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THE INTERACTIONS BETWEEN ANTI-REFUGEE RHETORIC, MONOLINGUAL
LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES, AND REFUGEE LITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES
AND AUSTRALIA: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

by

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Refugee Literacy in the United States and Australia: A Comparative Case Study

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Dedication

For my partner, Peter, and our two children, Cecilia Tamar and Rose Tamar. For my mother and father, who instilled in me a lifelong love of education.

And finally, for my former students, who inspired me with their own love of learning to begin this work.

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Table of Contents

	Page
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Abbreviations.....	ix
Abstract	x
Chapter One.....	1
Statement of the problem	4
Statement of purpose	4
Significance of study	5
Statement of purpose	4
The interaction between language policy and what happens in the classroom.....	7
A Need for Teacher Training Specific to the Teaching of Refugees.....	9
My Research Identity.....	11
Theoretical Framework and Conceptualization of Refugee Literacy	11
Definitions of terms.....	15
Chapter Two	16
Terminology.....	17
Refugee Status.....	17
Refugee Education in the United States	19
The Achievement Gap.....	20
Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education.....	21
Language and Literacy Support	23
Refugee Education in Australia	27
Deficit Perspectives in the Literature	30
Research on Teacher Needs.....	35
Parental Involvement.....	38
The Importance of Identity	39
Chapter Three	49

Critical Theory as an Ontology for My Research	49
My Epistemology	50
Research Design	51
Critical Comparative Case Studies.....	52
The Horizontal Axis.....	53
The Vertical Axis.....	54
The Transversal Axis.....	55
Rationale for a Two Country Study.....	59
Sites for this Study.....	61
Participants.....	63
Data Collection.....	65
Data Analysis.....	73
Addressing Quality in My Research on Refugee Literacy	75
Chapter Four.....	833
The Historical Interaction between Policy, Practice, and Anti-Refugee Rhetoric.....	83
Refugees in the News in the United States and Australia during the World War II Era.....	85
Refugees in the Media and in Policy in the U.S. and Australia during the Post- Vietnam Era.....	103
Refugees in the News and Policy Documents in the U.S. and Australia Today... ..	121
Who Belongs Here?: Anti-Refugee Rhetoric and the Implementation of English language acquisition policy in a Public School in the U.S. and a Public School in Australia.....	135
Chapter Five	152
Discussion.....	152
Limitations.....	170
Implications.....	172
Recommendations for Future Research.....	174
Appendix A.....	152
Appendix B.....	180
Appendix C.....	180
References	180

List of Tables

Table	Page
Table 1. <i>Units of Analysis</i>	59
Table 2. <i>Data Collection Timeline</i>	67
Table 3. <i>Newspapers Analyzed</i>	70
Table 4. <i>Themes from Critical Discourse Analysis of Newspaper</i>	85

List of Figures

Figure	Page
<i>Figure 1.</i> Representations of Refugees over Time.	133

List of Abbreviations

Dual Language Learner	DLL
English as an Additional Language or Dialect.....	EAL/D
English Language Learners	ELLs
Intensive English Centre	IEC
Office of Civil Rights.....	OCR
Students with Interrupted Formal Education.....	SIFE
Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education.....	SLIFE

Abstract

THE INTERACTIONS BETWEEN ANTI-REFUGEE RHETORIC, MONOLINGUAL LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES, AND REFUGEE LITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

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For this study, I sought to answer the following questions: 1) Historically, what is the interaction between policies designed to help refugee students learn English and reading and anti-refugee rhetoric in the United States and Australia? 2) What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia?

I used Critical Discourse Analysis to examine newspapers and policy documents to understand the climate in which reading instruction for refugee students takes place in American and Australian public schools. Using a critical approach, I analyzed how the language used to characterize and position refugee students conveys status and power (Gee, 2011). I examined three time periods: World War II, the Vietnam War era, and the present. I analyzed the ways in which policy-makers contribute and build a discourse

used by the schools refugee students attend. I also analyzed two major newspapers from the U.S. and Australia from the same time periods.

To answer the second research question, I interviewed two educators in the United States and three educators in Australia and conducted classroom observations. Previous studies conducted on refugee literacy do not directly address issues of anti-refugee rhetoric which may impact what happens in the classroom. This study allows for an examination of the usage of terms evaluating refugee students and their educational experience, issues of power and opportunity, and the portrayals of refugee students in the media. Themes derived from this study include white flight, the portrayal of refugees as illiterate, changing stereotypes of refugees based on race, and fluctuating understanding of who is and is not a refugee.

Chapter One

Refugee education is as old as time (Rutter & Jones, 1998), and the United States and Australia are two of the world's primary refugee resettlement countries (McBrien, 2011), with the U.S. taking in approximately 80,000 refugees per year (Bal & Arzubiaga, 2014) and Australia granting 17,555 refugee and humanitarian visas in 2016 (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2016). These numbers do not include individuals who flee their countries and are characterized as unlawful, illegal, or undocumented by the U.S. and Australian governments (Christie & Sidhu, 2006). But, neither the U.S. nor Australia have federal policy directly addressing refugee education (Christie & Sidhu, 2006).

As detailed in Chapter 2, refugee students are those who have fled violence or persecution in their home countries and have acquired refugee status. Refugee students are not the same as Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE), but some students may fit into that category as they may have varying levels of education. As Neumann, Gifford, Lems, and Scherr (2014) note, the study of refugee settlement in Australia is prolific, and especially so in more recent times. Studies in the United States tend to categorize refugees within a broader category of immigrants (McBrien, 2005), leaving them without the same distinct representation in research as in Australia, and it has been noted that research on immigrants in general tends to focus on Spanish-speaking

groups (Davies, 2008). In many states, the number of English Language Learners (ELLs) enrolled in public schools has increased each year for the past decade, and their numbers are accounted for and tracked by individual states as well as the National Center for Education Statistics (Digest of Education Statistics, 2013). Although many states and school systems use the acronym ELL to include any student learning English, students labeled as such are very different in terms of their language, national identities, and backgrounds in education and literacy. The number of students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds immigrating to the United States is increasing the most, but students who are identified as ELLs come from all over the world (Rong, & Preissle, 2008). Statistics regarding the numbers and growth of ELLs in the United States are widely available in any publication addressing ELLs and their needs, but statistics regarding the number of ELLs who are also characterized as Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education are not as readily available in scholarly work or online. However, in New York, one in ten ELLs is also identified as SLIFE, and each year between 3,000 and 3,500 new SLIFE students enroll in New York public schools (Advocates for Children of New York, 2010).

Students from immigrant families are more likely to live in an urban area than not in the United States (Rong, & Preissle, 2008) and in both the United States and Australia, they often attend schools with limited resources in racially segregated areas (Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 2009; Wells, 2009; Sidhu, Taylor, & Christie, 2011). However, under federal law, all schools are required to provide ELLs with language services that allow them to access the curriculum and the same opportunities to

participate in public education as their monolingual peers. Each school has the right to determine how to provide services to ELLs and what programs to use as long as they are “educationally sound” (Office for Civil Rights, 2015). Refugee students and SLIFE differ from many bilingual students, though, and may not benefit from the same services they receive because some have experienced trauma and upheaval from their home countries (Freeman & Freeman, 2002). In Australia, if such experiences have affected refugee students in a way that results in a need for extra time to learn English, they are eligible for 400 more hours of ESL instruction under the Special Preparatory Programme (Sidhu, Taylor, & Christie, 2011).

As Williamson (1998) notes in a chapter on unaccompanied refugee children, “each child and young person will have their own story, and it is important not to make generalisations. However, children of particular nationalities are more likely to undergo a certain range of experiences and it is important that adults are familiar with these” (p. 58). Likewise, educators must familiarize themselves with students’ academic experiences and learn more about refugee students’ cultural and linguistic capital in order to counter the deficit perspectives common to discussions about them inside and outside of the school building.

This chapter will address the statement of the problem, the purpose and significance of this study, and my own research identity. In addition, I address the theoretical frameworks underlying this study.

Statement of the Problem

Refugee students are included in but not set apart from students categorized as English Language Learners (ELLs) in the U.S. and categorized as students for whom English is an Additional Language (EAL) in Australia (Harper & de Jong, 2009). This lack of distinction means that teachers frequently do not know which of their students has interrupted education or refugee backgrounds (Klein & Martohardjono, 2006). As ELLs and EAL students are likely to be placed in classrooms with teachers who are not prepared to teach them (Harper & de Jong, 2009), this also means that refugee students may only receive the same services as other immigrant students, who likely have very different academic and life experiences, strengths, and needs. In addition, any identification of students with interrupted education happens in an unorganized fashion (Bigelow, 2010). Inside and outside of the school building, refugee students must confront stereotypes propagated by the media and politicians, navigating contexts that do not see them as individuals, but rather one homogenous group.

Statement of Purpose

The socio-political climate in both the U.S. and Australia contribute to language policy (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) and subsequent marginalization of refugee students in public schools. Anti-refugee and anti-immigrant rhetoric in politics and the media criminalize and dehumanize refugees, portraying them as a homogenous group whose numbers are constantly increasing (Loring, 2016). Restrictive language policies coupled with language policing (Fredricks & Warriner, 2016) produce contexts in which refugee students' heritage languages are devalued, and refugee students' lived and academic

experiences viewed as deficient. For this reason, the purpose of this study is to examine the interactions between anti-refugee rhetoric and discourse and monolingual language ideologies and refugee literacy. I plan to use a critical comparative case study approach (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) in order to explore the ways in which broader English language education policies impact what happens in the reading classroom with refugees in Australia and the United States. I believe the critical comparative case study design offers a deeper look at the teaching of reading to refugees in both countries. In this paper, I explore the following research questions:

- 1) Historically, what is the interaction between policies designed to help refugee students learn English and reading and anti-refugee rhetoric in the United States and Australia?
- 2) What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia?

Significance of Study

According to Liddicoat (2014), “Macro-level policy frames the educational discourses that shape pedagogical practice, while micro-level agents enact pedagogies as a form of local language planning work in the implementation of language policy” (p. 118). For this reason, I believe that interviewing teachers and administrators (micro-level agents) at public schools in both countries could yield data showing how teachers influence language planning (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) and are likewise affected by the socio-political climate in teaching refugees in reading classrooms. Johnson’s (1987) study of the Migrant Education Program (MEP) in California illustrates the manner in

which educators (in this case, instructional aides) enact unwritten policies in regards to language planning and use, specifically, English-only education.

Furthermore, an analysis of policy documents could also illuminate the direction of education reform (Liddicoat, 2009) in regards to refugees. The public education systems in the U.S. and Australia are similar in that they both prioritize the learning of English as means of assimilation for refugee students, and are situated within contexts influenced by negative portrayals of refugees in the media and increasingly nationalist leanings (McBrien, 2017; Sidhu, Taylor, & Christie, 2011). Both are multilingual countries in which bilingual education is a contentious issue (Scarino, 2014; Schmidt, 2000; Tse, 2001). Both also have public education systems where decisions regarding language policy implementation are largely made at a state and local level (Baldauf, 2006). A critical comparison of the two contexts may perhaps problematize the interaction between language policy and its implementation in public school reading classrooms, and cast light upon the ways that teachers shape language policy from the grassroots level (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). I hope a comparison of the two may also serve to challenge the prevalent deficit discourses in both countries. Perhaps such a comparison can also highlight the empowering work refugee students and their teachers do in both countries.

The Interaction between Language Policy and What Happens in the Classroom

Refugee education in the United States and Australia is greatly dependent upon the interpretation of broad federal language acquisition policies at the state level and implementation in local public schools. Language policy in schools is often influenced

by greater political discussions related to various immigrant groups (Crawford, 2000), and warrants further research into how exactly this influences teacher instruction and interaction with refugee students. Similar to the United States, in Australia each state is responsible for the implementation of the Australian curriculum standards (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2014, February). The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) does provide a toolkit for teachers of EAL/D students, specifically advising teachers to be aware of the diversity of cultures, languages, and backgrounds present within this group, and including general information about refugees. However, policies specific to EAL/D students are drafted at the state level. For example, students in Queensland may be eligible for intensive Standard Australian English (SAE) programs for the first 12 months of their schooling in Australia (Queensland Department of Education and Training, n.d.). In Victoria, EAL/D students may be eligible for a New Arrivals program for the first eighteen months before a transition into a mainstream school, and may even have access to an online language program if they live in a remote area (Victoria State Government Education and Training, 2015). Such differing policies mean that refugee students receive varying levels of education depending on where they are settled in both countries.

Notably, the U.S. Department of Education website characterizes refugees and asylees as adult immigrants in its section on integration (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). None of the educational resources offered to school districts by the U.S. Department of Education on the K-12 section of its website specifically address refugees. Instead, the U.S. Department of Education emphasizes and reminds that under *Lau v.*

Nichols, school districts are legally required to provide all students with limited English proficiency with the services they need to access educational programs in public schools, regardless of immigration status, according to *Plyler v. Doe*. These legal obligations were mandated initially under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Department of Education and Office of Civil Rights have reiterated these mandates with policy guidance addressed in memos in the years 1970, 1984, 1985, 1990, 1991, and a Dear Colleague letter in 2015. While none of these documents specifically mention refugees, the Dear Colleague letter issued in 2015 has the following language in regards to students with interrupted education:

The Departments recognize that students with interrupted formal education (SIFE students), especially in the higher grades, may be below grade level in some or all subjects when they enter a school district, and that some school districts provide appropriately specialized programs to meet their needs. The Departments would not view such programs as offering inappropriately watered-down instructional content where the program is age-appropriate, the content of the instruction relates to the core curriculum and is credit-bearing toward graduation or promotion requirements, and SIFE students have the opportunity to meet grade-level standards within a reasonable period of time. However, it would be inappropriate for a district to place high school-aged SIFE students in middle or elementary school campus programs because this would not permit SIFE students to meet high school grade-level standards and graduation requirements within a

reasonable amount of time and the placements would not be age appropriate. (p. 18)

While the OCR notes in this document that English Learner (EL) students' academic backgrounds and information must be taken into account in order to place them in an appropriate program, the lack of comprehensive systems to identify students with interrupted formal education remains a hindrance to doing so, as teachers may not know if their students full academic histories. In a study on how teachers advocate for English Language Learners (ELLs), De Oliveira and Athanases (2007) suggest that teachers of ELLs support them by differentiating instruction and "responding to sociopolitical issues related to race, language, and class" (p. 213). But without system-wide efforts to track and identify students with interrupted education, it is less likely that students will receive appropriate education and help from their teachers, as their teachers may not know their academic backgrounds until the students or their parents decide to share that information.

A Need for Teacher Training Specific to the Teaching of Refugees

In the United States, varying requirements from state to state impact the education refugee students receive, depending on where they settle. Teacher training programs for English as a Second Language (ESL) and content area teachers vary widely, and regardless of who teaches bilingual students, national requirements for those teachers' skills and preparation to teach language acquisition do not exist (McNeely et al., 2017). In Australia, programs for Students for whom English is an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) are underfunded and under-resourced (Matthews, 2008). As in the

United States, refugees are not a homogenous group (Davies, 2008; Matthews, 2008), and teachers trained to teach language acquisition skills in both countries are not always prepared to teach students who come into their classrooms with a wide variety of experiences in school and in life (Kirk & Cassity, 2007; Kristiina Montero, Newmaster, & Ledger, 2014). Teachers in both countries complain of being underprepared to meet the needs of students who may have interrupted education and low levels of literacy in their home languages.

For educators to effectively use language learners' prior knowledge as a resource for teaching and learning, they must have a solid background in language acquisition theory. Cummins (1979) wrote prolifically about the importance of literacy development in a student's L1 for subsequent literacy development in a student's L2. He uses the term cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP) to refer to the language skills that are related to literacy development, and notes that students who are taught initial literacy skills in their L1 often perform better in their L2 than those who are not. He cites a study done with Navajo children whose reading levels in English were two years behind their peers prior to their enrollment in a bilingual reading program, concluding that L1 and L2 CALP are interdependent. Other studies focusing solely on ELLs attribute students' language, literacy, and general academic successes to intentional and collaborative use of students' heritage languages to support their second language acquisition and development of content knowledge (Harklau, 2000; Delgado Bernal & Alemán, 2017).

My Research Identity

In this study, I researched how English language acquisition policy impacts what happens in reading classrooms with refugee students. My background as an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teacher in the United States has informed my research interests as well my research ontology and epistemology. As a teacher, I witnessed and sometimes unwittingly took part in the perpetuation of structural inequities in the public school system. I feel confident that I made a positive impact on many students' lives. I worked hard to make sure all of my students felt welcomed in what was sometimes their first classroom experience. I also know that the emphasis placed in ESOL programs on English language acquisition reinforces monoglossic language ideologies and policies that serve as a detriment to bilingual students' literacy and overall academic achievement, and it can also damage their sense of self.

Theoretical Framework and Conceptualization of Refugee Literacy

In this section, I explain my theoretical framework for this study, Critical Race Theory, and its applications to refugee literacy and education. I address theories of cultural capital and explain why these theories are important in considering the research on refugee literacy, and the need for a critical lens in examining the literature with regards to language ideologies and the politics of language. Race is conceptualized in all aspects of education and seen as linked to various categories that are normed within society, with positive categories such as school achievement associated with whiteness, and negative categories such as gangs associated with blackness (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Critical Race Theory (CRT) in education confronts the ways racism affects educational

systems and has been defined as “...a theoretical and analytical framework that challenges the ways race and racism impact educational structures, practices, and discourses” (Yosso, 2005, p. 74). CRT is useful for an understanding of research on refugee literacy as it provides a lens to interrogate power structures in school systems that place refugee students outside of the mainstream whilst simultaneously urging them to assimilate. Yosso (2005) writes, “...schools most often oppress and marginalize while they maintain the potential to emancipate and empower. Indeed, CRT in education refutes dominant ideology and White privilege while validating and centering the experiences of People of Color” (p. 74).

Although much of the research on refugee literacy and SLIFE literacy is not based in the U.S., CRT could serve as a framework to illuminate new themes from data that may be missed otherwise. Solorzano (1998) identifies five themes essential to CRT research: the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism, the challenge to dominant ideology, the commitment to social justice, the centrality of experiential knowledge, and the interdisciplinary perspective. These themes could prove critical to understanding the experiences of SLIFE and refugees in public schools in the U.S. and Australia. DeCapua and Marshall (2011) posit that SLIFE and their teachers experience cultural dissonance when they come into contact with each other in the public school setting, as the SLIFE cultural and learning experiences do not match those of their teachers. They view this cultural dissonance as the reason behind the perceived achievement gap.

While DeCapua and Marshall’s (2011) work focuses directly upon SLIFE and not refugees, cultural dissonance could be an issue for teachers serving refugees, too.

Historically, refugee students have been marginalized by school systems that position them as deficient or limited through labels and tracking systems, and criminalized by the perpetuation of negative stereotypes in the media (McBrien, 2017). Furthermore, public school systems in the United States and Australia face a number of challenges in educating refugee students, including integration, language acquisition, literacy, adjusting to formal school environments, and a lack of appropriate resources and programs. And, the research on refugee education is scant in comparison with research on other groups of students (Christie & Sidhu, 2006). I hope that a critical comparative case study of the interactions between language policy and practice could serve to further research in this area, as it could cast light on how exactly teachers and students are making adaptations, and what power relations are present in terms of race. Sidhu, Taylor, and Christie (2011) contend that in Australia, "...policymakers have left the education of refugee children and young people to chance" (p. 96). Research on public schools educating refugee students in the United States suggests a similar situation in this country.

In the following literature review, I consider the research on refugees, SLIFE, and the broader group of DLLs through a CRT lens, with particular attention paid to acknowledgment of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). In a critique of Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) work on cultural capital, Yosso (2005) argues that CRT should offer a way to understand the capital possessed by Students of Color in a way that does not measure them against White, middle class culture. She cites Oliver and Shapiro's (1995) model as a basis from which to understand community cultural wealth, which includes aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital.

Aspirational capital relates to resilience, a theme that surfaces in research on refugee students (see Crea, 2016; Dunn, Bundy, & Woodrow, 2012; Matthews, 2008). Linguistic capital encompasses students' language and cross-cultural skills, with an appreciation for the knowledge accumulated as a result of bilingualism or multilingualism. Very little research on refugees or SLIFE includes any acknowledgment of students' linguistic capital, as will be further explored in the next chapter. Familial capital includes cultural knowledge gained through interactions with "our 'extended family', which may include immediate family (living or long passed on) as well as aunts, uncles, grandparents and friends who we might consider part of our familia" (p. 79). Similarly, social capital is attributed to relationships with students' broader communities that allow for a growth of resources. Yosso cites the work of Williams (1997) to explain that navigational capital "acknowledges individual agency within institutional constraints, but it also connects to social networks that facilitate community navigation through places and spaces including schools, the job market and the health care and judicial systems" (p. 80). Resistant capital refers to the resources and critical consciousness (Freire, 1970) students use to resist structures of inequality in oppression with critical consciousness. As explained in the next chapter, these six forms of capital are largely absent in the research on SLIFE and refugees, as instead, students labeled as SLIFE and students entering the U.S. and Australia as refugees are seen to be lacking capital in comparison to their monolingual, native born peers.

The following section defines the terms essential to understanding the present study on refugee literacy.

Definitions of Terms

Anti-refugee rhetoric. Any negative discourse used to describe/discuss refugees in the media, political, and educational spheres.

Literacy. The ability to critically engage with and evaluate social languages in multiple formats (Gee, 2000).

Monolingual language ideologies. Placing value on monolingualism (English-only) over multilingualism (Crawford, 2000).

Refugee. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a **refugee** as a person who is fleeing conflict or persecution, and therefore should not be returned to a situation where his or her life will continue to be at risk (Jastram & Achiron, n.d.).

Socio-political climate. The discourse surrounding social attitudes, politics, and public policy.

Student with Interrupted Formal Education (SIFE). A Student with Interrupted Formal Education is defined as any student with a gap in formal education of two or more years (Klein, & Martohardjono, 2006); SLIFE is Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (DeCapua & Marshall, 2010).

