incorporates the recommended approach is designed and developed at the Centre for Refugee Education and continued for six months in a community pilot project. The programme design should be based on 'post-critical' and facilitated, enactivist approaches.
- That the programme be trialled during its development process in an action research project.
- That training programmes be developed for teachers of refugee learners that support the development of skills for 'critical' teaching and for facilitating discussions.
- That resettlement programmes be offered to all refugees and migrants alongside ESOL/EAL programmes.

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List of Acronyms

APA	American Psychological Association
ATESOL	Australian Teachers of English for Speakers of Other Languages
CRE	Centre for Refugee Education
CT	Critical Thinking
EAL	English as an Additional Language
ECE	Early Childhood Education
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
HOTS	Higher Order Thinking Skills
ICMC	International Catholic Migration Commission
LEA	Language Experience Approach
MRRC	Mangere Refugee Reception Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSW	New South Wales
NZ	New Zealand
NZIS	New Zealand Immigration Service
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
STARTTS	Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors
TESOLANZ	Teachers of Speakers of Other Languages Association of New Zealand
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WWII	World War 2 (1939-45)

Appendices

Appendix A: Scaffolded Programme for the CRE

Weeks 1&2

* Concentrate on establishing trust; teacher personality is important. The teacher should be: humble, a good listener, non-judgemental, genuinely interested in the learners and in what they have to say)

* Regular routines – these help refugee learners used to unexpected change to feel safe

* Retain gender separation if culturally appropriate (till confidence develops)

* More teacher talk time and written exercises (or oral) – gradually introduce more variety

* Some rote learning – e.g. songs, rhymes

* Non-threatening personal questions only (personal questions could trigger trauma reactions)

* Allow learners to choose where they sit in the classroom

* Provide choices in the language programme: e.g. puzzles or silent reading; an easier or more challenging task to complete; a choice to work in pairs or on one's own. In the orientation programme, teachers might seek feedback in lecture or group discussions.

* Start seeking feedback (be careful to frame questions in such a way that learners are able to make 'negative' comments without feeling they have offended the teacher, e.g.: 'Would you like to do the same type activity again or do something different? What types of activities do you like doing best out of the ones we have done?'

* Start some pair work

* Encourage students to help one another

Weeks 3&4

* Incorporate greater proportions of independent and critical tasks into the programme, e.g. ask for student opinions on topics and reading material, suggest students listen to the news, read the newspaper (daily newspapers are provided free at CRE), give homework, invite students to bring in news items that are of interest to them
* Introduce group activities and encourage collaboration
* Encourage students to ask questions and praise students when they do so – explain how this helps them and others learn or lets the teacher when he/she needs to explain something better
* IT: tapes, TV, computer work (i.e. introduce new technology gradually)
* Self access learning – use of dictionaries – individualised programmes on computers, personal reading (reading corner)
* Role play – maybe in pairs

Weeks 5&6

* More variety of learning tasks
* Role plays, drama, art
* Students provide more personal information and talk about own culture, previous living conditions etc
* Allow more learner choice
* Discussion opportunities and opinions sought from students
* Allow / encourage learners to disagree, and model acceptance of difference of opinion
* provide learners with the opportunity to provide feedback on the programme
* provide learners with the opportunity to express their future goal

Appendix B: Transmission versus Enactivism (Constructivism)

Transmission	Enactivism
∗ Competitive learning	∗ Co-operative learning
∗ Knowledge is fixed and static	∗ Knowledge is constructed (not fixed), emphasis on knowing
∗ Relies on textbooks or worksheets	∗ Learners' lives and needs are reflected in the programme
∗ Right / wrong answers	
∗ Only one view presented (e.g. Maori wars)	∗ Many different worlds – (depends on perceptions etc) are represented
∗ Fixed world – the view of the world stays the same	∗ Teacher is a learner too; teacher reflection is critical
∗ Teacher directed	∗ Interdisciplinary (panoramic)
∗ Linear	∗ Learners transform the 'knowledge' and are transformed by it
∗ Learning is mimetic – i.e. repeating, miming information (this approach is easy – teachers don't like to give it up); students memorize, then regurgitate	∗ Learners 'act' to engage with learning
∗ Repetition	∗ Learners generate, demonstrate understanding
∗ Fixed curriculum	∗ Problem posing – (less problem solving); questions encouraged
∗ Didactic approach	∗ Learners lives reflected in curriculum
∗ Assessment driven (summative)	∗ Hands on; real materials; interactive
∗ Students primarily work alone	∗ Formative assessment – interwoven in programmes (observations etc.)
∗ Correct answer sought	∗ Group work / learner collaboration and participation
∗ Behaviourist – positive reinforcement / rewards for good behaviour	∗ Student opinion is sought
	∗ Paradigm shift occurs (thinking changes)
∗ There are 'hidden' agendas	∗ Acknowledges mental process (thought)
	∗ Hidden agendas sought and acknowledged or eliminated

Appendix C: Facilitated Critical Discussion

Vignette 10:

After listening to a speaker on 'Human Rights', students were asked to indicate the main points for them from this talk. They listed: 'freedom of religions, freedom of movement and the acceptance of different cultural beliefs and practices'. I then asked them which law would take precedence if there was a conflict between a cultural practice and another NZ law (not the Human Rights law). Some people signified the NZ law would precede. Others asked me to provide an example. I gave two: polygamy and the acceptance in some cultures of women being beaten by their husbands if they were 'disobedient'. The group still said the 'cultural' practice seemingly enshrined in human rights legislation would not be permissible because of the higher laws regarding marriage or violence. I said they were correct.