Chapter Two

The research reviewed here highlights ongoing issues in regards to refugee education, and demonstrates that researchers in both countries continue to use a deficit perspective to frame research on refugee students. Research articles on bilingual students who may be refugees or Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE) almost follow a formula in their organization: state the issue, highlight the increasing number of students who fit into these categories, call attention to the academic skills this group of students does not have, and recommend further research. Furthermore, it has been suggested that refugee students as a group are made to be largely invisible in research on education, because issues of asylum are seen to be more related to adults than children (Pinson & Arnot, 2007). Refugee students and SLIFE often disappear within the broader category of language learners (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007), and, while there is a plethora of research regarding language learners in general and language learners and literacy, refugees are studied with much less frequency in comparison (Moinolnolki & Han, 2017).

The majority of the studies reviewed here are based in Australia, but studies based in the United States are addressed first because that is my primary context personally and professionally. Following an introduction to the literature in the United States and Australia, I address themes in the research shared by both contexts, including deficit

perspectives, research on teacher needs, parental involvement, and effective programs for refugee students that challenge deficit perspectives. In the second section, I detail the ways in which New Literacies and digital technologies in particular have made impacts on refugee literacy and the studies focused in these areas begin to build more positive images of refugee children as students.

Terminology

In the U.S. and Australia, refugee students are frequently made invisible by the use of umbrella terms such as English Language Learner (ELL), Limited English Proficient (LEP), Low Literacy Refugee Background (LLRB), English as a Second Language (ESL) learner, language minority student, newcomer, and newly arrived migrant (Figueroa, 1989; Dooley & Thangaperumal, 2011; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007; Windle & Miller, 2012). In this paper, I use the term refugee student to address issues regarding refugee students, and Dual Language Learner (DLL) to address issues involving all language learners, regardless of country setting. Much of the literature in the United States addresses Students with Interrupted Formal Education (SIFE) or Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE). In the United States, the broader category (SIFE) or (SLIFE) is frequently used in research and school buildings to refer to language learners.

Refugee Status

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a refugee as a person who is fleeing conflict or persecution, and therefore should not be

returned to a situation where his or her life will continue to be at risk (Jastram & Achiron, n.d.).

An asylum-seeker is an individual whose refugee status has not yet been approved-- this is a person who is seeking protection in another country and whose status within the host country is seen as temporary until it is safe to return to his or her home country (Jastram & Achiron, n.d.). The studies reviewed here that considered students' experiences in the United States context do not make specific mention of asylum-seekers for the most part, and focus solely on refugees or SLIFE. It should be noted, however, that refugee status is a political construction offered to some displaced persons over others, and it has been posited that historically, the granting of this status has been influenced by institutionalized racism and political factors (Bal & Arzubaiaga, 2014). For example, throughout the Cold War, individuals fleeing Communist nations in Eastern Europe and Asia were more likely to be granted refugee status in the United States than individuals fleeing countries in Central America (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). In the 1980s and 1990s in particular individuals fleeing Nicaragua and El Salvador were not granted refugee status, and instead became undocumented immigrants in the United States, leaving them without the same support system accessed by those given refugee status (Marsiglia & Menjívar, 2004). In more recent times, there are a number of unaccompanied children fleeing violence in Central America who are not recognized as asylum seekers or refugees, but are referred to with a number of labels that range from vague to derogatory (Feuerherm & Ramanathan, 2016).

Acknowledging the influences of political forces and policy behind the construction of refugee status is necessary for building an understanding of refugee literacy and deconstructing the terms. One student with refugee status might have similar academic experiences to another student without refugee status and may have fled equally dangerous situations, but are afforded more rights and recognition than their peers who are not granted refugee status. For academic research knowledge of this artificial distinction is important, as the ramifications of one study on refugee students may be worthwhile and applicable for other students with similar backgrounds who are labeled as undocumented migrants or otherwise.

Refugee Education in the United States

Refugee students attend public schools in every state in the United States (Koyama & Bakuza, 2017). In the United States, the graduation rate for refugees who arrive in country prior to the age of 14 is similar to the graduation rate of their native born peers, partially because they are less likely to arrive unaccompanied by their parents (Evans & Fitzgerald, 2017). Additionally, Evans and Fitzgerald (2017) found in a study focused upon the social and economic outcomes for refugees that the economic outcomes for refugees who arrive as children are no different from those of their native born peers. This finding was based upon a sample of 19,298 refugees aged 0-65 who came to the United States between the ages of 0 and 45. This could suggest that more research is needed on determining ways to improve older refugee students' educational experiences in order to in turn improve their economic potentials.

In a number of studies based in the United States context, there is a sense of urgency framing the research in regards to refugee students' academic potential. More often than not, the terms SLIFE or SIFE are used to study refugees and other DLLs who may also have limited or interrupted formal education. Research on successful language and literacy programs for refugees and SLIFE is limited in the U.S., as both groups disappear under the LEP label. The commonly-used term achievement gap is used to portray refugees as lacking in academic skills and potential, and very rarely are their assets such as multilingualism mentioned. In this section on refugee education in the United States, I discuss themes found in the literature on refugees in the United States context, including the achievement gap and SLIFE. I also detail the research on language and literacy support for SLIFE and explain the relationship between this group and refugees.

The Achievement Gap

In Freeman and Freeman's (2002) *Closing the Achievement Gap*, for example, refugee students are introduced as "experienced war, persecution, pestilence, and famine" with "little schooling, or none at all" and having not "developed literacy in their first language" (p. ix). While these statements may accurately apply to a number of refugees and must be addressed, it is problematic that refugees are presented in such a way that none of their cultural wealth or potential academic assets are introduced, particularly in a book aiming at meeting the academic needs of English learners. Bal and Arzubiaga (2013) argue that academic research and social biases prevent refugee students from

being understood as individuals with cultural and academic capital, and note that refugee student experiences are often presented in an ahistorical manner.

In order to feel they are able to participate in their new school setting and community, students need access to their host country's language (Anderson, 2004; Sanagavarapu, 2010). But students must not feel they are forced to reject their heritage language and culture in order to participate in social and academic life in their host country (DeCapua, 2016; Omerbašić, 2015). This idea matches both Pryor's (2001) assertion that bilingual staff can help increase refugee student participation and Johnson's (1987) similar conclusion about bilingual migrant students. This may be particularly important as SLIFE and their parents combat cultural dissonance and feelings of alienation in U.S. formal school settings (DeCapua & Marshall, 2011; McBrien, 2011; Roxas, 2010).

Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education

SIFE is defined as any student with a gap in formal education of two or more years (Klein & Martohardjono, 2006). The New York State Education Department (NYSED) coined this term in 1996 during an analysis of the growing ELL population in New York (Advocates for Children of New York, 2010). Because such students could have a myriad of experiences and backgrounds academically and may have had limited education as well as interrupted education, DeCapua and Marshall (2010) believe that it is more accurate to use the term Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE). For example, some students may have no experience with formal education, whereas some may have attended school in refugee camps with sporadic lessons, and

others still may have had only a few years of schooling. While the terms SIFE and SLIFE are not typically used in Australian research, literature on refugee education and issues frequently address students with limited or interrupted formal education, as refugee students sometimes fall into that category. For example, Brown, Miller, and Mitchell's (2006) case study on Sudanese secondary school students in Victoria, Australia highlighted eight individuals who all would have been labeled as SLIFE had they been in the United States, as they either had limited, interrupted, or no schooling.

Research shows that SLIFE can struggle with adjusting to formal school settings, the development of academic vocabulary and language, and literacy (DeCapua, Smathers, & Tang, 2009; Klein & Martohardjono, 2006). SLIFE differ from many bilingual students because some have experienced trauma and upheaval from their home countries, and so they may not benefit from the same services as other bilingual students receive in generalized language acquisition programs (Freeman & Freeman, 2002). Teachers earning a Master's degree in Education are often required to take a course on either multicultural or diverse learners and frequently the needs and profiles of language learners are included in such courses. It is unlikely that these courses include material on refugee students. Concepts of multiculturalism, diversity, and race are also easily conflated within policy and research, rendering refugees even more invisible. Montero et al. (2014) contend that to successfully teach adolescent Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE), in this case refugees, it is vital that teachers not only depart from traditional ESL practices focused on guided reading, but also that teachers engage the students in a multicultural literacy approach. However, they do not

define what they mean by a multicultural literacy approach, and it is likely that readers of this study and teachers have a different understanding of the meaning of multicultural and how it could relate to literacy, especially in relation to the teaching of refugee students. The inadequacy of standard ESL programs is echoed other studies on refugees and SLIFE, too (e.g., Klein & Martohardjono, 2006; DeCapua, 2016; Freeman & Freeman, 2001).

Language and Literacy Support

The Mutually Adaptive Learning Paradigm (MALP) is one of the few programs available in the United States that goes beyond standard ESL programs to help teachers develop Culturally Responsive Teaching (CRT) for SLIFE (MALP, 2014). It is based on Gay's (2000) conceptualizations of CRT which encourages teachers to become culturally competent, to incorporate CRT tenets into curricula, and to create a supportive learning environment (DeCapua, 2016). In a five month long qualitative intervention study, DeCapua and Marshall (2010) studied the ways in which MALP benefitted 16 SLIFE students from Central America and the Caribbean. The MALP program was designed to serve as a transition for SLIFE students, allowing them to participate in formal education with support. The MALP program consists of three main components: accepting conditions from SLIFE, combining processes from SLIFE and U.S. schools, and a focus on U.S. learning activities familiar language and content. Although this study provided a limited description of the daily implementation of MALP, it is one of the few programs currently available that is specifically designed for SLIFE without lumping them together with other ELLs.

In this study, which DeCapua and Marshall use as evidence of the program's success, the students had varying levels of education, and some did not have a clear academic background at all. The small number of students participating in the study served as a limitation, as did the enrollment numbers at the end as only eight students participated through the entire intervention. One teacher participated in the intervention took part in two days of professional development as an introduction to MALP, and then was observed ten times over the course of the study her implementation of MALP could be analyzed. They found that after the teacher implemented MALP, the students were able to create their own graphic organizers, which helped them with literacy, and they were able to use each other as resources in small groups. Despite the successful conclusion, DeCapua and Marshall note that the small number of participants was a consequence of working with a transitory population, and conclude that the attendance issues they faced are the reason that they could not conduct a quantitative study, as it would require a more stable population.

Similarly, Freeman, Freeman, and Mercuri (2001) found in a study done on one teacher's 24 student elementary classroom that students with interrupted education benefit from clear daily routines, books with limited text, and student-led activities. The description of the teacher's classroom was rich and provided many practical day to day strategies and ideas for resources for teachers to use with SLIFE, but, the explanation of the study itself was lacking and it is not clear what methodology was used and why. However, the rich description of the student work and teacher work paints a picture of academic success for SLIFE, particularly the narration of the content-based activities.

Additionally, in the previously referenced *Closing the Achievement Gap*, Freeman and Freeman (2002) suggest four ways for teachers to ensure their students' success regardless of their educational backgrounds: to engage students in themed curriculum, incorporate their background knowledge, organize collaborative learning activities, and build student confidence. Freeman and Freeman outline the ways these suggestions are put to work in the classroom with detailed descriptions of effective teachers. The participants in these case studies provide examples of how educational principles and theory can be practically implemented to boost students' literacy levels and academic language, without focusing on deficits.

Jiménez (1997) also found that the participants with interrupted education in an in-depth qualitative study focusing on five students demonstrated potential for success when given the opportunity to interact with the teacher and literacy tasks in their native language, which matches Cummins' (1979) interdependence theory. Jiménez emphasized that the teacher focused on in the study was warm and patient with her two students, and made sure that they felt comfortable before asking them to engage in literacy tasks in English. Unlike the other studies reviewed here, Jiménez included specific data regarding the students' Spanish-language academic achievement scores on La Prueba Riverside de Realizacion en Espanol, Form A. The two students with interrupted education in this particular study were in a bilingual classroom, making them unique to this particular review. The lack of mention of any similar test in other studies could indicate the lack of availability of such data, and could also indicate that schools

typically do not test ELLs or SLIFE in their native language when they are transitioning into English-only classrooms.

Jiménez found that the students demonstrated more interest in reading when asked to engage using new cognitive strategies to read culturally-relevant texts. He analyzed the students' comments after they read and engaged in lessons on the instructional strategies that he taught himself, and interviewed them in both Spanish and English. In his conclusion, he implores for further research to be done on how monolingual teachers can help engage bilingual students in literacy. He also calls for more research to be done on instructional methods that will help transition students from successfully engaging in culturally-relevant texts to texts that are not culturally relevant. Although Jiménez's study is twenty years old, the questions he raises are still very much relevant today, especially as they continue to go unanswered. And, while the two students in this study were not refugees, the "odd schooling histories" (Jiménez, 1997, p. 231) and lack of academic records can be characteristic of refugee student experiences in some cases, too.

Because refugees may share similar backgrounds to SLIFE, looking to the literature on this group could be informative for teachers of refugee students. According to DeCapua and Marshall (2010), the programs for SLIFE students that have been successful have included "small group instruction, collaborative work, differentiated instruction, scaffolding, strategy development, sheltered content courses, and theme-based and academically challenging curriculum with language modifications." However, they note that most programs do not account for cultural factors in design. DeCapua

(2016) references The Intercultural Communication Framework as another way for “teachers to develop deeper cultural understandings of their students” (p. 229) and explains that the framework involves three components: establishing and maintaining relationships with SLIFE, identify and accommodate priorities of students and U.S. formal education, and make associations to draw upon students’ background knowledge. However, there seems to be a lack of peer-reviewed research conducted with SLIFE or refugee students with regards to this particular framework.

As compared with the number of studies done on other adolescent readers who may struggle with literacy, there is a gap in the literature in terms of the number of quantitative studies as well as the number of intervention studies involving SLIFE. In addition, there is a lack of studies done on viable programs and resources, and instead a focus on the dilemmas both teachers and students face.

The following section addresses the research specific to Australia, and focuses upon refugees. It is likely that some of the refugee students referenced in the Australian research would be labeled as SLIFE had they resettled in the U.S. instead of Australia. However, as previously stated, refugees are not a homogenous group. The term SLIFE is not used in Australia, but as research indicates, some refugees share characteristics with SLIFE, and their teachers’ understandings of them are similar.

Refugee Education in Australia

The research on refugee education and literacy in Australia is much more prolific than in the United States. While the aforementioned deficit discourse is prevalent in Australian-based literature, too, researchers such as Sidhu and Taylor (2007) and Ferfolja

and Vickers (2010) offer a critical perspective on the way that refugees are discussed in the media, academia, and the schoolhouse, noting that assignments of victimhood and the perpetuation of racism affects refugee students' sense of belonging at school and their performance. In Australia, refugee students are segregated into different schools as a result of economic disadvantage, which Ferfolja and Vickers (2010) posit is related to what they call a "neoliberal environment" (p. 150) focusing on student output, as families with the funds to do so try to send their children to what they think are the best schools. Furthermore, refugee students in Australia have felt the effects of political campaigns against asylum-seekers and refugees in which they have been demonized and racialized (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010). Against this backdrop, I discuss the themes and perspectives emerging from the literature on refugee literacy in Australia, including language acquisition and transitions to the mainstream classroom.

Language Acquisition

All six states in Australia enroll refugee students in Intensive English Centres (IEC) to ease the transition to a mainstream classroom in a public school, but the amount of money funding these programs and the length of time students access them varies across states (Miller, Mitchell, & Brown, 2005). Enrollment in IECs allows students to gain a firmer understanding of the structure of Australian schools and improve their language skills prior to beginning school with their monolingual peers. However, some studies have found mixed results in regards to student performance based upon their time at the IECs, and some researchers recommend that the length of time students have access to language support at the IECs is increased. The diversity of cultural, language,

and academic backgrounds commonly found in one IEC classroom often present a challenge for teachers who may only be trained to teach English (Cranitch, 2010; Due & Riggs, 2016). According to Collier (1995), a year maximum enrollment in an intensive language program is not enough for continued academic success in a mainstream setting. As some students with interrupted or no formal education need more than basic language skills in order to fully access the curriculum at Australian schools, more comprehensive programs at IECs that address more than language are needed (Cranitch, 2010; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010).

Transitions to the Mainstream Classroom

In addition, the programs available to refugees at public schools after transition from IECs must continue to recognize and support their unique academic strengths and needs, as well as their social and emotional well-being (de Heer, Due, Riggs, & Augoustinos, 2016; Sidhu, Taylor, & Christie, 2011). Students transitioning from the IECs to mainstream classrooms can feel socially isolated amongst their native Australian peers, which can in turn produce feelings of anxiety about school (Brown, Miller, & Mitchell, 2006; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Olliff & Couch, 2005). Ferfolja and Vickers (2010) posit that students with access to personalized coaching through programs such as Refugee Action Support (RAS) tutoring program are more likely to find success in their transition to the mainstream classroom, and this finding is echoed in other studies (e.g. Ferfolja & Naidoo, 2009; Naidoo, 2010; Naidoo, 2012).

In order to counter the tendency to label refugee students as at risk, in some Australian states education policy on inclusion has changed to include refugee students so

that student diversity will be more likely to be embraced in school settings (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). In a case study of four schools serving refugee students, Taylor and Sidhu (2012) found that targeted policies to address refugee education at the local level seemed to be connected to the school principals' welcoming attitudes towards refugees. Based upon interviews with principals and teachers of refugees, Sidhu, Taylor, and Christie (2012) contend that where state policy ignores refugees and treats them as though they are the "...literate migrant student, with the cultural and economic capital to make the necessary transitions to being an educated, productive citizen" (p. 100), teachers and schools must fill in the gaps. Likewise, Naidoo (2012) found that teacher education institutions are "...taking up the challenge by focussing on the moral implications of government policy and are attempting through, interventionist programs that support refugee education, to increase the educational outcomes for refugee children" (p. 451). Preservice teachers involved in the Refugee Action Support (RAS) tutoring program displayed greater sensitivity to refugee students' needs and the struggles they face as a result of stereotyping (Naidoo, 2010; Naidoo, 2012). These studies show that where federal policy is lacking, school administrators, teachers, and teacher education institutions step in.

Trends in Research on Refugee Literacy and Education

The following sections address literature based in the U.S. and Australia, and include an examination of the following trends: deficit perspectives in the literature, research on teacher needs, the importance of a welcoming atmosphere, parental

involvement, and the importance of identity. Research on the broader categories of DLLs and ELLs is included where applicable.

Deficit Perspectives in the Literature

Research on deficit perspectives cuts across fields within education. Deficit perspectives have been identified and deconstructed in relation to struggling readers, students of color, language learners, students with special needs, and students from low-income backgrounds (e.g. , Aukerman, 2015; Flores, Cousin, & Diaz, 1991; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Gorski, 2008; Orosco & Klingner, 2010). Searching for research on deficit perspectives in the EBSCO database or Google Scholar produces a number of studies encompassing a wide variety of learners, with increasing numbers of articles written on this topic in the past decade. Swadener's (2000) work on the deconstruction of at-risk rhetoric shows the importance of reframing understandings of students who may not fit traditional understandings of academic success: "The combination of respect for children's families, ability to listen to both children and their parents, and the use of learning projects that actively involve and empower children can go far in helping future teachers find 'promise' even in the most desolate 'inner city' landscapes because they engage as allies with young, excited learners" (p. 23). For the purposes of this review, I define deficit perspectives as any negative discourse, outlook, or limited expectation associated with a particular group based upon their racial, cultural, linguistic background, or status as a student. I believe that acknowledgment, deconstruction, and rejection of deficit perspectives in relation to DLLs and refugee students specifically is of particular urgency if researchers, teachers, and administrators are to understand how to create a

school system that both eliminates the opportunity gap (Ladson-Billings, 2013) and provides an equitable education.

Subtractive Bilingualism

The number of bilingual education programs in public schools in the United States has decreased in recent years, as monolingual language policies become more common and bilingual education is portrayed by figures in the media and politicians as detrimental to children's successful economic futures (Collins, 2011; Raff, 2011). Bilingual programs are depicted as producing a deficit, even though research shows that purposeful use of a student's primary language can enhance second language instruction (Cummins, 2007). In short, non-research based opinions and monolingual language ideologies are having more of an influence on the language policies that are enacted in public schools than years of peer-reviewed research, and contributing to an understanding of DLLs that relies on unproductive deficit perspectives.

Research suggests that discourse revolving around language barriers and issues can imply that DLLs are limited, and even lacking in terms of being American (Olsen, 1997). Despite the prevalence of subtractive bilingualism, or a discontinuation of the development of students' heritage languages as they acquire second language skills, the perception still exists that members of immigrant communities populated resist acquiring English, and the students from these communities need to learn English only (Tse, 2001). Monolingual language ideologies that devalue the growth and potential of bilingualism of DLLs persist in spite of years of research showing that monolingual schooling does not produce successful outcomes for the majority of DLLs in schools in the United States

(Cummins, 1994; Malsbary, 2014; Reeves, 2006; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Schooling that emphasizes the dominant language without recognition of the heritage language can lead students to believe that one is better than the other, and encourage students to engage in language policing, or an insistence that the dominant language is used to converse (Davis, 1999; Fredricks & Warriner, 2016). In a review of research on programs aimed at improving outcomes for DLLs, Calderón, Slavin, and Sánchez (2011) suggest that teacher effectiveness and knowledge of the stages of second language acquisition can make a positive difference in children's academic lives. Such findings show the uselessness of perpetuating deficit perspectives.

According to Harper and de Jong (2004), theory surrounding pedagogy related to DLLs is often whittled down to short suggestions that mainstream teachers can readily apply to either DLLs or "the diverse learner." DLLs and their native speaking peers' needs are often conflated. Historically, bilingual education and the use of the L1 has been a major topic of debate both in research and policy discussion. According to Cummins (2007), language teachers typically shy away from use of the L1 in the classroom because they do not wish to encourage the grammar-translation approach. Cummins (2007) argues that careful use of the L2 can allow for cross-lingual transfer of literacy and conceptual skills. Cummins is a proponent of bilingual education and has published several works citing evidence of its positive benefits for language learners, and arguing against what he sees as a xenophobic backlash against use of the native language (Cummins, 2000). While the aforementioned literature is specific to the broader category of DLLs, consideration of the deficit perspectives refugee students face as DLLs and

participants in ESL programs is important background to understanding literature on refugee education and literacy as participation in ESL programs is the main way that refugees are recognized in school systems.

Patterns in the Research on Refugee Students

A number of articles in research on refugee education seem to follow a formula in their introduction sections: state the issue being studied, introduce refugee students via a description of the trauma they have experienced and the lack of academic skills they have as a result, and then a detailed account of the study at hand (e.g., Cranitch, 2010; Windle & Miller, 2012). Taylor and Sidhu (2012) argue that because refugees are often survivors of trauma, their experiences are frequently medicalized, and so they are further marginalized. This deficit perspective used to frame issues in refugee education is not limited to research in academic journals, it is found in website material produced by government education agencies, too (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). In Australia, researchers such as Windle and Miller (2012) use the term Low Literacy Refugee-Background to account for the lack of literacy in students' first language. In an introduction to a review of the literature available regarding adult second language learners with beginning literacy, Bigelow and Vinogradov (2011) note the challenges inherent in discussing such learners simply because of a lack of available, well-known terms that do not connote a deficiency. They use the term "emergent reader," which focuses more on the process of becoming literate instead of the lack of ability.

Carlo and Bengochea (2011) steer clear of characterizing bilingual students as a homogenous group, and go so far as to challenge the use of the ELL label for groups of

students who have a wide variety of backgrounds and needs. Despite this explicit challenge, Carlo and Bengochea do follow the typical pattern of other research articles in then addressing the increasing demographics as well as the lower standardized test scores bilingual students earn as compared to their monolingual peers. They then characterize the need for new instructional approaches for bilingual students as urgent, and go on to suggest methods and approaches for them to “catch up.” They also implore teachers to help bilingual students catch up, and blame reading teachers for failing to teach language in addition to literacy. This marked shift of responsibility is significant because it is a change from the typical deficit discourse which almost strips teachers of responsibility for teaching students that are so far behind, but, it still does not address what the learners themselves might want out of their participation in the classroom.

Research on Teacher Needs

The majority of bilingual students who are labeled as English Language Learners (ELLs) are taught by teachers who may be highly-qualified in their subject area, but lack training in language acquisition or English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) methods (Karabenick & Noda, 2004). Some teachers may see language barriers as a challenge in teaching refugee students, especially in maintaining contact with parents (Rah, Choi, & Nguyễn, 2009). Data based upon a quantitative study of refugee students’ mental health in South Australia indicate that students, parents, and teachers have differing perspectives on the state of refugee students’ mental health (Ziaian, de Anstiss, Antoniou, Baghurst, & Sawyer, 2013). Parents in this study of 530 refugee children and adolescents tended to believe that their children displayed less difficulty with mental

health than teachers believed, possibly indicating differing understandings of mental health, or possibly indicating a lack of intercultural understanding between parents and teachers.

These findings also match Sidhu and Taylor's (2007) analysis of risk discourse in education, which they contend puts more emphasis and onus on refugee students and less on systemic issues. Although their study focused primarily on refugee students and education in Australia, particularly in regards to the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) website, risk discourse can be found in the literature regarding refugee students in the United States, too. Rah, Choi, and Nguyễn (2009) speak to similar issues when they note the deficit discourses in place on non-profit organization's websites, which, regardless of good intentions, reinforce colonial notions that refugees are in need of help.

Teacher's perspectives displayed in interview data echo this deficit discourse. One teacher in Australia expressed a fear that a particular group of refugees would resort to forming gangs when their high expectations were not met (Matthews, 2008). Other teachers expressed concern that refugee students did not understand classroom expectations (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010; Miller, Austin Windle, & Yazdanpanah, 2014), or that expectations for students were "unrealistic" (Miller, Mitchell, & Brown, 2005, p. 25). In another example, 68% of 61 teachers surveyed in 12 different schools in the Australian state of Victoria expressed that they did not have adequate time to teach their refugee students, who were referred to as Low Literacy Refugee Background students,

and only one-third of the teachers claimed to have enough resources (Windle & Miller, 2012).

Qualitative data from open-ended questions in the same survey revealed feelings of being overwhelmed, and a sense of defeat. Windle and Miller (2012) posit that this lack of resources could account for the prevalence of teacher-focused strategies used in the classroom as well. It is possible that the lack of planning done with an ESL teacher could account for this, too. Notably, they also found that teachers with an English as a Second Language (ESL) qualifications are more likely to use linguistic scaffolding as a teaching strategy in their lessons. While Windle and Miller (2012) contend that their sample size was too small to be generalizable, this finding is important because it illustrates the importance of possessing the basic qualifications to teach language learners. The researchers also contend that it is the school's responsibility to remedy the lack of time and resources teachers have to serve (Windle & Miller, 2012).

In a case study focusing upon Sudanese refugee students and their teachers in a Victorian secondary school in Australia, Miller, Mitchell, and Brown (2005) included data from both ESL and content area teachers as well. A math and science teacher expressed frustration that students would not bring dictionaries to class, whereas the ESL teachers noted that students did not use the dictionaries because they could not read them. As with the teachers surveyed in Windle and Miller's (2012) study, access to resources posed a problem, as the students would have benefitted more from using picture dictionaries. Teachers frequently offer the dictionary as an answer to students' questions about vocabulary words (Miller, 2009; Mitchell, Miller, & Brown, 2005), despite the fact

that for some students who spoke languages like Dinka, there are often no appropriate dictionaries available (Brown, Miller, & Mitchell, 2006), or students do not know how to use them (Taylor, 2004). These diverging understandings of the helpfulness of using dictionaries to improve vocabulary perhaps indicate a lack of co-planning between ESL and content area teachers in the case of the Sudanese refugee students' teachers.

Studies based in the United States and Australia indicate that teacher attitude and personality as well as the classroom atmosphere can have a positive impact on refugee students' level of comfort in the classroom (e.g., Due & Riggs, 2016; Matthews, 2008; Sarroub, Pernicek, & Sweeney, 2007). International studies also indicate that schools providing heritage language support provide bilingual students with a greater boost to self-esteem, resulting in fewer incidents of misbehavior (Hornberger, 1988).

Parental Involvement

Numerous Australian- and U.S.-based studies denote the importance of parental involvement in schools for refugee students, and detail the challenges parents face in finding time and entry points to engage with their children's schools (McBrien, 2011; Koyama & Bakuza, 2017; Rah, Choi, & Nguyễn, 2009). Fenner's (2014) practitioner guides devotes sections to strategies for building relationships with English learner families, noting that schools receiving Title I or Title III funding are required to address parent involvement. The Salt Lake City based Adelante university-school-partnership program, which was designed to boost Chican@Latin@ and other culturally and linguistically diverse student attendance at university, found success not only in parent engagement, but in developing parent advocacy skills (Delgado Bernal & Alemán, 2017).

The program partners developed a Community Advocate Program in which parents' needs were addressed, with workshops covering topics such as immigration laws and parental rights in schools. Again, while this program and research was not specific to refugees, its accomplishments in creating responsive partnerships with parents could be of relevance to refugee education.

The Importance of Identity

Refugee students often live transnational lives, and that transnationalism becomes an important part of their identities (Bal & Arzubigi, 2013; Bigelow, 2010a). Research on cultural identity suggests that conceptualizations of cultural identity are dependent on personal criteria and therefore are very much varied, but, individuals differentiate between actual and ideal images of within their self-identified cultural groups (Ferdman & Horenczyk, 2000). Conceptualizations of cultural identity are important in considering research on refugees both in terms of how refugee students view themselves and the identities their teachers ascribe to them.

Cultural misrecognition can be defined as practices that position students as other or deficient based upon their behavior, lack of English, or cultural identities (Keddie, 2012). For example, Bal and Arzubigi (2013) reference teachers speaking out against Ahiska refugee Ahiska students hanging out together in groups, and make connections between such statements and the teachers' beliefs that the students misbehaved. The Turkish-speaking Ahiska refugees fled violence in Russia, and have a nearly 20 year history of resettlement in cities across the U.S. (Bal & Arzubigi, 2013). In this instance, and in others, English as a Second Language (ESL) programs were seen as

serving to give students the tools they needed to assimilate and to speak what was seen as correct English instead of street English. In an analysis of classroom conversation among students, Fredricks and Warriner (2016) show that refugee students and DLLs understand that restrictive language ideologies and policies position their home languages as less than. As a result, refugee students begin to devalue their home languages among themselves as they try to “move up the linguistic hierarchy of the local community” (Fredricks & Warriner, p. 149). In this way, students adopt the practices of cultural misrecognition they see enacted in the school building by their teachers and administrators. Furthermore, the same arguments that are made in Congress and in the media against bilingual education, that bilingualism creates segregation and can impede assimilation (Tse, 2001), are enacted in public school buildings when teachers discourage students from maintaining their heritage languages and cultural identities even in their social lives at school. This failure to acknowledge and appreciate students’ home cultures prevents students from fully engaging in school (MacGillivray, Rueda, & Martinez, 2004).

Refugee students also find that the identities others ascribe to them are racialized and based upon their perceived religions. In a study on Somali refugee youth, Bigelow (2010a) notes that their outward ethnic appearance was often the aspect of their identity the public focused on, which differed from the youth’s perceptions of themselves. In this particular instance, their religion was racialized, as phenotype came to be conflated with Islam in the Midwestern setting of the study.

Research shows that teachers who question cultural misrecognition that assigns deficit to difference and schools that place more emphasis on social outcomes such as inclusivity can begin to deconstruct the deficit views associated with refugee students and encourage refugee students to see themselves positively in relation to school (Keddie, 2012).

Challenging Deficit Perspectives

In a study highlighting the potential of refugee students when provided with extra support, Ferfolja and Vickers (2010) both question the power structures in place that marginalize refugee students and the neo-liberal policy agendas focusing on student performance. They found that the Refugee Action Support (RAS) program was effective in raising refugee students' confidence levels, improving their language skills, and helping them to understand school structures. Additionally, the preservice teachers who served as tutors for the refugee students enrolled gained course credit as a part of their university teacher education program, and were given the opportunity to learn from a group of students in a program emphasizing reciprocal learning. In this way, this program stands out as a way to recognize the knowledge and skills refugee students do have, while also helping them to improve in areas they may need help in, such as transitioning to a formal school setting.

The RAS program is a partnership program between The University of Western Sydney, the New South Wales Department of Education and Training, and the Australian Literacy and Numeracy Foundation, and functions both as a tutoring program in literacy acculturation and a community engagement program (Naidoo, 2010). Described as a School-University-Community partnership program, it benefits preservice teachers as it

requires them to teach outside of the formal classroom setting, and provides student-directed support in terms of cultural knowledge, homework help, and academic processes (Ferfolja & Naidoo, 2010). This program is seen as filling a gap that traditional classroom and mainstream teachers have not been able to, and creating a safe space for students to try out new academic skills without fear of language discrimination (Naidoo, 2010). Additionally, this program matches the student recommendations from Brown, Miller, and Mitchell's (2006) study on Sudanese refugees in Victorian schools, who suggest the following improvements for Australian secondary schools in order to better refugee students' literacy and language skills: "more teachers, more help with English in mainstream subjects, peer support with 'someone from your own culture,' time to 'learn more before you come to high school'" (p. 160). Programs such as this that address critical literacy skills and utilize standards that recognize both language and literacy strengths and needs allow for refugees to develop academic language whilst challenging deficit perspectives and power structures within the education system that marginalize (Callahan, 2006; Chen, 2017; Due & Riggs, 2016).

New Literacies and Refugee Education

Research suggests curricula supporting students' new literacy skills in particular may be a way for educators to empower students as they navigate power structures and recognize their own knowledge (Damico & Riddle, 2006; Smythe & Neufeld, 2010), rather than focusing on a seeming lack of literacy skills illustrated by standardized tests results. Based on her findings from a case study of 11 students taking part in a Literacy Transition Pilot Program (LTPP) in an Intensive English Centre (IEC), Cranitch (2010)

recommends that measurements for students learning English with interrupted education are better contextualized, recognizing that progress might be different for students who are preliterate. Furthermore, a recognition of students' multiliteracies and development of transnational identities in digital spaces could serve as a way for educators to draw upon students' linguistic and literacy skills as resources in the classroom in a way that bolsters their self-created identities (Lam, 2009; McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliiani, 2008).

In *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation*, Freire (1985) argues against a pathological perspective of illiteracy that characterizes illiteracy as a disease to be eradicated, contending that illiteracy is evidence of social injustice. He goes on further to note that critical literacy is not simply reading and writing, but also a way for students to interrogate the structures of power that marginalize and to claim their rights. Studies focused upon refugee students' development of critical literacy skills and new literacies allow for an examination of the cultural wealth and academic skills refugees do have rather than what they are lacking (Omerbašić, 2015; Perry, 2008). Studies on storytelling with refugees in particular show that students' literacy practices do not begin when they enter the classroom in their new country, rather, they have long histories with literacy (Emert, 2013; Perry, 2008; Sarroub, Pernicek, & Sweeney, 2007). The findings highlighted in this section are from both U.S. and Australian contexts, as they share similarities.

Digital Technology and Refugee Literacy

As digital technologies evolve, so do understandings of what it means to be literate (Hutchison, Woodward, & Colwell, 2016). Refugee students in Australia and the United States enter reading classrooms where they are expected to demonstrate both traditional and digital literacy skills. Refugee students are not a homogenous group, and come to school with varying levels of familiarity with digital technology and digital literacy (Dunn, Bundy, & Woodrow, 2012). Some refugees utilize digital messaging tools such as Whatsapp and social media sites like Facebook to organize and plan their journeys from one country to another (Kingsley, 2017), which is a marked difference from the socializing their peers might be using the same digital tools for (Ito et al., 2009). But, within the resettlement country, access to and use of digital technology can be a form of social capital, as digital literacy skills can promote social inclusion and participation as well as the opportunity to share knowledge (Alam, & Imran, 2015; Omerbašić, 2015).

Digital literacy includes the ability to evaluate and critically analyze information in multiple online formats (Gilster, 1998), as well as the ability to communicate using various forms of digital technology (Hutchison & Colwell, 2016). Critical literacy is the ability to analyze and evaluate information presented in the media in terms of the points of view represented (Hobbs, 2006). These literacies can be included in the category of new literacies, as they may also integrate both new technical aspects and new ethos aspects, or new understandings and ideas of literacy, including a collaborative production of texts (Lankshear & Knobel, 2007).

Critical pedagogies in literacy instruction offer teachers a way to teach students basic literacy skills whilst interrogating the power structures that place them on the margins of the societies in which they are simultaneously asked to be a part of (Dooley & Thangaperumal, 2011). For example, in a summer program in the United States, refugee students engaged in a digital storytelling exercise using a transpoemation curriculum (Emert, 2013). This multimodal approach to literacy using George Ella Lyon's *Where I'm From* poem allowed students to write and describe their own identities, and the use of digital technologies gave students the confidence to write and present their work in English. In addition, Emert (2013) found that students became collaborators throughout the process of writing their poems, as well as experts and meaning-makers. The empowerment that took place in this project stands in stark contrast to the deficit discourses that take place in other areas of research on refugee literacy, and illustrates an example of refugee students' resistant capital (Yosso, 2005).

Likewise, in a study involving 15 refugee students with interrupted education at a primary school in Queensland, Australia, Dunn, Bundy, and Woodrow (2012) found that utilizing drama process pedagogies in tandem with digital technologies allowed students to take academic risks, using new vocabulary and participating in the creation of a story as a collaborative process. In this study, the researchers aimed to answer the following question: How does drama pedagogy combined with digital technology serve to support the language development of refugee students? The researchers found that using drama pedagogy in combination with digital technology allowed for the students to further develop their language skills, and also enhanced their sense of their own agency. In this

case, the students engaged via iPad and other digital technologies with a fictional character sent to Earth from outer space to look for her dog. The researchers characterized the impact of using digital technology and drama pedagogy as having an effect on the students' academic development in seven functions: a language function, an information function, a narrative function, an identification function, a mood creation function, an agentic function and a shared experience function. They conclude that the drama pedagogy and digital technology allowed the students to practice problem-solving, too. The researchers note that their use of a fictional narrative based on fantasy allowed for students to problem-solve and learn in a way that does not appeal to the deficit narrative common to viewing refugees' experiences of resilience.

This study shows how refugee students can engage with and produce text regardless of language level, if given the chance to interact with each other, engage in an interesting topic, and use digital tools that are available. All students need the opportunity to learn how to use both digital and traditional resources in combination with each other (Hutchison, Woodward, & Colwell, 2016), and these needs should not be ignored because of students' English language levels, particularly if use of such resources can enhance their English language skills. The digital divide in terms of access to digital technology and online literacy skills can be lessened if schools provide students with the access and opportunity to engage with evolving digital technologies (Hutchison & Colwell, 2015), and refugee students are no different. Refugee students need the opportunities to obtain the same literacy skills as their native born peers, and in the 21st century, this means the opportunity to learn traditional and new literacies (Baker,

Pearson, & Rozendal, 2010; Omerbašić, 2015). However, given the segregation of refugee students in schools based upon income (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010), it is worth asking how policy can lessen the digital divide and online literacy divide for this particular group.

Conclusion

Both Australia and the United States have a long history of refugee resettlement, but both have formulated policy for the intake of refugees in response to refugee crises rather than proactively. Both countries accepted displaced Europeans for resettlement post-World War II and Vietnamese refugees fleeing their country after the Vietnam War, and both standardized their responses and definitions of a refugee in response to the Vietnamese refugee crisis. Today, the United States and Australia continue to accept refugees from around the world, but not without negative press coverage and tensions. The research reviewed here reflects that negativity and tension in the educational sphere, with the perpetuation of deficit narratives in regards to refugees and SLIFE in research and the classroom. However, as seen in research on refugees and digital literacy, there is growing recognition of refugee students' cultural wealth.

In order to address issues in refugee literacy, it is necessary to learn more about how relevant language policies are interpreted at the district level and subsequently enacted in the reading classroom. In my own study, I observed and described what happens in the reading classroom with refugee students alongside the rise of anti-refugee rhetoric in the media and political spheres. This involved Critical Discourse Analysis of newspapers and policy documents to better illustrate the socio-political climate in which

reading instruction for refugee students takes place in public schools. This area of study is important as previous studies conducted on refugee literacy do not trace the interactions between language policy and practice, nor do they directly address issues of anti-refugee rhetoric which may have an impact on what happens in the classroom. Little is known regarding the interaction between refugee literacy, language policy, and anti-refugee rhetoric. As detailed in this chapter, a number of qualitative studies detail the attitudes teachers in particular have towards refugee literacy (e.g., Brown, Miller, & Mitchell, 2006; Due & Riggs, 2016; Windle & Miller, 2012). A number of researchers also deconstruct the deficit perspective regarding refugee learners and DLLs in general (e.g., Bigelow & Vinogradov, 2011; Carlo & Bengochea, 2011; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). My own study is intended to offer further information as to how teacher attitudes towards refugee literacy and deficit perspectives interact with language policy interpretations at various levels, as well as anti-refugee rhetoric. As explained in the third chapter, I hope this critical comparative case study can begin to deconstruct the links between rhetoric in education policy and the media and the teaching of reading to refugees.

Chapter Three

In this chapter, I explain the methodology utilized for this study. I draw connections between my personal background as an ESOL teacher and subsequent interest in Critical Theory, and detail the influence this ontology has had in shaping my research design. In this study, I used Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth to identify the strengths of refugee students in the literacy classroom, and the tenets of Critical Race Theory to explore the interactions between structures of power and privilege in applications of language policy in the reading classroom in both the United States and Australia.

Critical Theory as an Ontology for My Research

I am approaching my research from an ontological perspective based in Critical Theory, which challenges structures of power in order to make change (Crotty, 2015). Karl Marx has been credited with providing the underpinnings of Critical Theory and took a "very activist view" of philosophy (Crotty, 2015, p. 116). My experiences in the classroom as a teacher and follow-on learning about refugee literacy and language acquisition as a novice academic have led me to ask questions related to the interactions between language policy, anti-refugee rhetoric, and inequity in the reading classroom for refugees. As ontology is the study or questions one asks to understand the world (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), Critical Theory is useful as it requires an understanding of historical

context in viewing reality, in addition to a deconstruction of current social and political issues (Held, 2004). In examining the interactions between current anti-refugee rhetoric and socio-political climate, language policy, and refugee literacy, I must also gain an understanding of the historical forces behind refugee education. As Guba and Lincoln (1994) note, Critical Theory involves an examination of “historically situated structures” and an “assumption that knowledge is value mediated and hence value dependent” (p. 111). As I ask questions about the interactions between anti-refugee rhetoric, the socio-political climate, language policy, and refugee literacy, I must consider the history of the structures and legacies in place that inform refugee education.

My Epistemology

My epistemology, or the way I make sense of the world, lies with constructionism. Constructionism rests upon the idea that meaning is made rather than set (Crotty, 2015), which matches my desire to explore the ways that the meaning of refugee literacy is constructed by policy-makers and teachers. The way I make sense of the world and question the world is influenced by my status as a former ESOL teacher in a public school setting, and this background in turn influenced the ways that I interpret meaning.

As previously stated, my own role as a former educator and as a novice researcher affiliated with a Western institution necessitates self-questioning in terms of how I understand truth and power in relation to refugee education. Doná (2007) asserts that research on forced migration cannot be neutral as its aims are change in policy. She differentiates between research that places refugee participants as objects, or persons

without control over the knowledge being produced about them, and research that positions refugee participants as subjects, or persons with power “limited to that of respondents who answer questions developed by others, and where they have very limited power over the research process apart from deciding what information to convey or retain” (p. 212). She further elaborates that social actors hold greater power as participants because they engage in dialogue and influence the research process as they are not beholden to set questions. I may be better able to understand how my participants are understanding their world, and the meanings they ascribe to it (Crotty, 2015).

As I engage in a critical comparative case study of the ways in which socio-political climates and anti-refugee rhetoric influence language education policy and the teaching of reading to refugees, Critical Race Theory in particular serves as a framework for my research design and analysis. As I analyzed policy documents, media, interview transcripts, and fieldnotes from observations, Critical Race Theory and the concept of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) informed the way I understand my data.

Research Design

I used a critical case study approach (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) in order to explore the ways in which English language education policy impacts what happens in the reading classroom with refugees in Australia and the United States. This design involves an exploration of the horizontal, the vertical, and the transversal axis of the case, which I explain in the next section. Considering the methods in a qualitative study can include decisions regarding research relationships, participant, site and source selection, data

collection, and data analysis (Maxwell, 2012). In this paper, these decisions will inform each axis of my case study so that I can answer the following research questions:

- 1) Historically, what is the interaction between policies designed to help refugee students learn English and reading and anti-refugee rhetoric in the United States and Australia?
- 2) What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia? -

Critical Comparative Case Studies

In reviewing the literature, I did not locate any studies on refugees using the critical comparative case study method. There are many qualitative studies on refugee language and literacy practices based in both the United States (e.g., Bigelow, 2010b; Omerbašić, 2015; Roxas, 2011) and Australia (e.g., de Heer, Due, Riggs, & Augoustinos, 2016; Due, Riggs, & Augoustinos, 2016; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010) that have been published in the past ten years relying on interviews and participant observation for data collection towards case studies. I hope my study can contribute to this growing body of work and add greater context with an exploration of policy and history in regards to refugee literacy. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) write:

The study of policy...encourages us to consider how actors respond similarly and differently to a mandate from state or federal authorities even though the actors are putatively 'of' the same culture. Their variable appropriation of policy as discourse and as practice is often due to different histories of racial, ethnic, or

gender politics in their communities that appropriately complicate the notion of a single cultural group. (Kindle Locations 1943-1947).