However, I then asked them how they felt about or would cope with this 'conflict'. A lengthy discussion about polygamy and women's rights ensued. One suggestion (from a male student) was to have a different wife in different parts of the country and to be secretive about one's behaviour. I wrote on the board: "break the law" and said, yes, that was indeed an option – but one had to be prepared to take the consequences (if caught) and the group were quick to inform me what these consequences were (prison or punishment). Another suggestion was "leave the country and live where these practices were legal" and the final option was to "change one's behaviour". I then also added to the list: "change the law" and pointed out that in a democratic country this was always also a possibility (although a long-term one).

A parallel discussion was occurring regarding polygamy and I was asked why it was against the law when the adults were 'consenting' (they compared this situation to the law on homosexuality). I checked whether 'consent' from women was actually present in polygamous relationships in their cultures and the women vigorously shook their heads (stating that it was not). One man then asked if it was possible to have several 'wives' if one was living in 'de facto' relationships with them. I said that I thought it was – providing everyone was happy with the arrangement and there was no bullying or compulsion.

A small group of men then suggested that polygamy should be legal. Others disagreed. I pointed out that the human rights legislation besides being about humane treatment was also about equity – so that if polygamy became legal it is

very likely it would have to apply to both men and women – whereupon almost all the women in the class applauded and laughed (sardonically).

I asked how many people thought they might be happy in a polygamous relationship where they were the majority partner (i.e. a man whose wife had other partners or vice versa). No-one indicated an affirmative response. Time ran out and I concluded by saying this had been an interesting discussion with lots of good questions – and I suggested they raise issues of interest with their individual teachers in the smaller groups if they wished.

Appendix D:

Inclusive / Multicultural Teaching and Learning

Questions for teachers:

- What is my worldview? My beliefs, values, understandings?

- Why do I believe this?

- How have my views been shaped?

- How do my actions in the classroom reflect my worldview and values? Look at the classroom discourse: texts, assessments, teacher language, power constructs.

- What is a multicultural perspective?

- Do I have a multicultural perspective? How can I tell?

- What are all the different ways I praise my learners? Think of the hidden assumption underlying each method about my own values and beliefs about teaching and learning.

Multicultural teachers should:

- Design programmes that reflect egalitarianism

- Respect and include multiple perspectives

- Encourage student reflection

- Provide opportunities for student sharing

- Encourage and support conflict negotiation

- Show students how to learn to build on existing survival skills

Appendix E

Recommendations for Refugee Education

It is recommended that:

- Teachers of refugees undergo training to gain awareness of the refugee experience and trauma. Teachers need to know the refugee experience as well as the cultural backgrounds of refugee learners so that they can be responsive to refugee needs and sensitive to trauma reactions.

- A facilitative approach is an appropriate one for discussion of resettlement and cultural issues.

- Teachers of refugees who wish to employ facilitative methods may need to undergo training to gain skills for this practice.

- The teaching environment in refugee classrooms should incorporate elements of familiarity for learners.

- The teaching methodology on refugee programmes should incorporate styles that learners are familiar with, and alternative new approaches should be introduced gradually with explanations provided as required.

- The teaching methodology should affirm learners, build on strengths, develop autonomy and be inclusive of learner backgrounds.

- Teaching practitioners should critically reflect on (and subsequently) revise programmes, teaching methodology or personal responses as required.

- Materials should be culturally relevant and inclusive of refugees. They should be multi-cultural and value-free.

- Programme content should include both information as well as skills development.

- Skills should include learning and thinking strategies as well as strategies for coping with change and conflict.

- Learning should be scaffolded and this includes discussion strategies and skills which may need to be explicitly taught and modelled.

- Teachers should be encouraged to embrace diversity and multiculturalism and actively celebrate it in programmes.

- Inclusiveness of other cultures should be conveyed in language, the physical environment, the teaching materials as well as in personal interactions.

- ESOL programmes should incorporate a civic education or orientation to Aotearoa component which is a 'critical' programme – the teaching approach in this programme should encourage critique, the sharing of ideas, opinions and emotional responses and even dissent.

- Programmes should employ bilingual or cultural advisors (Norway model) who not only interpret in the classroom but also advise teachers.

- Funding should be calculated to include bilingual assistants for every language group represented in the classroom.

- Background booklets for each culture should be produced and distributed to schools, local councils and other agencies or institutions associated with new resettling groups – perhaps available online.

- The six week programme at Mangere should be extended to two months duration at least.

- Alternatively, refugees (quota and convention) should be entitled to a further 6-month full-time programme which includes integration and civic components (presented using a 'critical' approach).