An exploration of the historical and sociopolitical context within which the interaction between language policies and the teaching of reading to refugees takes place should allow for a better understanding of the deficit discourse that complicates refugee education.

The Horizontal Axis

The horizontal axis involves the tracing of a historical phenomenon in a comparison of groups and sites with units of analysis that are similar (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). In this case, I plan to compare heterologous groups, or groups that occupy different spaces and work to meet different needs-- for example, a school and an administrative office of a public school system (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). The comparative case study method allows for a comparison of groups that goes beyond “*a priori* categories derived from one place, scholarly tradition, or group onto another” (Kindle Location 1368, Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). Usage of the horizontal comparison in this method allows researchers to engage in an exploration of the ways a phenomenon is situated across groups. Bartlett and Vavrus see a view of culture as a dynamic concept rather than static and context extending beyond the time and place. They note that in some cases, the axes may blend-- for example, if one site in a heterologous comparison belongs on a different scale in the vertical axis. The horizontal axis can be developed and understood through interviews and observations.

The Vertical Axis

This axis should address and capture the ways policy is implemented, enacted, and written at all levels including the local level, the nongovernmental organizations and the administrative offices of a public school system, and the federal level. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) note that examining the vertical axis encourages researchers to “...follow the phenomenon itself, be it a practice or a policy, as it enlists and engages actors whom one might otherwise assume operate in bounded spaces” (Kindle Locations 1921-1922). They cite the work of Ball (2016) to explain that the study of different levels and sites related to policy networks can provide an understanding of the way that policy “travels through assemblages of actors in bits and pieces rather than as coherent packages” (Kindle Locations 1900-1901).

In my case, I followed federal English language acquisition policies in education to examine how they are interpreted and implemented by actors in the district offices and local schools in two countries. I include teachers’ reported lesson-planning, classroom instruction, and curriculum as evidence of federal language acquisition policy implementation. I include the same as well as classroom use of students’ heritage languages as evidence of teachers’ interpretations of federal English language acquisition policy implementation. I looked for connections between the discourse used in the language policies that are used to dictate the standards relevant to refugee literacy and the interpretations of these policies by actors (teachers, administrators) who interact on a daily basis with refugee students learning how to speak, read, and write in English.

The Transversal Axis

The transversal axis requires tracing a phenomenon over different time periods, which Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) contend connect the horizontal and vertical axes. They note that an exploration of the history behind a phenomenon can reveal the ways in which a phenomenon has taken root within social institutions and conceptualizations. This is particularly important in exploring what happens in the reading classroom with refugees, as language acquisition policies fluctuate over time based upon language ideologies within a nation (Crawford, 2000). In my case, I used the transversal axis to answer the first research question: Historically, what is the interaction between policies designed to help refugee students learn English and reading and anti-refugee rhetoric in the United States and Australia? I studied the ways that language policies in particular have interacted with anti-refugee rhetoric in both countries in the past. The move away from bilingual education in the United States and the prevalence and preference for English-only education in both the United States and Australia have many influencing factors in society and politics, and these must be explored in order to understand what happens with refugees in the reading classroom. As Horenczyk and Tatar (2002) note, teachers' attitudes diverse groups are affected by their larger societal contexts, and particularly the context of their school organizational culture and administration. In order to understand what happens in the school building with the teaching of reading to refugees, it is necessary to understand both what happened and happens outside of it. In 2004, Walker, Shafter, and Iiams posited that attitudes towards English Language Learners in the

mainstream classroom were going to decline in the coming years for the following reasons:

- (1) the number of language-minority speakers in the US continues to grow,
- (2) teachers across the nation are significantly lacking in training for how to educate ELLs in the mainstream classroom,
- (3) immigrants and refugees are settling in less populated areas with little experience in linguistic and cultural diversity, overwhelming schools and teachers in these regions, and (4) recent changes in federal legislation are stringently holding schools and teachers accountable for the academic achievement of English language learners, which may result in a backlash against the very students the legislation is supposed to help. (p. 132)

All of these reasons speak to the importance of studying the historical and current context that provides the backdrop against which refugee students learn a second language and reading in a new country, in classrooms where their teachers may or may not have the training to teach them (Durgunoglu & Hughes, 2010; Harper & de Jong, 2009). Studies in the following years focusing on mainstream teacher attitudes towards ELLs are limited, so it is not possible to conclude if the predictions Walker, Shafter, and Iiams (2004) are correct. For example, one study involving a survey of mainstream teachers indicates neutral attitudes towards inclusion (Reeves, 2006). Results from another survey using a Likert-scale shows that mainstream teachers do not support the incorporation of students' native languages in the mainstream classroom, even if they agree with the research that supports this classroom strategy (Karathanos, 2009). While these studies do

not focus specifically on refugee students, they apply as refugee students are often enrolled in mainstream classrooms as ELLs. These survey results are explained within the teachers' larger contexts, including state policies and demographics, but with little historical background. Case studies also frequently do not include an examination of the historical, so Vavrus and Bartlett (2017) argue that this lack of context does not provide for greater understanding of the ways actors move in and out of networks over time. Tracing a phenomenon over time also allows for a better understanding of "...conflicting interpretations of a phenomenon, heightening our ability to question assumptions about the shape and form it has taken in the contemporary era" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2017, Kindle location 2364). In addition, Vavrus and Bartlett (2017) note that to ignore the transversal axis potentially ignores other explanations that may not be apparent if only the present is studied.

I include a study of three periods of history relating to the education of refugees in both countries: post-World War II, the post-Vietnam War era, and the present. While the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) was not created until 1950 (UNHCR, 2017), the education of refugees began before its creation, and I will include a study of documents prior to that year. I have chosen these three periods in history because they illustrate the changing ideas about refugee protection internationally, and because of the increase in state legislation and policy related to refugee protection during these time periods (Orchard, 2014; Zucker, 1983). Both countries also accepted increasing numbers of refugees during these time periods and were instrumental in the success of refugee resettlement schemes from the beginning (Crock & Martin, 2015;

McBrien, 2005). In Australia, policies based upon explicitly upon race were gradually changed, with the White Australia policy eliminated in 1973 (Ongley & Pearson, 1995).

In order to engage with both the transversal axis and the vertical axis, as I studied policy documents and newspapers from the past and the present, I employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Bartlett and Vavrus suggest that this method “invites us to consider how influential representations of certain groups of people, places, or issues come into being through language. It asserts that this is a form of power— the ability to exercise control over how something is represented...” (Kindle Locations 2071-2073). This was useful in understanding educators’ understandings of refugee literacy as they are influenced by social texts such as policy documents and the media (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017).

Table 1

Units of Analysis

	United States	Australia
Federal	Office of Civil Rights Policies	National Policy on Languages
State	Virginia Code	Multicultural Policy, Anti-Discrimination Policy
Local	School 1: Practice in reading classrooms with refugees	School 2: Practice in reading classrooms with refugees

Change over time → World War II era - Post-Vietnam War era - Current Period

Rationale for a Two Country Study

With this comparison of the historical and current contexts in which refugee students attend reading class in public schools in two countries, I aimed to illuminate both the successes and flaws in each system. There are not many comparative studies focused on refugee resettlement involving two countries (e.g., Bollini, 1993; Korac, 2003). At this time, I am unaware of any comparative studies involving two countries that focus on refugee education or refugee literacy. Pinson and Arnot (2007) posit that the lack of research on refugee education in the field of sociology of education could stem from the portrayal of refugee issues as an adult issue, a supposition that could

extend to other fields. They further argue that there is a need for more exploration to be done on the relationships between the politics of race and refugee education, which may not be the main focus in my own study in two countries, but I expected discussions of race to surface in relation to anti-refugee rhetoric.

In a case study of Australian school personnel working with refugee students, Matthews (2008) details the importance of considering the ways in which refugee students are currently racialized in Australia, and argues:

Literacy is critically important, but schools are not simply literacy delivering Machines. Set in racially saturated and radically unsettling times they are also places of settlement, safety and security. They create learning environments and spaces for participation, communication, relationships, friendships, belonging and learning about oneself and others. Refugee students do not slot neatly into the multicultural diversity of the Australian landscape. (p. 42)

In my opinion, Matthews' statement does not just apply in Australia. Because of this, I see value in a deeper examination of the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in reading classrooms in two countries.

It is important to note that each country has its own laws regarding refugee resettlement and the rights of refugees. The processes of asylum-seeking and refugee resettlement are political and characterized by uncertainty on the part of the asylum-seeker or refugee (McAdam & Chong, 2014). Asylum seekers and refugees often are unaware of the laws regarding refugee resettlement in the countries they resettle in, and are also sometimes unaware of the rights and privileges that may or may not be afforded

to them in their new country (Piper Am, Khakbaz, & Quek, 2015). While signatories to the Refugee Convention should obey international law regarding refugees, many countries do not, and employ dualist systems which only recognize international law if it is also enacted as domestic law (McAdam & Chong, 2014). This means that refugees in major resettlement countries do not enjoy the same rights and privileges, and this includes refugee youth who attend public schools. Refugee youth attending public schools are subject to varying language policies and literacy programs dependent upon which country they resettle in. For this reason, I feel a comparative study involving two major resettlement countries with dualist laws could contribute both to the fields of refugee literacy and language acquisition.

Sites for this Study

I chose to focus on Australia and the United States for this study because both are major resettlement countries with similar histories in regards to refugees, with different education systems and different approaches to research on this group of students. These two countries are also connected in their refugee resettlement policies, as Australia currently sends groups of refugees from its offshore detention center in Nauru to be resettled under an agreement brokered by Malcolm Turnbull and Barack Obama in 2016 (Slezak, 2018). Australia is considered to be a traditional country of resettlement, and is very much involved in the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Executive Committee in Geneva (Garnier, 2014). Both countries are experiencing a rise of nationalism in the political sphere, and both have a socio-political climate rife with anti-refugee rhetoric and heated discussion on the topic of immigrants termed as illegal

(Pedersen, Attwell, & Heveli, 2005). It was important for me to choose two countries experiencing this phenomenon alongside the implementation of language policies that lean towards monolingual language ideologies so I can explore how this phenomenon interacts with the teaching of reading to refugees.

In the United States, per the Refugee Act of 1980, refugee resettlement must take place across the country (Weine, 2011), and the Australian government also began practicing the dispersal of humanitarian settlers in the early 2000s (Schech, 2014). It was necessary that the geographical regions in which this study is based are major sites of refugee resettlement, so that I could trace the phenomenon of anti-refugee rhetoric throughout multiple sources and venues. I included one school from each country, both in a suburban setting. I chose to focus my study on the suburbs instead of urban or rural settings because in both the United States and Australia, suburbs are increasingly important to refugee resettlement. Suburbs in the United States have begun to serve as significant sites of resettlement for immigrants in the past 40 years and are host to a number of refugee services (Singer, 2009).

I did not plan to include school sites on the basis of success in improving refugee students' literacy rates. I personally feel that achievements in improving students' literacy cannot be captured by standardized test results. For refugee students in particular, being second language learners and new to the country, a full understanding of their literacy skills cannot be gained based upon scores earned on a test taken in their second language. If I based school site inclusion upon reading test scores, I felt that I might inadvertently exclude a school site that may yield informative results in terms of

the interactions between language policy and anti-refugee rhetoric in the reading classroom. In addition, I might not have learned about the progress teachers and students make in the reading classroom in schools that do not earn high reading test scores.

I began research in both countries at the beginning of the academic school year so as to better understand how reading teachers of refugee students set up their classroom communities, and to perhaps have a greater understanding of their intentions with regards to language policy in the reading classroom. Making sure that research in both countries begins at the same point in the academic school year allowed for more accurate comparison.

Participants

In order to participate in this study, I required reading teachers of refugee students enrolled in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) or English as an Additional Language (EAL) at a public school. The Australian context is similar to the United States in that all teachers with students acquiring the English language are considered responsible for teaching those students, regardless of whether they are trained or hired as language teachers (Education Services Australia, 2012). In Australia, students are identified as Students for whom English is an additional language/dialect (EAL/D).

The overarching policy addressed in the OCR's *Dear Colleague* letter on January 7, 2015, is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which mandates that all children must be provided with the services they need to "meaningfully participate" (p. 1) in educational services offered by their local school. This policy guideline does not specifically mention refugee students, but, as refugee students frequently are identified as

English Language Learners (ELLs), this document and its policy guidelines can apply to them. I did not search for participants based upon their success in meeting the guidelines set forth in this policy, and therefore did not select participants or sites based upon the level of training reading teachers have, the presence of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) co-teacher, or ESOL program models.

Because I am interested in studying how policies aligned with deficit models manifest in the reading classroom with refugees the participants in my study included the following: four reading teachers, one program coordinator, and one head teacher. Two of the reading teachers were based in the U.S. school and two were based in the Australian school. All participants served refugee students in some capacity. For example, to participate in this study, I required that reading teachers must teach refugee students, regardless of whether they were trained to do so. The program coordinator and head teacher were involved with coaching, observing, data analysis, and other activities that support classes with refugee students.

In both Australia and the United States, I needed to obtain permission from the departments of research and evaluation at the district level and school principals in order to conduct research in the school building. After I obtained permission from the departments of research and evaluation to conduct my study, I emailed the administrators of the schools I wanted to study. After I successfully obtain permission from the administrators, I emailed the ESOL/EAL teachers a recruitment letter.

Recruitment emails inviting teachers to participate included a short statement of purpose explaining the study as well as an attachment with the informed consent form,

which will provide more information about the procedures, risks, and benefits of the study. In the body of the recruitment email, I explained that the purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which broader English language education policies and anti-refugee rhetoric in the media impact what happens in the reading classroom with refugees in Australia and the United States. I also explained that I am a student researcher who is approaching this project from an apolitical stance with the aim of improving refugee student education going forward. Based on my statement of purpose in the recruitment email, I expected that positive replies would come from teachers who have taken an active interest in helping refugee students, vice those who are neutral or even uninterested.

Data Collection

For the horizontal axis of this case study, to explore the cases of a school context and a district office, I collected data from interviews and observations. This data also informed the vertical axis of this case study, as it should allow me to explore the manifestation and iteration of language education policy in the reading classroom as it is seen by actors in that setting and as it is interpreted by actors in the district offices.

Interviews

I planned to interview all participants at least three times in semistructured interviews, one of the formats Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) recommend for critical comparative case studies. I hoped to interview participants three times over the course of an academic semester or term so as to build a relationship with the participants and to be

able to learn more about their particular contexts at different points in time. I planned to interview participants in both Australia and the United States starting at the beginning of the school year in each country so the timing would be similar. Ensuring that the timing was similar was important because I wanted the teachers in both countries to have the same amount of time to get to know their students—if I interviewed teachers in one country in the middle of the school year, and teachers in the other country at the beginning, this may not have been the case.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards. I planned to use open-ended questions in order to encourage conversation and to avoid leading participants towards answers that may be biased towards my own point of view. According to Gubrium and Koro-Ljungberg (2005), both parties in an interview must exhibit flexibility to allow for conversation that goes beyond what is planned. They acknowledge that there are “unequal power dynamics that guide the semistructured interview” (p. 699) and, as a result, the knowledge that is built upon during an interview is not free from bias; rather, it is created as part of an agenda.

Observations

So that I could become closer to understanding each context through the participants’ perspectives, I engaged in participant observation (Hatch, 2002) in the classroom. I conducted observations in the classroom twice over the semester to note any changes taking place. I engaged in passive participation so as not to influence the events taking place, but also so as not to become too familiar with the setting and individuals (Hatch, 2002). In a discussion of how to take field notes and what data can be gleaned

from them, Hatch (2002) cites Wolcott's (1995) advice to pay more attention to the data that is collected from observations versus what is left out because it is impossible to take notes on every detail. However, Hatch (2002) does advise filling in raw field notes as soon as possible so that these field notes can be serve as more accurate research protocols to be analyzed thoroughly and efficiently.

Table 2

Data Collection Timeline

Timeframe (2019)	Data Collection
February	Interview 1
March	Observations
April	Interview 2
May	Observations
June	Interview 3
July-August	Data Analysis
October	Interview 1 / Observations
November	Interview 2 / Observations

Policy Document Selection

In order to explore both the transversal and the vertical axis, I also undertook a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of policy documents related to language acquisition and newspaper articles related to refugee literacy. Specifically, I studied the *English as an Additional Language or Dialect: Advice for Schools* and the documents related to the Multicultural Education Policy, both taken from the New South Wales government website in Australia, and the *Dear Colleague* letters related to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, taken from the Office of Civil Rights website. I chose these documents in particular because they illustrate the language policies enacted in both countries, and because they further show what expectations the government has for schools to educate Dual Language Learners. The policy documents I analyzed were retrieved in electronic format directly from government websites detailing federal education and state policy in both countries. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) write that CDA is a “useful approach for vertical comparison of policy because it links micro-level textual analysis with the macro-level exploration of how authoritative knowledge is generated and distributed by national and international policymaking institutions” (Kindle Location 2129). In my case, I explored the ways that anti-refugee rhetoric and deficit perspectives can be seen in policy implementation and interpretation at all levels.

Newspaper Selection

I analyzed both the policy documents themselves and newspaper articles addressing refugee education from the year the documents were released. Newspaper articles were taken from regional publications. In a Critical Discourse Analysis of media

coverage of refugees in Australia, Cooper, Olejniczak, Lenette, and Smedley (2017) coded regional newspaper articles according to their tone: positive, negative, or neutral. In order to identify appropriate regional newspapers, they conducted a quantitative content analysis of six newspapers from local government areas with 50 or more new refugee residents from the past 5 years. They eliminated two of the newspapers based upon the lack of results from the quantitative content analysis; as there were no articles addressing refugees or asylum-seekers in these papers. They found the majority of the articles were positive in tone based upon the language used to describe refugees and the content of the stories, but refugees did not have a strong voice in the articles. They note that the overall positive tone found in regional publications is at odds with findings from previous research, and contend that this could inform future studies. However, they do also note that the ownership of three of the newspapers may have contributed to the positive tones regarding refugees, as these media syndicates were not found to hold conservative views in previous studies. It is for this reason I included a sample of both liberal and conservative newspapers articles, to compare the overall tones in both.

Table 3

Newspapers Analyzed

Time Period	United States	Australia
World War II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Washington Post</i> • <i>The Evening Star</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> - <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> - <i>The Biz</i>
Vietnam Era	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Washington Post</i> • <i>The Washington Star</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> - <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> (microfilm)
The Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Washington Post</i> • <i>The Washington Times</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> - <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>

American newspaper article selection. Articles were found initially using the search terms “refugee” and “student” and “refugee” and “education.” For the American newspapers, I used the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database for *The Washington Post*, and the online NewsBank archives made available by the District of Columbia Public Library for *The Evening Star* for the years 1940-1950. This search in *The Washington Post* archives produced 333 articles. Articles were eliminated if the topic of the article did not actually address refugees in the host country. Articles were also

eliminated if the focus was adult language acquisition or adult refugees attending school. I skimmed each article to determine the overall subject, and to locate the subject matter related to refugees. Only 24 articles were left using this criteria. Upon discovering that in many articles refugees were referred to as “displaced persons” or “DPs,” I conducted another search using the search terms “DP student” and “Displaced person student.” The former produced 252 articles, some of which were the same ones as previous searches, and the latter resulted in 95 articles. After skimming these articles, many of which were the same, the total number of articles came to 28. I also searched *The Washington Post* for articles from the same years using the search terms “refugee children.” This search produced 1,476 results, some of which were duplicates from the other search results. Of these 1,476 articles, 11 articles were included in this analysis. In addition, I searched *The Washington Post* using the search terms “refugee language education,” which returned 31 articles. Of these, four were relevant. I then searched using the terms, “refugee English,” which produced 6,080 results. Of these, 13 were relevant. Finally, I searched using the term “Americanization school.” This search returned 4 relevant articles. In *The Evening Star*, an initial search using the terms “refugee” and “student” and “refugee” and “education” produced 672 articles and 906 articles respectively. The archives for this newspaper produced search results based on the page in the newspaper, not based on the article.

For the post-Vietnam era, I used the same ProQuest Historical Newspapers database to search *The Washington Post* archives and the online NewsBank archives made available by the District of Columbia Public Library to search *The Washington Star*

archives. *The Evening Star* newspaper changed ownership in 1974 and underwent a name change to *The Washington Star* (Haskins, 2019). A search for articles from the post-Vietnam era in *The Washington Star* using the search terms “refugee education” produced 1,783 articles. Of these, 9 were relevant and analyzed. In *The Washington Post*, 23 articles were analyzed after the same keyword search produced 1,583 results.

For the current period, I examined articles from *The Washington Post* and *The Washington Times*. A keyword search for articles about refugees produced very few results in *The Washington Times* database: only one, with the headline, “That’s the power of a crying child — a price tag of \$6 million” (Chumley, 2018). In contrast, the same search on the *The Washington Post* database produced 22 results. The articles in *The Washington Post* largely address President Trump’s rhetoric on illegal immigration and refugees, President Trump’s Muslim ban, and the Trump administration’s family separation policy. While these articles do not directly address refugee students in American schools, they indicate the current state of the rhetoric used to describe refugees, and show one understanding of the rhetoric put forth by the Trump administration.

Australian newspaper article selection. For the Australian newspaper articles from the World War II era, I used the National Library of Australia Trove online database to search news articles in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, the Fairfield-based newspaper *The Biz*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. As my search for articles in *The Biz* produced only 13 articles for three decades (the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s) and all of them were largely irrelevant, the articles analyzed here are all from *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

The Australian newspaper articles analyzed for the post-Vietnam era were taken from *The Sydney Morning Herald* online archives. Newspaper articles from *The Daily Telegraph* were not included with the exception of one, as articles from this era are not digitized and are only available on microfilm, which would not allow for a keyword search. A scan of the newspapers from this newspaper on microfilm did not produce a number of relevant articles to this study. A search on the *Sydney Morning Herald* archive website for articles pertaining to “refugee education” produced 69 results for the years 1970-1985. A search during the same years using the terms “refugee student” produces 1123 items, but many of these results are duplicates. My subsequent search terms were influenced by the content and discourse I found as I read, as well as background reading of memoirs from the time.

Data Analysis

Throughout the data collection process as I conducted interviews and observations, I coded to find patterns. Each interview transcript and research protocol resulting from field notes was coded using in vivo coding, so that my analysis stayed close to the participants’ words without my own interpretations overshadowing their intended meaning, and eclectic coding, as I had different forms of data (Saldaña, 2015). I coded all forms of data continuously throughout data collection in two cycles. Saldaña (2015) explains that codes make up categories, and the process of coding allows the researcher to identify and analyze common characteristics across data. He notes that some codes may need to be subcategorized. As I coded the data, I wrote memos.

In order to analyze historical policy documents, I also used in vivo coding and the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), in order to check the codes against the other forms of data and identify similarities and differences over the three time periods. Using CDA, I employed The Identities Building Tool and The Significance Building Tool (Gee, 2014b), which are among the 28 tools Gee developed as a way for readers to ask certain questions of data in examining its language. Gee (2014b) argues that there are many theories that can be used to analyze discourse, and “no one theory is universally right or universally applicable” (p. 1). These two tools allowed me to examine the discourse used in policy documents in a way that will reveal socio-political leanings and deficit perspectives. Gee (2014b) recommends The Identities Building Tool for analyzing how “the speaker’s language treats other people’s identities, what sorts of identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to his or her own. Ask, too, how the speaker is positioning others, what identities the speaker is ‘inviting’ them to take up” (p. 116). This tool is necessary for the analysis of any discourse regarding bilingual students because the conversation taking place about them as a result of research studies and journal articles is led by researchers and educators, instead of the students themselves. I used The Significance Building Tool to “ask how words and grammatical devices are being used to build up or lessen significance....for certain things and not others” (Gee, 2014b, p. 98).

According to Gee (2014b), part of discourse analysis is making the familiar strange, which he notes is a difficult task when delving into one’s own culture. The framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) includes the analysis of the control of

public discourse (Van Dijk, 2003). As I used CDA to inform my own analysis of the discourse used to discuss refugee students and literacy, I analyzed the ways in which policy-makers and educators control what is said about those students and how it is said. In using a critical approach, I analyzed how the language used to characterize and position refugee students implicates status and power (Gee, 2011). Fairclough (2013) suggests that social institutions function as speech communities, and play a great role in forming discourses and shaping how people are socialized. He posits that such discourses act as a constraint or framework within which people perform social actions. I analyzed the ways in which both educators and policy-makers contribute and build a discourse used by the schools refugee students attend. Freire (1985) asserts, “educational practice and its theory cannot be neutral.” The analysis framework of this paper is built upon the assumption that inherent within the usage of certain terms to describe and evaluate refugee students and their educational experience, there are issues of power and opportunity.

Addressing Quality in My Research on Refugee Literacy

I interviewed teachers and administrators serving students of a refugee background. Because refugee students typically belong to or live in communities that have been historically marginalized and teachers operate within school spaces that can be seen as reproducing traditional hierarchies, it was necessary for me to engage continuously in a reflexive and reflective examination of the research process. In these sections, I address the ways I planned to account for quality, trust, and ethics in my study

of the implementation of language acquisition policies in the reading classroom with refugees.

Quality in Qualitative Research

Making the research process public can contribute to an increase in quality in qualitative research in that it allows for a better understanding of the researcher's interpretation of their data as well as a better understanding of the researcher (Anfara, Jr., Brown, & Mangione, 2002). The concept of validity is related to quality because researchers must question what makes the knowledge produced by a study believable and likewise consider what evidence is used to make a claim or interpretation valid (Polkinghorne, 2007). Thick description can enhance the quality of a qualitative design, as it allows for an understanding of a social phenomenon beyond the researcher's perspective, and it includes participants' perspectives and representations, too (Maxwell, 2012). I hoped that by committing time and presence within the community I studied I could include thick description in my study and thereby increase validity. In the prologue of her longitudinal ethnographic study of the ways children use language at home and at school, Heath (1986) posits that it is up to the reader to decide how scientific her study is, and she contends that it would not have been fair to the communities she studied to make special demands upon them for her data collection. With thick description and data triangulation, I aimed to stay true to both my participants' stories and the rigor required of qualitative studies without infringing upon the normal routines of those who agree to participate.

Anfara, Jr. et al. (2002) urge against simply using the standard invocation of member checks and triangulation to convince the reader of validity, as doing so without detailing methods and reasoning can detract from the rigor of a study. In order to address this, I include the method I used triangulate my data, as follows.

Triangulation of Data

Because I desired to learn more about how language acquisition policy is implemented in reading classrooms with refugees, it will be necessary for me to triangulate the interview data collected from teachers with policy documents. Analyzing policy documents will allow me to better discern whether the development of policy differs from its implementation and will also allow me to learn more about the Department of Education's stance on refugee education. Documents, records, and archives can be considered to be unobtrusive data as they do not directly influence the enactment of a social phenomenon as interaction with participants might (Hatch, 2002). Including unobtrusive data in my study could increase the validity of my study, but as Hatch (2002) contends, it is important that participants understand that I am collecting data based upon documents, too. Hatch (2002) primarily addresses the collection of school level documents such as student records, photographs, and school newspapers. Informing participants of all of my data sources will provide them with a better understanding of my study and allow them to make a better-informed decision as to whether they wish to take part. Keeping my participants informed of this triangulation of data will also increase trust.

Addressing Issues of Trust

Just as Hatch (2002) posits that participants should be aware of the types of data being collected, he also encourages researchers to make sure that participants are well-informed as to what their role is in the research process. Understanding research as a social process (Freeman, 2000) necessitates that researchers follow social codes and guidelines in order to collect data and gain access to participants. This means, for example, that in order to build trust among participants, I followed the district and school institutions' regulations regarding outside researchers. I also had to be considerate of whom and what I represent as I am an outsider to the communities to which my participants belong (Freeman, 2000).

Moreover, as gatekeepers to a study can decide which information is available to researchers (Hatch, 2002), openness and honesty about the purposes of my study and the ways I planned to share findings was also necessary. In an examination of the ways relationships and building trust can allow access to participants who are members of closed communities, Miller (2004) uses Erving Goffman's metaphor of frontstage and backstage behaviors to illustrate the complexities of interpersonal relationships and trust as methodological issues in qualitative research. Frontstage behaviors include self-protective performances aimed at meeting the expectations of someone else, while backstage behaviors can occur when an individual feels comfortable and able to trust. This sort of backstage behavior can be seen in Heath's (1986) relationships with her teacher participants, as evidenced by the snippets of conversations she quotes in which the teachers profess feeling comfortable with her in the room because they knew she was

a former teacher and felt that she was a “sounding board” and “someone who did not tell me what to do” (p. 358).

In terms of ethics, I needed to consider how I can open my own worldview to consider others’ (Ritchie, 2016) throughout the data collection and analysis process, but especially during interviews. Semistructured interviews allowed for conversations that place more emphasis on the participants’ voices and understanding rather than my own.

Positionality

Constant recognition and reflection upon such contextual factors related to the school systems serving refugee students and how I fit or do not fit was essential to understanding the data I collected. In a study of undocumented youth at a large high school and the ways they are excluded from the educational process, Patel (2012) details the elements of her professional and personal life that influenced the ways she conducted and analyzed the results of her research. She notes that as a child of immigrants, she felt a connection with participants describing issues of language, for example. She also notes that her own family background is partially what inspired her to take on the study. Her professed role as a sociologist also influenced her data collection, as did her personal belief that the labelling of individuals without residency papers as illegal and subsequent criminalization of the entire population is wrong. Patel’s reflection upon her own positionality as it relates to interviewing a community that she does not belong to has served to remind me to reflect upon the reasons I had for wanting to interview participants who teach within a community to which I also do not belong.

My positionality was also influenced by my status as an American living in Australia. I was a newcomer to Australia. The teachers and administrators I interviewed were curious about how I came to Australia, like everyone else I met there, and my answers likely marked me as an outsider. Insider/outsider status is influenced by a number of factors, not just nationality (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, & Muhamad, 2001). My status as a teacher may have given me some degree of insider status in Australia even though I taught in a different country. As a former teacher, I may also have had insider status in the United States, but this was negated by my status as an outside researcher.

In addition, I do not have personal experience with the Australian public school system as I do with the American public school system, both as a student and a teacher. For that reason, I viewed the Australian public school system with different biases, or perhaps even fewer biases. As I went forward with this research, I must continuously reflect upon the ways my positionality as an outsider in one country and an insider in the other will potentially impact the way I choose to compare the two.

The primary reason I hoped to learn more about refugee literacy from the vantage point of refugee students' reading teachers is because I was once a reading teacher with refugee students and Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE) in my classroom, and I struggled. The literature on refugee education that addresses the teachers who were trained in English as a Second Language (ESL) methods without any knowledge of how to teach students with interrupted education or low levels of literacy describes me in my first years of teaching. I did not realize some of my students had not

been to school or did not read in their home languages, because they did not have the language to tell me so, and I did not have the language to ask. The deficit discourse prevalent in the literature on refugees (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007) is difficult to read because it captures some of the thoughts I had in my first years teaching, when I simply could not understand why some students were struggling so much while their peers were so successful. My own individual ignorance was a small part of a system that largely ignores refugees and their needs (Moinolnolki, & Han, 2017), and for that reason, I think more studies need to be done regarding refugee literacy that include the refugee student perspective as well as their teachers'. Patel (2016) urges researchers to be careful not to assume that research will do marginalized communities a favor in giving them a voice, and I have taken note of this advice. And, while I cannot be sure that every teacher of refugees is like me, it is reasonable to assume some similarities based upon the literature. For that reason, in my view, more research on refugee literacy is necessary, so that teachers and researchers can learn more about this group, the policies affecting them, and the reading classrooms they belong to.

Conclusion

Honesty about who I am, my reasons for conducting this research, and the benefits that stood to be gained were an integral part of this process. Allowing the reader and my participants access to my researcher lens added to the ethical value and the validity of my study (Thorstensson Dávila, 2014).

As I researched school settings in two countries, I needed to practice patience and flexibility as I went forth with my research. I desire that the voices of reading teachers of

refugee students as compared in both the United States and Australia set against the backdrop of history will reveal lessons that can be used to guide language and reading education policy to improve the experiences refugee students have in their new countries.

Chapter Four

In the first half of this chapter, I discuss the results from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of policy documents related to the teaching of refugee students in the United States and Australia. I examine the depictions of refugees in regional and national newspapers in both the United States and Australia as well as in order to answer my first research question: Historically, what is the interaction between policies designed to help refugee students learn English and reading and anti-refugee rhetoric in the United States and Australia? In the second half of this chapter, I present my results from interviews and observations conducted in one school in the United States and one school in Australia. The results from these interviews and observations answer my second research question: 2) What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of English language acquisition policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia?

The Historical Interaction between Policy, Practice, and Anti-Refugee Rhetoric

In this section, I detail the results from a critical discourse analysis of articles published in the decades that education policies related to English Learners or refugees were enacted. It is important to note that these education policies related to English Learners were not seen as newsworthy in the general media-- I was unable to locate any articles addressing any of the education policies related to English Learners and language

education in the years of policy document release with the exception of the Lau Remedies.

I divided the results of this research by theme and time period. The results of this research include the following themes in American and Australian newspapers from the World War II era: Growing understandings of refugees, stereotypes and monolingual language ideologies, refugees as grateful, refugees as polite, well-to-do, and educated, and “Unaccompanied are greatest problem.” Themes from newspapers in the post-Vietnam era include: connections drawn between visa status and literacy, racial stereotypes and linguicism, positioning refugees as outsiders, white flight, seeking an education, stereotyped negatively as students, and trauma. For the current period, themes include: xenophobia, trauma, trouble and disadvantage, influx, and how Australia and the U.S. help refugees. For both countries, I analyzed articles from at least one liberal-leaning newspaper as well as a conservative newspaper.

Table 4

Themes from Critical Discourse Analysis of Newspaper Articles

Time Period	Theme
World War II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growing understandings of refugees - Stereotypes and monolingual language ideologies - Refugees as grateful - Refugees as polite, well-to-do, and educated - “Unaccompanied are greatest problem”
Post-Vietnam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Connections drawn between visa status and literacy - Racial stereotypes and linguicism - Positioning refugees as outsiders - White flight - Seeking an education - Stereotyped negatively as students - Trauma
The Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Xenophobia - Trauma - Trouble and disadvantage - Influx - How Australia and the U.S. help refugees

Refugees in the News in the United States and Australia during the World War II

Era

In the following sections, I detail my analyses from newspapers in both the United States and Australia during World War II and post-war. Articles were taken from *The Washington Post*, *The Evening Star*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. *The Evening Star* and *The Daily Telegraph* were conservative-learning

newspapers, whereas *The Washington Post* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* were left-leaning.

In both countries, discussion and portrayal of refugees over the post-World War II, Vietnam, and present eras has been punctuated by fluctuating language ideologies and corresponding changing terminologies. Recurrent themes include concerns over the growing numbers of refugees, a fixation on the rate of English language acquisition and retention of heritage languages among refugees, white flight, and descriptions of refugees as grateful to their new countries and hardworking. As discussed in the sections below, the term refugee is used loosely in all three time periods. In many cases, journalists use the term as though adhering to its dictionary definition, and often conflate the term “refugee” with “asylum seeker.” This results in a subjective and often racialized use of the term, which is a political status granted by state governments. Sympathetic portrayals of refugees often relate to an individual’s race or country of origin. For example, in World War II, English refugees were seen as more desirable. Unaccompanied refugee children of Jewish origin who came to the United States prior to and during World War II were not given refugee status (Baumel-Schwartz, 2016). While refugees from Eastern Europe may be depicted with interest, this group is described in a way that creates a marked contrast between their identities as speakers of another language, from countries that are portrayed as quite different from the English-speaking West. In American newspapers in all periods, stereotypes pertaining to refugees are created and compounded, and confirmed, refuted, and problematized by the teachers quoted in the articles.

Growing understandings of refugees. This period of history stands out in comparison to the post-Vietnam era and the present. Policy specifically addressing refugee education and the education of English Learners was largely non-existent. Refugee education and language education was largely ad hoc at the state and local level and driven by non-governmental organizations (Rutland, 2016).

As previously stated, the movement of individuals as refugees is as old as time, but, the formalized and internationally-recognized definition of the term refugee was not formed until the 1951 Refugee Convention. In addition, the discourse surrounding the topics of refugee migration and refugee education was not as negative as later eras. Refugees were frequently referred to as refugees, or DPs: Displaced Persons. Only one article was located in which Displaced Persons were referred to as “illegal” in a foreshadowing of current rhetoric (United Press, 1950, p. B6).

In many cases, refugee students’ cultural wealth and capital were readily recognized and appreciated. British refugees in particular were depicted in favorable terms. This speaks to issues of racism and racial stereotypes throughout American history, particularly as this occurred with less frequency as the countries of origin and linguistic backgrounds of refugees changed over the century. The identities created for reader in articles about child evacuees from England is markedly different from that of German-speaking countries. For example, one article referred to a pair of child evacuees as “eager, intelligent lads” who said, “school’s much the same anywhere” (“Evacuee Children Settling Down,” 1940, p. 2). In another, “they are fine youngsters” (“British Child Evacuees,” 1940, p. 8). The Director of Child Welfare was quoted as saying, “I

never saw a happier crowd...They are a lovely lot of youngsters” (“Eleven Leave for Country,” 1940, p. 8). In articles about child evacuees, journalists do not mention literacy, perhaps because it is assumed. Instead, they focus on other aspects of the children’s identities: the fun-loving parts of childhood.

Just a few months prior to the 1951 Refugee Convention, *The Washington Post* published an article celebrating the diverse origins of local refugee students participating in a “Brotherhood Week” pageant at a junior high school in Washington, D.C. The journalist writing this article chose to point out that one refugee girl participating had blonde hair: “Blonde Zenta had met Vera when the girl’s father distributed YMCA books and toys for children in refugee confines in which she was being held” (“Article 6,” pg. B1). The hair color of the other students mentioned in this article are not mentioned, and there is no discernible reason for noting Zenta’s, as her appearance and hair color do not relate to the content of the article. In contrast, the previous year, an article detailing the plight of a young Palestinian college student who overstayed his student visa was characterized as a “sallow-faced Arabian youth” who had “placed his problem in the lap of the United States government” when Israel refused his reentry visa to go home to Jerusalem (Zagoria, 1 September 1950, B1). This is an instance where a refugee student is both racialized and positioned as a burden to the state, a position punctuated by the subheading “Now in Jail.” In contrast, refugees or “Displaced Persons” who sought refuge in the United States from war-torn Europe drew sympathy, or even sometimes connections to their journey to the “traditional haven” for Europeans:

It is now 315 years since another group of displaced Europeans landed in southern Maryland. They, too, didn't find the going easy. They, too, found the country strange, and different from what they had known. They, too, found the people -- the Indians -- they were to live among, speaking a different language, with different customs, different habits, with different tastes. (Ball & Gorrell, 1950, p. B8)

These lines came after a section on the "Anti-Semitism Noted" among the refugees.

The Evening Star advocated for more acceptance of political refugees, writing that they were escaping the "spreading Nazi and Fascist domination" ("Haven for More Foes of Axis in U.S. Urged," 1941, p. 24). Edgar Ansel Mowrer is quoted as saying "The political refugees of today are not aliens. They ask to be allowed to continue the struggle against totalitarianism beside us and in our ranks" ("Haven for More Foes of Axis in U.S. Urged," 1941, p. 24). Here, Mowrer positions refugees as partners in the fight against Nazis and Fascists, attempting to remove the "alien" label in order to promote an understanding of refugees as similar to Americans. In another instance, political refugees from Communist regimes are characterized as people of "guts and conscience" ("Roberts Asks Action, Not Talk, in Congress Bringing DPs, 1947).

However, a letter to the editor written after the war paints a negative picture of refugees, characterizing them as "displaced persons [who] are shiftless; won't work even to help themselves; hold that someone must provide them with a living; are poor material for American citizenship" (Hichborn, 1948, p. 12). The author of this letter writes in protest of what he calls the removal of "...safeguards to keep out undesirables," tying the

relaxing of requirements for entrance for refugees to the trial and pending execution of a child refugee who was found guilty of raping and murdering a minister's wife by asserting that his was not an unusual case. Such an assertion depicts refugees as a group to be feared as well as looked down upon and is an extreme example of negative discourse surrounding refugees in the U.S. during this period.

In Australian news articles, the terms "refugee" and "migrant" were used interchangeably in many cases. Notably, in 1940, the term "enemy alien" was used by the Minister of Education to explain why funding was taken from English language programs for refugees from Nazi Germany ("Injustice to Refugees," 1940, p. 8). The minister's rhetoric was protested in letters to the editor: "The reference to 'enemy aliens,' though it may be strictly correct in the legal aspect, is a gross affront to the sense of British fair play..." ("Injustice to Refugees," 1940, p. 8). The writer of this letter argued that the term "enemy alien" was an epithet, and contended that because the refugee students in these classes were paying tuition, this indicated a desire on their part to become British citizens "in every sense of the term" (p. 8). The argument surrounding the education of refugees from enemy countries continued into the next year in the legislative assembly, with the aforementioned Minister of Education arguing that refugee students were denied an education because "Until the war is over, no person of enemy alien origin should be put in a position...where there are delicate machines that could be sabotaged" ("Alien Pupils," 1941, p. 9). Presumably the English classes for refugee students did not put refugee students from any country in contact with delicate machinery, but funding was still taken away. This incident illustrates the conundrum

some refugees faced during this time period-- their host country's society expected assimilation through English language acquisition ("Alien Classes Closed, 1940) but simultaneously created barriers towards that goal through policy.

The characterization of the desire to learn English as evidence of assimilation and the dichotomy implied between the enemy and the citizen created difficulties for refugees from countries under Nazi control. As one refugee wrote, "Whether Germany wins or loses, and we feel and hope that it will lose, we refugees must also lose if Australians maintain the present frame of mind" (Henry, 1940, p. 4). In another letter to the editor entitled "Xenophobia," a refugee in Australia lamented that his family life had been "...seriously interfered with by a number of baseless stories to the effect that I was a Germany spy" (Kuenzli, 1945, p. 2). This letter in particular speaks to the effect that terminology used in the media can have on ordinary individuals.

Stereotypes and monolingual language ideologies. Perhaps in anticipation of readers' fears that refugee children would use a public education to then grow up and compete for jobs, a number of articles emphasized the short amount of time refugees were expected to stay. However, in an article focused on life in Australian "alien camps" (Cizzio, 1944, p. 5), refugees are described based upon whether they are "Jew" or "Gentile." All refugees' accents are depicted as caricatures-- with pronunciations exaggerated, and even written in German: "Hier, Herr Hauptmann" and the reply: "Speak English." One Jewish refugee's thank you was written as "Sank you verra mooch" with a subsequent note that she "has an excellent understanding of Australian currency."

The underlying anti-Semitic stereotypes applied to refugees here are intertwined with monolingual language ideologies, which devalue and ridicule heritage languages whilst also contributing to both anti-Semitism and anti-refugee sentiment: “The Australian suddenly finds the refugee has won independence whilst he is still a wage-slave” (Cizzio, 1944, p. 5). The depiction of Jewish refugees as focused on money and succeeding at the expense of Australians is a trope politicians repeated in more recent history (Jones, 2004). The evident preference for English-only ideologies exists here in tandem with a fear of refugees and an attempt to separate their identities from those of the “average Australian.” In addition, the assigned identity of the refugee as independent and the Australian as a “wage-slave” served to stoke fears that refugees will take what belongs to Australians.

Refugees as Grateful

In a number of articles focused on refugee children settling in to new roles as students in American schools and members of American families, the children are characterized as grateful to attend school and for the hospitality of their host families. These refugees are portrayed as both eager to learn and to assimilate, and their refined backgrounds are emphasized. These refugees were well-educated, and came from well-to-do families. Photos of the children show them happily interacting with their hosts, one photo of a two year old captioned “English Beauty” (Folliard, 1940). To a modern reader, in some instances, the refugee students seem almost as if they were on vacation or a study abroad trip, with journalist noting that the refugee students have “great respect for their American friends, which will last long into their lives.” Gee (2014) notes that in

order to create identities for ourselves in language, we often will describe others in a way that compares and contrasts to our ideas of ourselves. The language in these articles describing well-to-do refugees both serves to create a picture of them as almost status symbols while simultaneously drawing in sympathy for what they have lost.

Likewise, the Chairman of the Overseas Children Citizens' Committee urged the press not to publish child evacuees' names or photos, explaining that he did not want them to be treated as a "special class," but rather as "normal Australian children in normal Australian homes" (MacIntyre, 1940, p. 12). He remarked that the children had experienced trauma, and it would be better for them to forget.

Dr. Irma Schnierer, a child psychologist, posited that children exposed to the traumas of war "...cannot be educated in a way inspired by peace and love of mankind," and asked, "Will they ever find their way back to real humanity?" (Schnierer, 1940, p. 10). This was in a section of the article entitled "Fortunate Australia." The use of the interrogative throughout ("What will be the consequences in their future life when the present war is over?") indicates the uncertainty some may have felt in caring for refugee children. The declaration that children exposed to war cannot be educated in a way inspired by peace stands without an offering of other ways to educate them, perhaps indicating that Schnierer simply wanted to use the children's identities as "evacuated children" to emphasize the differences between refugee children and Australian children.

In a front page article on the arrival of the 150,000th displaced person to the country, a young student is quoted as telling an auditorium of American students, "From the bottom of our hearts we thank you for the biggest gift of all, a country and a home to

call our own” (“Daniel Boone IV and 1199 Other Youngsters Greet Dace Epermanis, 14, 150,000th DP,” 1950, p. 1). The main clause in this quote highlights the gratitude the refugee student wished to communicate to her American peers. The headline, “Daniel Boone Welcomes a Displaced Person” sits above a large photo of the young Daniel Boone descendant showing the refugee student a book entitled *Exploring American History*. The students’ principal was also quoted as identifying the refugee student as a “young lady who spent the last five years in a DP camp and never had the opportunity like you children to attend school.” The journalist’s decision to include the descendant of a well-known historical figure serves to invoke national pride in the reader and portrays the U.S. as a savior. Another article labels Greenbelt, Maryland as “utopia” (“Greenbelt Doors Open Wide To 15 War Refugee Children: Greenbelt Greet Refugee Children,” 1940, 1).

First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt contributed to a positive discourse surrounding refugees while also using their presence as a way to remind Americans of their need to conserve: “The greatest contribution of the refugee in America is that they remind the older citizens how precious are the things we have” (Associated Press, 1944, p. 19). The First Lady characterized Americans as needing to learn from refugees in this instance, noting, “There is need of learning how to economize and the value of conservation can be taught us by the people of the Old World” (p. 19). In this case, the First Lady is saying that refugees can teach Americans how to be grateful for what they have. By identifying refugees as “the people of the Old World,” Roosevelt reminds her audience of popular understandings of American history, drawing connections between refugees and that

history. This labeling of refugees as “people of the Old World” also serves to mark a contrast between refugees and Americans, literally marking refugees as people with old habits and mannerisms-- but here, this is a positive attribution, as Roosevelt is saying that Americans must learn from them and return to their old ways, presumably to contribute towards the war effort.

Refugees as polite, well-to-do, and educated. A 1950 headline from *The Washington Post* refers to a group of refugees from Ukraine “These Maryland DPs are ‘People Who Love People...’” alongside photographs of smiling refugee women and men, all engaged in work or recreation (p. M8). They are characterized as a “decent, wholesome lot” who have a number of skills, including in nursing and forestry. The implication is that these refugees proved their worth to their new country, or will.

As previously mentioned, the refugees featured in articles from this time period were depicted as well-mannered and well off. Rather than having never attended school due to violence, poverty, or persecution, one English girl had never been educated in a formal school setting because her lessons were at home with a governess (“Girl Refugee Here, Mother In London to Talk Over Radio: Network Will Carry Broadcast Feature At 7:15 Tonight,” 1940). This particular group of refugees did not lack for skills or education, and so were quoted noting the differences in school systems, rather than quoted solely on their gratitude for the opportunity to attend.

The importance of a degree and the ability to learn English. Refugees’ educational backgrounds were noted in many articles. In an article focused on a Polish refugee’s letter submitted to a nationwide contest for a washing machine, the journalist

begins, “Good English pays dividends” (Ellyn, 1946, p. 14). In a description of the refugee, the journalist notes, “Dark-haired Mrs. Ostrower, educated at the University of Warsaw, where she studied law and philosophy, realized a dream when she came to Washington” (p. 14). The embedded clauses in this sentence serve to emphasize the subject’s degrees, which is notable in an article that otherwise confirms stereotypical gender roles and performance, describing both Mrs. Ostrower and her daughter in terms of the homemaking duties they perform. The message implied here is that a good refugee woman or girl learns English and homemaking skills: “As a home economics student Irene has learned to make fine biscuits, devil’s food cake and gingerbread” and “...she cleans up perfectly after cooking, too.” For refugee women, the ability to learn English is of vital importance, and they are praised for doing so quickly: “She didn’t speak one word of English when she started to school, but in three months was reading and writing it.” This sentence focuses the reader’s attention on the student’s exaggerated ability to not only learn English, but put it to use academically. The hard work and difficulties of learning a second language are ignored here, leaving the reader to understand that learning English is an easy task that should be undertaken in order to reap the rewards of living in the United States.

In a letter to the editor, the president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry spoke out against characterizations of European refugees as illiterate: “If the inability to speak English is a sign of illiteracy, most of the great philosophers, scientists, and writers of Europe would have to bear that stigma” (Symonds, 1947, p. 2). An article focused on the creation of a library in Mosman, a suburb of Sydney, contains a short paragraph

mentioning refugee children using the library. They boast of their “perfect English,” explaining that they learned from their English governesses in Austria (“Books for Young Readers,” 1940, p. 7). The intent of this paragraph is lighthearted, as one child brags that her governess had seen Big Ben, and the other counters that hers was born in Big Ben. It also shows the privilege that these particular refugee children left behind.

In 1940, justification for the State Department’s decision to grant visas to 2000 European refugees was explained in an article quoting an announcement describing the group as “...European men and women of intellectual superiority, of education, of culture, of character” (“U.S. Unblocks Quotas...,” 1940, pg. 1). The announcement continues, “The sentiment to save these persons from becoming derelicts or from death developed into committees organized by sympathetic and understanding Americans.” The article does not make clear how it was determined that the refugees possessed the aforementioned positive qualities, but the implication is that refugees who are “...unfortunate persons persecuted because of their adherence to political or religious beliefs” who may not be able to prove a strong educational background do not deserve the sympathy of the American people, or the granting of a visa.

Europe’s Loss, the United States’ gain. A year later, the director of the Institute of International Education was quoted as characterizing the movement of refugees to the United States from Europe as a hegira, or exodus of scholars. In this case, the journalist makes known that the scholars are “learned men, insinuating that women were not contributing to the “new renaissance in the Western Hemisphere” (“Refugees Aid U.S. Culture, Duggan Says,” 1941, p. 18). In another instance, a journalist characterized the

movement of refugees from Europe as “...a cultural blight of a continent [that] has precipitated a migratory flood of sincere students, teachers, writers, artists, and musicians-- Aryans as well as non-Aryans-- to American shores” (Scholin, 1941, p. 32). The journalist then goes on to list a number of well-known names who “enriched” American cultural life. Articles such as these were likely to have promoted an understanding that refugees should be accepted when they have positive attributes and skills that can be put to use, rather than on a simple humanitarian basis.

Another article that does not mention language specifically and is written by an unnamed author notes that Australia “cannot look to Great Britain to provide the necessary numbers” of migrants to increase the country’s population (“Aliens not Enemies, 1943, p. 8). “Aliens” are recharacterized as “newcomers” and “not enemies.” The author addresses the Returned Soldiers’ League’s congressional motion to bar “aliens” from purchasing property or land until 30 years after the war, and contends that such an idea is at odds with the league’s denouncement of anti-Semitism in Europe.

Readers of the Fairfield newspaper *The Biz* were exhorted to refer to refugees as “New Australians” (“Australia’s Migrants,” 1955, p. 18). Migrants and refugees are presumed to be the same in this article, as the terms are used interchangeably. In noting that English-speaking migrants find it easier to settle than those who do not speak English, the journalist adds, “We enrich our own culture in absorbing of the New Australians.” The writer quotes a Presbyterian minister in Fairfield as praising Australian immigration policy as “unique” and the country as having “favourable conditions and opportunities to start a new life...” (p. 18). In this case, a welcoming attitude towards

newcomers is seen as a positive aspect of Australian identity, and in encouraging Australians to label refugees as “New Australians,” it is assumed that refugees are also meant to shed their old identities.

“Unaccompanied are the greatest problem.” After the war, articles on refugees devoted more space to the horrors refugees faced in their home countries and the resulting trauma. An article headlined as “Unaccompanied are the Greatest Problem” also asserts “DPs Aren’t Aliens Long” with quotations from agency workers such as, “...They go to school and learn English fast. Soon you can’t tell them from American children” and “They take to American clothes and gum...and fairly gulp the English language” (Kerr, 30 May 1948, B2). The first description conflates English language acquisition with American nationality while also giving the impression that English language acquisition is a simple process, as if language can be absorbed merely by attending school. The use of the verb “gulp” in the second description further supports the notion that language acquisition must be easy.

Despite the understood praise in these two descriptions, unaccompanied children are also referred to as “waifs” who “fear all adults.” It is not until the final paragraphs that “bad records” are detailed: a teenager who “took to robbery.” The overall positive depiction of refugee students does not match the attention-grabbing headline, however, which could have influenced perceptions of refugee students. One agency worker appealed for empathy: “...problems inevitably arise when a child is uprooted from his home environment and transplanted in a strange household in a strange country” (“Groups named to give refugee children shelter,” 1940, p. 21). This quotation is notable

as the refugee child is referred to simply as a child, rather than another negative descriptor such as “waif” or reference to refugee status.

As previously mentioned, British refugee children were described in a positive fashion. The articles analyzed here all focused on unaccompanied children, but the tone in these articles is markedly light-hearted. Student’s favorite and least favorite subjects in school are noted, and the answers children gave when asked about differences between the U.S. and England were included for the reader’s amusement, rather than to provoke ire. There is a respect for the British children and their culture evident in the discourse and quotations included. One British child was described as “plucky” and quoted in the introduction of one article, “In spite of Hitler’s war, I’m growing” (Arndt, 1941, p. 13). In the introduction to another article, the moment an unaccompanied six year old refugee child is given an opportunity to speak with her parents in England is described as follows: “Then her eyes turned to the receiving set with a wild, terrible gladness and she screamed, “Mommie,” and cried with joy and homesickness for fifteen minutes” (Hart, 1940, p. 1). This lengthy sentence evokes sympathy in the reader for a small child separated from her parents. It also calls to mind the trauma resulting from family separation during times of conflict.

Conclusions to be drawn from the World War II era. The media analyzed from this period of history indicates a growing understanding of refugees in both countries. The media in both countries made little attempt to define who and who was not a refugee, with the implicit understanding that a refugee was an individual fleeing war in his or her home country. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, a refugee is

a person who is fleeing persecution due to his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion who must not be returned to his or her home country if facing harm. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Australia and the United States are countries with dualist systems which only recognize international law if it is also enacted as domestic law (McAdam & Chong, 2014). In the United States, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and its subsequent amendment in 1950 focused primarily on the geographical origins of refugees as criteria for admission, with emphasis placed on individuals fleeing the Nazi regime and having resettled in the British, Italian, French or American sectors of either Germany or Austria, for example. This act also specified the same for unaccompanied minors, or “eligible displaced orphans.” Despite the media’s lack of explicit definition as to who was a refugee, it is likely that the discourse displayed in the articles analyzed here contributed to both the general population’s understanding of refugees as well as policy-makers’.

As in the United States, the majority of articles pertaining to refugee students in Australia during the Second World War addressed language acquisition. A number of articles transliterated refugees’ pronunciations of English words. While journalists may not have done this to mock accents, the effect is to mark refugees as other, or foreign: “What do zey say about ze gentlemen?” (“Migrants Learn to Speak English by Practical Method,” 1949, p. 2). Migration from Europe to Australia was not a new phenomenon, but happened in greater numbers during and following the war (Ongley & Pearson, 1995). While Australia gained its independence at the beginning of the century, it held close ties to Britain as part of the Commonwealth, and as a former colony, a shared

language. Subsequently, the articles from the 1940-1950 period placed the same emphasis on English language acquisition, and made connections between the desire to learn the language and the desire to assimilate.

These articles also indicate refugees earned a more sympathetic portrayal in the media as they learned English. This shows the importance of English as the de-facto national language in both the United States and Australia, as the right of newcomers to live in both places was measured by their willingness to assimilate and demonstration of assimilation through English language learning. However, the growing use of negative terminology and discourse focused on the possibility of refugees taking jobs also shows the ways in which the oft-mentioned trauma did not win enough sympathy to prevent refugees from being positioned as outsiders, even as children.

The lack of explicit English language acquisition policy in both countries during this time period meant that refugee students learned English in an ad hoc fashion. Literacy is assumed or is not mentioned. It is notable that anti-refugee rhetoric is absent in the case of children whose native language is English. A common language, in this case, contributed to the level of comfort in welcoming refugees that is evident in the discourse in newspapers from 1940-1950. As discussed, the light-hearted and welcoming tones disappeared in some articles when writers portrayed refugees from countries other than England. As the countries of origin for refugees arriving in Australia and the United States changed over the twentieth century, so too did the discourse. In the following sections, I address the depictions of refugees in policy and the media twenty years later, during the post-Vietnam era.

Refugees in the Media and in Policy in the U.S. and Australia during the Post-Vietnam Era

In the following sections, I discuss the themes derived from the discourse used in American newspapers and policy documents during the post-Vietnam era. Articles were taken from *The Washington Post*, *The Evening Star*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. *The Evening Star* and *The Daily Telegraph* were conservative-leaning newspapers, whereas *The Washington Post* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* were left-leaning.

Connections drawn between visa status and literacy. In the United States, the numbers of refugees fleeing Vietnam and Cambodia and settling in the DMV-area increased throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Individuals fleeing persecution and violence in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala also resettled in the DMV-area, but with markedly different depictions in local newspapers and varied responses from local educators. While reporters frequently characterized both Central American and Asian refugees as grateful, hard-working, and eager to obtain an education, they were also quick to label both groups as illiterate and uneducated. Students' parents were described as confused and unable to understand or participate in their children's education. In nearly every article from this era that was included in this study, the word "influx" was used to describe the numbers of refugees arriving in the area. Or, articles covering the arrival of new refugee students described the new enrollment numbers as a problem: "...understaffing problems largely created by the arrival of Vietnamese refugees" (Knight, 1975, p. C1), and "We became aware of the Salvadoran influx for the first time last year"

(Guillermoprieto, 1983, p. A1). Coupled with the depiction of refugees as uneducated and illiterate, this must have made some readers nervous, as evidenced by the parents quoted in an article about the arrival of Vietnamese refugee students who planned to pull their children out of schools with high numbers of English learners: “Every [white] child who leaves destabilizes the school and leads to more imbalance” (Mintz, 1984a, p. A1). This, as well as the illegal epithet commonly attached to portrayals of Central Americans and the confusing jumble of terminology used to describe any new arrival to the United States, may have allowed readers to draw their own negative conclusions in relation to immigration in general, and particularly refugees. The terms used to describe refugees and asylum-seekers vary greatly from article to article, with seemingly little attention paid to the internationally-recognized definition. In some articles, individuals crossing the United States border with Mexico were referred to as illegal refugees, in others, as illegal aliens. Notably, in articles about refugee students attending public schools in the DMV-area, students from countries such as El Salvador were often referred to as Salvadoran refugees, without the derogatory illegal descriptor attached.

Positioning refugees as outsiders. In a review of a documentary on Vietnamese refugees, nationalist and xenophobic tropes emerge in quotes taken from students at a high school in Arlington, Virginia. One student positions refugees as the other and herself as an American as she is quoted as saying, “When they become more Americanized, that’s when we will start talking to them” (Baer, 1980, p. C3). It is not clear what the cheerleader quoted meant exactly by Americanized, but presumably, speaking English may have been an aspect of Americanization based on the main clause.

Another student quoted in the same article asserts, “Americans should do more for other Americans” (Baer, 1980, p. C3). The ways in which the students build identities for themselves as Americans and contrast refugees as outsiders also serves to imply that refugees are taking away from Americans, or an American ideal.

An editorial from this period also illustrates the fear that relaxing immigration laws would take away from Americans: “We simply cannot take them all-- while, at the same time, we try to remedy the bleak conditions of our own poor” (Scheuer, 1980, p. F4). This editorial was written by a Democratic congressional representative from New York who chaired the Select Committee on Population. The large graphic accompanying this piece shows an imposing Statue of Liberty with her hand outstretched in a stop motion, the same graphic used for another article analyzed for this study in a later section. Scheuer addresses what he sees as issues with the presence of undocumented immigrants as well as the acceptance of refugees, with the overall message that the United States cannot and should not accept both before addressing its own citizens’ needs first. It is worth noting that the article adjacent is entitled, “American Can’t Talk to Others” and begins “We should erect a sign at each port of entry to the United States-- We Cannot Speak Your Language” (Simon, 1980, p. F1). While Scheuer argues that the US should tighten its immigration laws to protect its own interests, Simon laments its cultural isolation due to its growing monolingualism, despite its cultural diversity.

In Australia, as seen in an article detailing the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs’ stance on accepting refugees from Southeast Asia and the pushback he received from the public in the form of radio calls, the White Australia policy was still

advocated for as late as 1979 (“MacKellar Target of Hostility over Refugees,” 1979, p. 4). The journalist notes that only a quarter of the 16 callers to the radio show favored accepting refugees from Southeast Asia, with the remaining wondering what happened to the White Australia policy, and “What is going to happen when they multiply?” While this particular article did not mention schooling or students, it is notable for the display of racial stereotypes attributed to refugees who were people of color, and the desire for a White Australia.

In a review of a book entitled *Non-White Immigration and the “White Australia” Policy* notable Australian journalist, John Douglas Pringle, asserted that “the most important criterion for selecting immigrants is marriageability” (Pringle, 1970, p. 21). Pringle contended that the American author, Herbert Ira London, wrote the book from an academic perspective, failing “entirely to grapple with any of the real problems involved” (p. 21). The cartoon accompanying the review depicts an artist painting a black and white striped map of Australia with hearts, from pots of color understood to correspond with race. Pringle writes that he would be “more inclined to accept Japanese, Chinese, and Malays than, let us say, American Negroes” (p. 21). Pringle reaffirms the self-understanding of Australian identity as white, and simultaneously places value on a monolingual, English-speaking Australia at the same time he casts aside the idea of English-speaking black Americans coming to Australia. Explicit connections between racial stereotypes, language ideologies, and the ways in which such phenomena may have impacted refugee students are detailed more in the following section.

Racial stereotypes and linguicism. A 1984 article in *The Washington Post* entitled “Prince William Feels Influx of Refugees” focused primarily on adult refugee education, but illustrates the problematic identities assigned to refugees as a group and the racialized stereotypes. An adult education coordinator was quoted as contrasting refugee students with Hispanics, noting that “refugee students come to class well prepared to learn and they have minds like steel traps” while “Hispanics...learn well but seem less eager to assimilate” (Acquaviva, 1984, p. VA4). In the same article, the writer is careful to note that refugee children attend school “with the proper green card (the card issued to lawful resident aliens) and all their immunizations records up to date, ready, like their parents, to learn” (p. VA 4).

In 1966, the Office of Civil Rights was formed to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to combat discrimination in education. The policy guidance documents pursuant to this federal legislation serve to inform schools of their legal responsibilities to their students. The policy guidance documents published in this era refer to discrimination against “Language Minority Children,” a label which did not serve to recognize or value multilingualism. On May 13, 1975, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights published a report advocating for bilingual education for students learning English. An article in *The Washington Post* the next day quoted one of the commissioners as saying that “Many language minority children are handicapped by poverty and discrimination before they even enter school,” (Wentworth, 1975, p. A2) both appealing to a deficit perspective by identifying bilingual students as lacking, and labeling them as minorities. The journalist’s use of strong reporting verbs such as

“contended” and “argued” also indicate the panel’s perceived need to justify the findings in the report, as does one panelist’s statement that “bilingual bicultural education does not conflict with patriotism or being American.” This report held significant ramifications for refugee students, as it meant that they could access content area curriculum in their own language. In cases where students had interrupted education, this was especially important.

Later, in 1980, in reaction to the regulations borne of the *Lau v. Nichols*, the director of the Fairfax County Public Schools ESOL program spoke out against bilingual education, asserting that Fairfax County fulfilled its legal responsibilities to its students in the ESOL program with intensive English lessons. At the time, the ESOL program was 4 years old in Fairfax County, and the county refused to take federal grant money as it would require them to engage in bilingual education. The director was quoted as saying that Fairfax County refused the grant money because bilingual education is “pedagogically unsound” (“Bilingual Education Rules Hit,” 1980, p. B6). However, the county’s refusal to engage in bilingual education was also characterized as “jingoistic,” with a teacher saying, “Fairfax has been an upper-middle class, snooty area, and until five years ago it had no experience with things like all these Vietnamese refugees” (“Bilingual Education Rules Hit,” 1980, p. B6). The word choice in this statement serves to point to refugees as the other while simultaneously highlighting their growing numbers. It also implied that the arrival of refugees had already changed the area’s class makeup. In addition, specifically labeling the refugees as Vietnamese tied the changes to that group of refugees in the area in particular.

In the *National Policy on Languages* document, Lo Bianco (1987) does not mention refugees at all. Bilingualism is supported in this document to an extent:

Schools should be encouraged and assisted to make concerted efforts to foster the bilingualism of their pupils during normal schooling arrangements preferably, or in concert with community organisations or by other arrangements where this is not possible. (p. 6).

However, it is clear that English is positioned as the “de facto national language” (p. 7). Australia is depicted as a multilingual nation in which native English speakers should have the opportunity to learn another language, but bilingual students should learn English. Students in both categories are depicted as Australian: “Many thousands of Australian school children begin school each year speaking only such a language or speaking a variety of such a language” (p. 8). While Lo Bianco (1987) advocates for all Australians of all language backgrounds to develop language skills beyond English, the reasoning for this seems to be to further national interests: “It is in Australia's interest to develop high levels of competence in languages of geo-political significance” (p. 9). Furthermore, one of the problems that the policy is written to address is stated as such: “The integration of language teaching/learning with Australia's external (economic and political) needs and priorities” (p. 10). The discourse here indicates that multilingualism is a part of Australia’s identity if it serves to further its interests on the world stage. Lo Bianco (1987) also indicates that English is the national language that all students, regardless of language or cultural background, should speak: “It is important to...recognize the national character of English as it is used in Australia and its role as a

unifying element in the society and a distinguishing feature of Australia among the English-speaking nations” (p. 4).

Rather than viewing bilingual students from a deficit perspective, this document characterizes English as a Second Language programs as the deficit in a section on language problems: “Deficiencies in English as a Second Language for children” (p. 10). Furthermore, the fact that “Very few English-speaking Australians acquire second languages” is listed as a problem, as is the decline in use of heritage languages among bilingual families. The document outlines support that should be given to teachers in order to address these problems. Lo Bianco (1987) asserts, “Although the majority of the targeted teachers for participation in this course ought to be English teachers, specific attention ought to be given to the active recruitment of subject teachers so that a focus is allocated to different curriculum areas over time” (p. 13). Addressing English teachers in the subordinate clause and focusing upon subject area teachers in the main clause serves to emphasize the idea that all teachers should be involved in this effort, not just language teachers. This sentiment was echoed in the The Australian Language and Literacy Policy written in 1991 by John Dawkins, the Minister for Employment, Education and Training, which tied social justice principles to English language and literacy. It is worth noting that this subsequent policy did mention refugees and students with limited or interrupted formal education.

Seeking an education. A number of articles published in the post-Vietnam era portray students fleeing conflicts in Vietnam and Cambodia as grateful for the opportunities afforded to them by the public school system in the United States, similar to

the portrayal of refugee students in the Second World War. In an article featuring a high school aged refugee student from Cambodia, the reporter draws upon the expertise of educators: “In their determination to learn English and get ahead, these new arrivals closely resemble immigrants of previous generations-- the Italians, Poles, and other ethnic groups who poured into New York City and other cities around the turn of the century, according to teachers and education specialists” (Mintz, 1984b, p. VAB1). The main clause assertion in this instance serves to draw connections between the present refugee groups and previous immigrants, hinting that the desire to learn English and get an education is a commonality regardless of nationality. The article’s title, “For Area’s Foreign-Born Students, The American Dream Lives,” evokes patriotism at the same time that it positions refugees as outsiders, who are “hard-working, ambitious young people devoted to the American dream,” (p. VAB1) who have also experienced great trauma. This same theme is found in another article published the same year by the same reporter-- the final quote reads: “It’s really the American dream for them...There’s such a yearning for education...They’re so grateful for what you do” (Mintz, 1984a, p. A1). The connections between the American Dream and education are realized in the arrival of refugee students, who are also identified as “model students” (Mintz, 1984a, p. A1).

In instances where the federal government appeared to cast aside or ignore the plight of refugees abroad attempting to make their way to Australia, in some cases, teachers stepped up to advocate on their behalf. One, a teacher in South Australia, even traveled to Guam to locate Vietnamese refugees whose applications had been rejected, although they had relatives in Sydney. He served as a representative for the Australian

Society for Inter-Country Aid for Children, and planned to take the list he compiled to the federal government in person. The quotations in this article focused on the traumas the refugees faced in Guam: “They were living in appalling conditions, as many as 15 people in one tent” (“Teacher lists 76 refugees with relatives in Sydney,” 1975, p. 3). This is an example of ways in which teachers may have stepped outside of their roles as educators to influence federal immigration policy, presumably to allow refugee students the opportunity to seek an education in Australian schools.

At the same time that students of a refugee background from Southeast Asia migrated to Australia and the United States and enrolled in public schools, many students from Central America made the same journey to the United States. These students found themselves targets of a discussion regarding whether “illegal alien students” should be allowed to enrol in public schools without paying tuition (Vesey, 1982, p. MD1). A newspaper article quotes the superintendent of Prince George’s County Public Schools’ written response to the related debate at a school board meeting: “schools ‘have no obligation to provide a free public education to children of undocumented aliens who may reside in this county’” (Vesey, 1982, p. MD2). The superintendent continued that this did not mean that these students could not attend schools as they were welcome to if they paid. Prince George’s County was not the only school district in the country asserting that students had to prove their visa status in order to attend public schools, and in 1982 the Supreme Court ruled that denying undocumented students the right to a free public education was in violation of the Equal Protections clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

White flight. In some instances where journalists reported on the phenomenon of white flight in the United States, they also included reporting on the increasing funds needed to educate refugees. During a time when the merits and the costs of bilingual education were under heightened scrutiny, the intertwining of these two issues may have served to create negative understandings of the arrival of refugees. Mintz (1984a) reported that school officials referred to white students as “the regulars” (p. A1). Openly assigning an identity to white students wherein they took on the role of what a normal student looked reveals the biases school officials may have had towards refugee students. Presumably, speaking English was also a part of being one of “the regulars.” In the same article, Mintz writes:

Most American born parents with children in Arlington schools that have large numbers of immigrants are not disturbed by the newcomers, school officials said. But a few have been upset and have tried to move their children to mostly white schools.

Despite the description of this particular case of white flight as “a few,” the following quote is from a parent who describes her experience with white flight as follows, “It’s had an enormous impact on the school” (p. A1). Coverage of white flight intertwined issues of language and funding, and the impacts both had on local schools.

While Australian newspaper articles of the years between 1970-1985 examined for this research primarily address refugees coming to Australia from countries in Asia, refugees fleeing conflict in former Rhodesia also made headlines (Blackie, 1979, p. 50; Hastings, 1979, p. 1). Discussion of accepting white Rhodesians as refugees provoked

ire among some, who questioned the idea that they would be “excellent settlers” (“White Rhodesians-- welcome refugees?”, 1976, p. 87). A year later in Fairfield, “which is sometimes called Vietnamatta,” refugees voiced concern about racism, as the president of the New South Wales (NSW) anti-discrimination board called for action to prevent further stereotyping of refugees from Southeast Asia (Molloy & Macey, 1981, p. 3). In this explanatory phrase, the journalists omit the history behind the characterization of Fairfield as “Vietnamatta.” In quoting a thirteen year old who explained his experience with racism, the journalists also did not include much description of the perpetrators or the settings in which the encounters with racism took place: “They call us Chinks and tease us...” (p. 3). Finally, the journalists choose to emphasize the mayor of Fairfield’s opinion that discussion of racial tensions were “greatly exaggerated” by following his quotation with a paragraph downplaying the racial aggression towards Vietnamese students as simply “young Vietnamese being ‘picked on’ by older Australians” (p. 3). The decision to include quotation marks around the verb phrase “picked on” serves to further dismiss concerns of racism.

A temporary teacher at Fairfield High School also mentioned racial tensions as an issue among refugees, giving an example of Vietnamese and Cambodian students fighting with each other (Watson, 1984, p. 33). Notably, she does not characterize the incidents in which people throw stones or harass her students on the street as racial tensions. In focusing upon fights between Vietnamese and Cambodian students, she removes Australians from the discussion. This article stands in stark contrast to the aforementioned articles, as the discourse includes multiple mentions of racial tension and

racial discrimination. In another example, a teacher was quoted as saying “We have a history of racial prejudice which is coming through in the schools” (Cameron, 1974, p. 43). The use of the pronoun “we” here in reference to Australians displays ownership of the problem. A 1980 report by the Commissioner for Community Relations showed that the majority of teachers in Australia were of white, Anglo-Australian backgrounds, the findings of which were shared in an article entitled “Racism is Still Rife in Sydney” (Molloy, 1980, p. 2). Despite this, the headmistress of one school blamed parents for “spiteful” racist incidents (Cameron, 1974, p. 43), a belief which was echoed in an editorial written by a parent who seemed to believe that all children in his son’s class at school were color-blind, and understood each other to be Australian by virtue of being in Australia (MacCallum, 1979, p. 113). In this instance, the problems with racism that surfaced on the streets and in the schools are ascribed not to teachers, not to students, but to parents and other adults who identify as Australian.

Stereotyped negatively as students. In an article entitled “Our Reading Problem,” Barbara Bush detailed the effects of illiteracy on individuals and society as a whole. She drew connections between individuals needing to partake in welfare programs and illiteracy, as well as unemployment. She mentioned refugees in one telling sentence: “Each year the pool of adult illiterates is joined by a million high school dropouts plus an estimated 1.4 million refugees and legal and illegal immigrants who are not literate in either English or their native tongue” (Bush, 1984, p. A19). In this instance, Bush uses the label “illiterate” and statistics pointing to growing numbers to create a sense of urgency. She identifies the individuals in the “pool of adult illiterates”

with further labels: refugees, legal immigrants, and illegal immigrants. While the subsequent paragraphs beginning with the words, “I hope...” urge for more resources in each sector to be devoted to improving literacy skills among adults and children, the pathologization of illiteracy and description of refugees as illiterates contributes to a negative picture of refugees.

Another article published the same year paints a bleak picture of “Indo-Chinese” refugees’ experiences in Australia, particularly in schools (Monaghan, 1984, p. 5). The passive voice utilized in this article creates a disconnect between the refugees’ problems and their new country of resettlement, in some cases, seeming to blame the refugees themselves for their problems settling. For example: “About 16 percent of Indo-Chinese surveyed...were discouraged because they spoke little English,” and in the second sentence of this quotation: “Although the area is nicknamed Vietnammatta, Mr. Plummer believes there is little racial tension. It has stopped at the level of fistfights between Asian boys and whites, he said” (p. 5). The first example places emphasis on the feelings of the refugees, as if it is their own fault. Furthermore, the second example, containing a quote from a social worker in Cabramatta (an area where many Vietnamese refugees settled), describes fistfights between refugee and white Australian schoolchildren as if race was a non-factor. The quotations from the social worker are not balanced by quotations from the refugee schoolchildren described, either.

The same social worker was quoted as describing refugees in Cabramatta as “the most disadvantaged in NSW” (p. 5). The identities of the refugees in these articles are fully focused on their disadvantages and weaknesses: unemployment, lack of English

language skills, and trauma. Another journalist further characterizes the refugees as “the newest members of the have-nots of Australia” (Collins, 1984, p. 9). While Barbara Bush’s article focused on a lack of literacy rather than language skills, the aforementioned Australian articles have a similar effect— the underlying message being that refugee students arrive in country in great numbers but lacking skills.

Other Australian newspaper articles of the time cite language difficulties as one of the main problems faced by refugee students. An article detailing a report on unaccompanied minors from Vietnamese, Laos, and Cambodia notes that even though the high school aged students were entitled to six months of intensive language instruction, the majority of students surveyed did not actually receive this service (Williams, 1984, p. 3). Another article highlights the emotional trauma and shortage of physical necessities alongside the need to learn English as issues faced by refugee students (Collins, 1984, p. 9).

American policy documents from this era that would pertain to refugee students on the basis of national origin and language do not specifically mention refugee students. Students are referred to as “national origin-minority group children” and are described as “disadvantaged pupils” (Pottinger, 1970). The May 25, 1970 DHEW Memo Regarding Language Minority Children on the subject of Identification of Discrimination and Denial of Services on the Basis of National Origin focuses upon clarifying policy on providing bilingual students equal opportunity in education under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. While the onus is put on school districts to reform their practices in order to comply with Title VI, the discourse used to describe bilingual students creates an identity

for them that characterizes them as lacking by definition. For example, the first point in a list of concerns regarding compliance begins, “Where inability to speak and understand the English language...” (Pottinger, 1970, p. 1), after explaining that the memo pertains to “national origin-minority group children deficient in English language skills.” Such descriptors create a negative identity for bilingual students in contrast to their English speaking peers.

On September 11, 1984, the Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights sent a memorandum entitled, “Policy Regarding Title VI Language Minority Investigations” to the Regional Civil Rights Director of Region VIII. In this memo focusing primarily on a language discrimination case involving Native American children, Singleton (1984) makes frequent use of quotation marks to emphasize certain terms, for example, “language minority” (p. 3), “deficient” and “deficiency” (p. 4) in references to students learning English, and “ordinary” in regards to native English speakers (p. 4). Both the use of quotations here around identity-building terms and the decision to use such deficit-building language to characterize bilingual students serves to position bilingual students as outsiders, and native English speakers as the typical student, or mainstream. While Singleton states that the main issue at hand in this document involves Native American children, the language and broader issues addressed had implications for all bilingual students as he aims to explain the May 25, 1970 DHEW Memo Regarding Language Minority Children on the subject of Identification of Discrimination and Denial of Services on the Basis of National Origin. While the OCR policy memos from the 1970s on attempt to assert the rights of bilingual students in public schools, the language used is

problematic as it both characterizes them as outsiders and as deficient. Rather than show an appreciation for bilingualism and the assets that bilingual students, such word choice forms an identity for bilingual students that is created as a contrast to what is portrayed as the standard, monolingualism. The labeling of bilingual students as Limited English Proficient (LEP) further serves to emphasize the negative, rather than positive attributes these students have.

A front page article in *The Washington Star* entitled, “California City Awash in Waves of Immigrants” focused on the negative issues Los Angeles area schools had upon enrolling Vietnamese students characterized the refugees as “Indochinese boat people” in contrast to “Latin...illegal immigrants” mentioned twice that many of the Vietnamese refugees were illiterate in their own languages. The quotes in this article position the Vietnamese students as outsiders who will cost the school system extra money to pay for teachers and who will require “busing to disperse the Indochinese population” (Gay, 1981, p. A6). The graphic above the journalist’s byline depicts the Statue of Liberty with her hand outstretched in a stop motion. All of this, coupled with inflammatory, racialized rhetoric referencing the growing numbers of refugees and the declining numbers of white residents leaves the reader with the impression that the arrival of refugees is an urgent problem immediately impacting all facets of American life. The assistant superintendent of a California public school system is quoted as saying, “As a person living in this state, I can’t possibly conceive why they were ever brought here” (p. A6). The “us” versus “them” dichotomy is clear in both clauses of this sentence, and it is a striking statement coming from a leader of a public school system. In addition, a Democratic representative

is quoted as saying that the growing numbers of refugees puts a strain on public agencies, and that “the Indochinese boat people will continue to be a drain on the local economy for years” (p. A6). This article in particular draws an indirect connection between refugee literacy, schooling, and a supposed negative impact the presence refugee students could have on the economy. In another article addressing the “Refugee Problem,” it’s reported that the Carter administration supported providing aid to school districts in Florida specifically for “each student of Cuban, Haitian or Indochinese refugee origin” (O’Leary, 1980, p. A10). The impression left is that students of refugee background from Cuba, Haiti, and Vietnam put a strain on school resources.

Trauma. A number of articles in *The Washington Post* addressed the trauma some refugee students and adults deal with as a result of the violence witnessed in their home countries. One article focused on District of Columbia Public Schools noted the lack of qualified counselors available to help refugee students. A number of articles quoted teachers and students as saying the memories of conflict affected their learning in the classroom and contributed towards depression. Teachers frequently described their students as being in shock in addition to facing “cultural problems.” The frequency of such statements perhaps can be seen as contributing to the building an identity for the students. Readers following stories of refugee integration in the area would likely come to understand that refugees as a group could be associated with trauma.

Conclusions to be drawn from the post-Vietnam era. The coverage of refugees during this time period is marked by racist tension and concerns about more refugees arriving in Australia. Politicians spoke of a “yellow peril” (“Refugee influx

seen as beginning of process,” 1978, August 12). Politicians, immigration department officials, and refugee advocates spoke of the growing numbers of refugees arriving in Australia, echoing the words used in both countries in the previous area-- the idea that refugees were arriving in an influx.

In coverage of a protest against the federal government’s position on refugees from Vietnam, the reporter took note of a sign reading, “Don’t let Vietnam flow red to keep Australia white” (“Protest over refugees,” 1975, p. 5). The sentiment on this sign implies that individuals escaping Communism in Vietnam should be allowed into Australia regardless of race or the country will be lost to Communism, or, that racialized fears should be cast aside in the fight against Communism. Protestors also advocated for the government to allow Vietnamese students studying at university to stay on as permanent residents. It was a month later that the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975 was enacted in Australia, which was seen as an end to the long-standing White Australia policy borne of the Immigration Restriction Act.

This era is marked by a linking of racial stereotypes and linguisticism in both countries. The language acquisition policies in both countries begin to address and assert the rights of the broader category of bilingual students (which includes refugee students), but this is mainly related to their right to learn English, assumed to be the national language in both countries and a necessity to assimilate. The American documents in particular placed emphasis on the need to learn English as a deficiency. Bilingualism was not seen as an asset, but rather a deficit. This linguisticism coupled with the racial

stereotypes towards bilingual students in general left refugee students with a negative portrayal in the media and policy documents.

Refugees in the News and Policy Documents in the U.S. and Australia Today

The data taken from newspapers in the following sections addressing the current period is from the year 2018, the year I began this study. The policy documents are taken from the most recent decade. As in previous sections, I divide the results from this era by country, and draw concluding comparisons in the final section. The following sections detail the results from a critical discourse analysis of articles in *The Daily Telegraph* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* from the year 2018, as well as *The Washington Times* and *The Washington Post*.

Xenophobia. In current coverage of refugee issues in the United States, there is muddled discussion of the legal status of refugees and undocumented migrants. Persons fleeing violence in Central America are called refugees in some instances, as they are seeking refuge in the United States from the dangers in their home countries. They may be understood to be refugees by readers, despite possibly not holding a refugee visa. In this way, the idea of who is and who is not a refugee is not necessarily understood as related to visa status or a legal definition-- a refugee is understood simply as a person fleeing violence in their country, or seeking refuge. Xenophobic undertones are present in the quotations used, building the identities of persons understood to be refugees as illegal or criminal. In an article discussing the aftermath of a mass shooting in which a synagogue was targeted by an Anti-Semite, Jaffe (2018) describes a Trump supporter as follows:

Rocco had helped raise money for refugee families through Catholic Charities of Pittsburgh. He didn't consider himself anti-immigrant. Nor did he think Trump's views were significantly out of step with the country. "A majority of Americans are not anti-immigrant. They are anti-illegal-immigrant," he said. But, he asked, "does anyone really believe that we should let all these people in?" The answer, he said, was to stop it "by any means necessary." (n.p.)

This quote highlights the idea that individuals should be welcomed based upon their visa status and ability to abide by immigration laws. Further, it reinforces the idea that border controls and immigration laws should be strictly enforced. As the speaker asks, "does anyone really believe that we should let all these people in," it is assumed that "anyone" and the "we" the speaker refers to are Americans. The speaker draws a line between "us" and "them," while at the same time trying to justify such a line by characterizing some immigrants as legal, and others illegal. In this article, connections are drawn between the rise of anti-Semitic attacks, anti-refugee rhetoric, and anti-immigrant sentiments, making the speaker's assertion that illegal immigration must be stopped "by any means necessary" more stunning in the wake of a mass shooting. The article also reports that in response to a potential visit by President Trump to Pittsburgh, Jewish leaders wrote the following in an open letter, "President Trump, you are not welcome in Pittsburgh until you cease your assault on immigrants and refugees" (Jaffe, 2018, n.p.). The strong language in this statement is used to place the "us" versus "them" mentality seen in the Trump supporter's statement as Trump's responsibility, as it is his "assault." The writers

of this letter create a new “us” in this manner-- aligning themselves as Americans with immigrants and refugees, versus “you,” the President.

Trauma. For the current time period, discussions of trauma in American newspaper articles do not center around trauma experienced in refugees’ home countries or transit countries, but rather, trauma experience in detention centers in the United States. *The Washington Post* reports on asylum-seeking children’s experiences in an article entitled “Immigrant kids held in shelters: ‘They told us to behave, or we’d be there forever’” (Miller, 2018, n.p.). While the children held in the detention centers referenced do not hold refugee visas and are not recognized as asylum-seekers, either, the Office of Refugee Resettlement takes responsibility for investigations of abuse allegations at the detention camps. While some children are put in the detention camps after crossing the border between the United States and Mexico unaccompanied, a number are there because the U.S. government separated them from their families at the border when they presented themselves for asylum.

On the other hand, in one letter to the editor in Australia, trauma is described as something that refugees flee from but cannot escape: “But let's not forget the trauma from which they flee and which is embedded in their psyche” (Finch, 2018). In this sentence, the writer portrays trauma as a part of the refugee identity, and as such, something that follows refugees to their new country.

Connections between refugees and gangs. During the 1980s, Reagan characterized individuals fleeing violence in El Salvador as economic migrants (Gzesh, 2006). While this particular group did not have access to the refugee visa or status, they

did have access to the refugee label in the news media throughout the post-Vietnam war period analyzed for this paper. The use of the refugee label continues into the present, but notably, in negative discourse: “MS-13 was founded by Salvadoran refugees in Los Angeles in the 1980s, when West Coast rap was gaining fame” (Miller, 2018). Another article states that MS-13 was “formed by formed in Southern California in the 1980s by children of Salvadoran immigrants who escaped their country’s 1979-1992 civil war” (Correa-Cabrera, Lopez-Santana, Pardo, 2018). The use of the word children versus young adults, teenagers, or even adolescents is worth noting as it associates gang violence with children. The same article reports: “Without substantiation, the administration warns that many of these migrants and refugees belong to criminal organizations, including MS-13” (Correa-Cabrera, Lopez-Santana, Pardo, 2018). In press briefings and statements, President Trump frequently draws connections between “illegal migration,” “illegal aliens” and “deadly and vicious gangs” (Trump, May 30, 2019), but has not referred to individuals fleeing violence in El Salvador as refugees as the media has. In the online version of this same newspaper article, the word “refugee” is hyperlinked to the *Children on the Run: Unaccompanied Children Leaving Central America and Mexico and the need for International Protection* report published by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), again, indicating that in some cases journalists may subscribe to the UN’s definition of a refugee vice an administration’s.

Modern Policy. In 2014, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) published a Dear Colleague letter regarding public schools’ duties to educate all children who live in the corresponding district regardless of visa status. Following a quote from the Supreme

Court's ruling on *Plyler v. Doe*, it says, "As *Plyler* makes clear, the undocumented or non-citizen status of a student (or his or her parent or guardian) is irrelevant to that student's entitlement to an elementary and secondary public education" (Lhamon, Rosenfelt, & Samuels, 2014). In this guidance document, students are not described as undocumented or as non-citizens, rather, their status is. Throughout this document, the word "student" stands alone without an adjectival descriptor.

In 2015, the OCR published a Dear Colleague letter aimed at informing and reminding state school districts of their responsibility to children learning English in their district. An appositive phrase in the this letter marks a shift: "Ensuring that SEAs and school districts are equipped with the tools and resources to meet their responsibilities to LEP students, who are now more commonly referred to as English Learner (EL) students or English Language Learner students, is as important today as it was then" (Lhamon & Gupta, 2015). The attempt to cast aside the Limited English Proficient (LEP) label is perhaps an attempt to also leave behind the "limited" descriptor when referring to students learning English. While the writers of this memo refer to the increasing numbers of language learners enrolling in school districts across the country, the message pertains more to the responsibility of school districts to ensure they are prepared to educate all students rather than the urgent tone seen in the media: "EL students are now enrolled in nearly three out of every four public schools in the nation, they constitute nine percent of all public school students, and their numbers are steadily increasing" (Lhamon & Gupta, 2015).

In 2005, the NSW Department of Education committed to an Anti-Racism policy in its schools. This policy includes the following language, notable for its inclusion of linguistic diversity:

All teaching and non-teaching staff contribute to the eradication of racism by promoting acceptance of Australia's cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, challenging prejudiced attitudes and ensuring that sanctions are applied against racist and discriminatory behaviours.

As part of this policy, according to section 1.5, each school has a trained Anti-Racism officer.

This portion of the Anti-Racism policy indicates a shift from monolingual language ideologies, but not necessarily towards appreciation, but rather acceptance of other languages. Likewise, the Multicultural Education policy of NSW explicitly asks for an appreciation of other languages: “Schools ensure inclusive teaching practices which recognise and respect the cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds of all students and promote an open and tolerant attitude towards cultural diversity, different perspectives and world views” (NSW Department of Education, 2005a). On the other hand, at the state level in Virginia, in its section on policy guidance, the Virginia Department of Education website includes a link to Title 22.1 of the Code of Virginia entitled “Obligations of school boards” which designates English as its official language. This section of the code reads:

Pursuant to § 1-511, school boards shall have no obligation to teach the standard curriculum, except courses in foreign languages, in a language other than English.

School boards shall endeavor to provide instruction in the English language which shall be designed to promote the education of students for whom English is a second language.

This code allows for a disavowal of bilingual education in public schools, and emphasizes that students should learn English. While the NSW Anti-Racism Policy could be seen as acceptance of linguistic diversity, the Virginia Code can be seen as an embrace of monolingual language ideologies. As seen in the second part of this paper, the participants in this study did go beyond acceptance of linguistic diversity by showing appreciation.

Trouble and disadvantage. In an article addressing high suspension rates in southwestern Sydney, a professor researching local discipline in schools is quoted as describing the population of the area as “the biggest number of students who come from overseas, have refugee backgrounds or have disadvantaged backgrounds” (Singha & Gladstone, 2018, para. 10). The professor attributes the number of suspensions to a lack of resources, and notes that schools in the area have “a lot of complex and challenging kids,” and that suspensions are the easiest form of discipline (Singha & Gladstone, 2018, para. 11). While the purpose of this article is to highlight a problematic disciplinary practice, the discourse used to build the identities of the students who are subject to these practices focuses on the negative. Other articles from the current period also focus on the disadvantaged aspects of refugee students’ backgrounds (Baker, 2018a; Baker, 2018b; Baker, 2018c; He, 2018; Baker & Gladstone, 2018), with no mention of any of refugee students’ positive characteristics.

Influx. Articles from the current time period also portray refugees as a group whose numbers are constantly increasing. The word “influx” is used frequently in relation to refugees as a group. As Millar and Schneiders (2018) write in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, “Population growth tends to be conflated with arguments about race, religion and refugees” (p. 23). In some cases, the influx rhetoric is accompanied by anti-refugee rhetoric in the political arena: “in our public debate, such frustrations about population and planning tend to get conflated with arguments about race, religion and refugees. This was all too apparent this week when Queensland Senator Fraser Anning evoked the ‘final solution’ as he questioned Australia's immigration intake and praised the White Australia Policy” (Millar & Schneiders, 2018, p. 23). While the majority of the articles analyzed here that explicitly mention population growth due to the arrival of refugees do not also address refugee students or literacy, the linking of refugee arrivals with population growth in the media is important to mention here as other articles on refugee students from this same year do focus on their disadvantages. The picture painted for readers, then, is one of an influx of disadvantaged persons arriving from overseas, causing public transport to slow and public schools to be under-resourced and overcrowded. For example, “Mandy Wells teaches refugee children whose parents can't afford to buy pencils, stationery or school bags. They certainly don't have felt pens, pencil sharpeners or erasers. So, to ensure they don't miss out, she dips into her own pocket” (Baker, 2018, p. 3). While the writer may have been appealing for sympathy for both teachers who have to spend their own money and refugee students who cannot afford to buy their own school supplies, there is a noticeable lack of positive discourse

surrounding refugee students and their schooling in the articles studied here. In the same article, refugee students are further described as follows: “We have to get them to engage in learning, yet they can't read, write or speak English, they don't eat breakfast, they don't eat lunch, they don't have a school bag or stationery and they certainly don't have any books at home” (Baker, 2018, p. 3). The “we” versus “they” discourse used to build an identity for refugee students emphasizes what they cannot do and what they do not have.

Helping refugees. While the discourse surrounding refugees and refugee students centers around disadvantage, there is also a spotlight on what Australia does to help refugees, and particularly refugee students. One article addresses the ways in which charities connect to public schools to help both refugee students and their families: “When Mrs Putrus fled here from Iraq, having lost her husband in the war, she was terrified. But the local school, Smithfield, had such a strong support program for refugee parents that she, and her children, have flourished” (Baker, 2018, p. 2). The article indicates that there is a funding gap for public schools that charities step in to fill, resulting in a partnership between local schools and charities that is portrayed as growing refugees’ skills:

Through Smithfield Public School, Mrs Putrus has taken English lessons; learnt how to navigate Australia's customs, culture and transport; and completed a barista course. “Because I didn't know English, I was embarrassed to socialise and would stay in a corner by myself,” she said. “But with all the courses and support we've been able to access through the school, I feel like the barriers are broken. The fear is gone.” (p. 2).

In this statement, the school is portrayed as a center of assimilation. The items listed here indicate that refugee students' families can not only learn English, they can also further their job skills whilst learning about how to assimilate into their host country's culture. The main clause of Mrs. Putrus's second statement, "I feel like the barriers are broken" puts emphasis on the impact the school can have on a newcomer's life as they're learning English. Another article highlighting a "Parents' Cafe" at a public school and its need for funding further illustrates how the school can be a center for the refugee community. An appositive phrase draws attention to the ways in which refugees contribute to the community: "The Hoxton Park resident, who came to Australia from Iraq under a protection visa, said he understood how important services were in the first two years of settlement" (Metcalf, 2018, para 12). This article also shows how the school can serve the whole refugee community, rather than just the students enrolled.

Conclusions to be Drawn from this Critical Discourse Analysis

I conducted this Critical Discourse Analysis of media coverage of refugee students and language policy documents in three eras in the United States and Australia in order to illuminate the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and policies designed to help refugees learn English and reading in both countries. The results indicate that the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and language education policy in both countries is in the expectations of refugees and the role local public schools take on in providing opportunities for refugee students to meet those expectations. In both countries, refugees are expected to speak English, read in English, and therefore assimilate. Multilingualism is not valued as it does not aid in progressing assimilation. In all three of these eras,

refugee voices are missing in the media. Refugees are mostly absent from language policy as well, especially in the United States. The British child evacuees of the World War II era are the most obvious exception in regards to the inclusion of refugee voices in the media. In addition, over all three eras, acknowledgment of refugee community cultural wealth is missing as well. Historically, refugee students' value and worth is seen in terms of their language learning abilities and the speed at which they learn English. It is worth noting that language and literacy are easily conflated in the media and public understanding.

Figure 1. Representations of Refugees over Time.

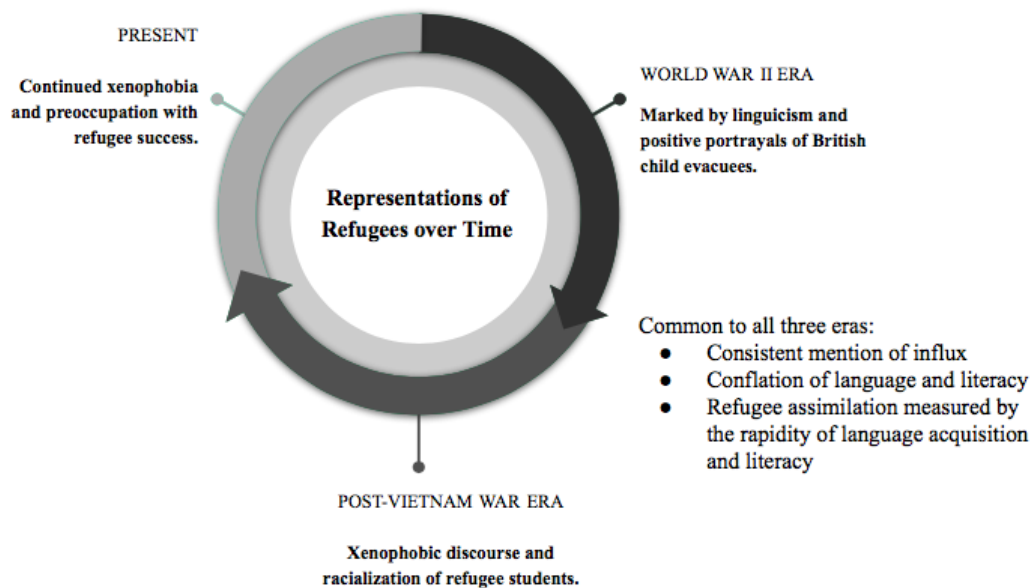


Figure 1. A depiction of the trends in representations of refugees over three time periods with a note on commonalities.

The discourse prevalent in the media in all three eras also shows that the media and public understanding of who is a refugee differs substantially from who is able to access refugee status in actuality. As previously stated, in Australian and American media, historically, refugees were welcomed or valued based upon their language skills, meaning that even where media coverage was not about English classes, efforts to learn English and refugees' level of English language understanding were mentioned. In addition, British child evacuees were welcomed in both countries with greater enthusiasm than refugees from continental Europe, and later from Asia.

In some media coverage, sympathy for refugee students intersects with the American Dream. Articles about refugees resettling in the United States detail the efforts they make to learn English and therefore assimilate and achieve the American Dream. In coverage throughout all three eras, refugee students are positioned as either success stories, people who contribute, or gang members or trouble. Starting in the post-Vietnam War era, these sorts of identities were built for refugees along racial lines.

In the second part of this chapter, I detail the results from the interviews and observations conducted in aid of answering my second research question: What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia? While the results from the Critical Discourse Analysis detail the historical interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and language policy in the United States and Australia, the results in the following section cast light upon the interactions between anti-refugee rhetoric and language policy in reading classrooms today.

Who Belongs Here?: Anti-Refugee Rhetoric and the Implementation of English language acquisition policy in a Public School in the U.S. and a Public School in Australia

In order to examine the interactions between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of English language acquisition policy, I conducted a critical comparative case study set in the United States and Australia. My design for a horizontal comparison (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2019) included a plan to interview district level administrators in both countries as well as reading teachers at the local school level. For the vertical axis of this study, I traced language policy from the national and state levels to its implementation in the schoolhouse. Bartlett and Vavrus (2019) write, “The vertical axis reminds us to follow the phenomenon itself, be it a practice or a policy, as it enlists and engages actors whom one might otherwise assume operate in bounded spaces” (Kindle Location 1918). As I followed language policy from the guidance documents issued by federal and state level governments to local school districts, I interviewed two teachers and one head teacher at an Intensive English Center in a suburban setting in Australia. I then conducted interviews and observations of one reading specialist and administrator at a large public school setting housing an international school in the United States. I also conducted two classroom observations using an observation protocol in which I took field notes. After conducting interviews and observations, I wrote memos and coded for themes using constant comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), as I checked this data from the current period against other forms of

historical data such as policy documents and newspaper articles gathered to study my first research question.

In the following sections, I detail my findings from these interviews and observations as they relate to my second research question: What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia? I begin with a site description and a description of the programs in each country. I then detail the following themes: anti-refugee rhetoric in school, the influence of the media on teachers, anti-refugee rhetoric and L2 literacy, teacher pride, teacher perspectives on language education, English language acquisition policy and refugee education, teacher recognition of community cultural wealth, and the impact of politics outside of the school building on what happens in the classroom.

Site Description of an Australian Public School

This large public high school is situated in a diverse suburban setting in Australia. Over half of the residents of Livingston were born abroad. There are approximately 1000 students enrolled in Year 7 to Year 12 at Livingston High School. The school sits adjacent to a major thoroughfare and the city's commercial center. The high school is home to an Intensive English Centre (IEC), which serves students who have just arrived in Australia and whose first language is not English. The high school is a cluster of large brick buildings, built in the post-war period. Upon passing through the gates to enter the school grounds, IEC students break away from the rest of the student population to attend classes in a separate wing. Students take an entry exam to determine whether they are in

need of the three term enrolment in an IEC, which is available to students who need to improve their English language proficiency for success in the mainstream high school.

Intensive English Centre Program. IECs serve to provide newly arrived EAL/D students with the language and welfare support they need to transition to life in Australia and Australian schools. The classes are small, and are divided by language proficiency level (Beginner, Level 1, Level 2 or Level 3) based on language assessment results and age. Students attend content area classes with language support. The IEC also has bilingual school learning support officers who provide language support in and out of the classroom, sometimes in some of the lower level classes to translate content. In addition to having access to targeted language and literacy support that will ease the transition into mainstream classrooms, students and their parents also have access to a variety of welfare programs as well as school counselors. As the participants in this study emphasized, the program at the IEC is a holistic model, and a partnership between the school and the family. The IEC serves students from many different countries, including Syria, Iraq, and Vietnam, among others.

Participants. The teachers who participated in this study include one head teacher at the IIEC and two English teachers. Pseudonyms are used here to protect the identities of the teachers. All three of the teachers began their teaching careers at this particular IEC.

Morgan. Morgan has taught at the IEC for six years. She serves as an English teacher and the wellbeing advisor. She was placed at the school for her student teaching practicum and began teaching at the IEC as soon as she finished her teaching degree.

Although she majored in foreign language at university, her professed love of language and realization during her practicum that she loved teaching EAL/D led her to her career at the IEC.

Taylor. Taylor has also taught at the IEC for six years. She trained in teaching mainstream English as well as mainstream history and EAL/D. She noted that it was her love of literature and inspiration from her own high school teachers as well as a desire to give back that led her to teach at the IEC.

Terry. Terry serves as a head teacher for the IEC, and has been teaching there for sixteen years. Her role covers a number of responsibilities, including coordinating the welfare programs, updating the curriculum documents for the IEC, and coordinating the teachers' professional development processes. Like Morgan and Taylor, Terry expressed a strong love for language as inspiration for teaching at the IEC. Her academic background is in linguistics as well as social work. Terry noted that English is her second language, and that as there is no one around her who speaks her language, she is aware of what is involved in communicating in another language from an academic perspective and a personal perspective.

Site Description of an American Public School

Bridges High School is a large, diverse suburban high school on the East Coast. The school is home to an international school, which was the site for this study. The international school serves a population of over 500 English Language Learners (ELLs). The school's focus is on both English language proficiency and content-area learning, with an emphasis on college and career readiness in the upper grades.

Kelly and Bailey served as participants for this site. Kelly is a veteran teacher with twenty years of classroom teaching experience. Kelly is a reading specialist with certifications in general education, reading, and ESOL. Eight of Kelly's years of classroom teaching have been at the international school, and the first twelve at elementary schools. Kelly made mention of the shifts in the teaching of reading over the course of her career, both in terms of trends and implementation of policy.

Bailey serves as a program coordinator at the international school. In this role, Bailey supports teachers at the international school through program evaluation and data analysis. Bailey is a veteran teacher as well, having taught Civics, Economics, and History to English Learners prior to working as a coordinator. Bailey uses research to provide targeted professional development and coach the international school's teaching teams.

Teacher thoughts on anti-refugee rhetoric, language policy, and refugee literacy

In the following sections, I discuss the themes derived from the results of data collected from interviews and observations in both countries.

Anti-refugee rhetoric in school. All participants noted that with the exception of a couple of teachers, it was rare to hear anti-refugee rhetoric at school. In analyzing the data from each interview, I drew connections between each teacher's background in language education and professed love of language and their expressed protectiveness and sense of dedication towards their refugee students. The participants did not make these connections themselves, but did refer to the differences between staff opinions in the IECs and the mainstream schools-- presumably, the majority of staff in the

mainstream school buildings would not have the same background in language education. One participant posited that while anti-refugee rhetoric did not exist amongst language teachers, it did in the wider school building:

In the wider school, there are questions about what are those students doing here. Because there is a larger question—and it is, the population of the school. We are stuffed to the gills. There is a conversation in the district about, do we expand the school, do we build another school? What do we do about the overpopulation in the school? So, when those kinds of questions start to become the salient concern, what I've seen happen is there is a subquestion that starts to percolate—which is: which students shouldn't be here?...As a solution to the overcrowding. That has translated into a very acceptable form of questioning, a very socially and politically form of questioning-- which is, what are students' residency status? Because if a student is not a resident of the district, they can't attend the school. That is one particular manifestation, potentially, of a deeper question about who are these students, do they need to be here. We have our own things that we're trying to work through as a community. This is adding to the stresses that we're already trying to manage in a community that has a history of questions about segregation and integration. Those questions have seemed to have subsided to some extent—I don't know if they've subsided or just gotten quieter, because they've become potentially socially and politically less acceptable. Maybe.

This participant drew connections here between resources and anti-refugee rhetoric in the schoolhouse, as well as the area's history of issues with racism. In addition, this

participant spoke about the point at which teachers potentially become interested in their students' residency status and may begin to echo some of the anti-immigrant rhetoric that might be seen more in the political sphere-- when schools are overcrowded.

Some participants expressed surprise that the teachers who repeated anti-refugee rhetoric wanted to teach at their school, because as they put it, teacher employment is tied to student enrollment. In one recounting of some of the anti-refugee rhetoric she overheard in the teacher's lounge, Morgan said:

We do have a few members of staff, for me it's very surprising, they share anti-refugee sentiments, if that makes sense? They buy into what media says, government policy about letting refugees into the country. Not explicitly, but the side comments: they're all just coming, they're just here to get Centrelink.¹ So I've heard that quite a bit. As a young teacher who is a bit starry-eyed, bushy-tailed, it's like why are you here then? But I'm very happy to say that is not the majority. There's maybe three or four who would uphold that ideal. For the most part I don't think that's something they share with students. They don't share that sentiment in the classroom. Students don't feel that they have that sentiment.

Although all of the participants mentioned the negative expressions used in conversations about refugees by these other teachers, they also noted that these particular teachers did not show any ill will towards the students. Taylor said, "I'm not with them in the classroom, but I don't see that translating to how they interact with students. It

¹ Centrelink is the Department of Human Services program in Australia responsible for social security payment as well as other services.

seems to me it's a little bit of...these are different, I know these students so it's different for them, but other refugees, they're all just queue jumpers." Morgan also characterized the language learning center as a very "sheltered space" and contended that the socio-political climate was separate from the classroom. Of the students' awareness of the socio-political climate in Australia, she said, "...They're very much still coming to terms with moving to Australia...with a new life here, dealing with trauma, and loss. They're not necessarily concerned with what goes on outside of this bubble." In the final interview, she added, "They feel supported here. They don't experience racism while they're here, but they live in an area that is majority Arabic speaking. They all want to go home. They feel welcome, but it's not home to them. That's the extent of the conversations we have." However, she also noted that she did not have an interpreter in her classroom, and she felt that her current students did not have the level of English required to discuss anti-refugee rhetoric and the socio-political climate.

In regards to taking anti-refugee rhetoric into account when lesson-planning, Taylor said the following:

Last term I did a text on asylum seekers, we did a discussion on should Australia open up its borders with open arms to asylum seekers, and [we] looked at what an illegal immigrant was. They expressed their views about it. It was kind of surprising that a lot of their students said we shouldn't accept asylum seekers no matter their background, we need to protect the country. They feel like normal teenagers. They can't put themselves in that position. That desperate position. They just picture their lives now and they're so integrated.

She noted that she does try to plan her lessons so that they reflect current social issues in an objective way. Her statement regarding her students feeling like normal teenagers was echoed by another teacher, who reported that her students did not like to be referred to as refugees. She said that any attempt to discuss refugee issues in her reading course were largely deflected by the students, who she said asserted that they did not see themselves as refugees.

On the other hand, another participant suggested that taking anti-refugee rhetoric in the news and media into account when lesson-planning helps teachers address social and emotional learning. This participant spoke of the struggles unaccompanied students may face in regards to family reunification, and posited that additional issues may arise in the face of “anti-immigrant rhetoric.” This participant was careful to note that teachers stay away from political issues, but also stated, “There was a very big concern after November 2016 amongst the teachers and the staff about how the students were feeling and how that might affect their schooling.” This participant explained that the staff uses a restorative justice framework and community circles to demonstrate to students “We care about you, nothing has changed.” In this instance, this participant illustrates a method staff can use to empower students and push back against anti-refugee rhetoric in politics and the media.

The influence of media on teachers. In mentioning the anti-refugee sentiments expressed by fellow teachers, some participants attributed such ideas to the influence of the media. Terry shared that some teachers have said:

There's too many of them, they're coming here, they're taking our jobs...these kinds of things. It's clearly from a particular type of media that they read, however, having said that...when you see them interact with students, they're really quite lovely.

I did not personally observe explicit anti-refugee sentiment during the three classroom observations I conducted, and the teachers I observed displayed caring attitudes towards their students by frequently checking in with students throughout the lesson and through consistent praise and feedback. Terry concluded, "The vast majority of teachers, our staff, are very committed to our students and work very hard to give them the best opportunities." Taylor also expressed that she found a disconnect between the media and reality in the classroom:

A lot of things we hear in the media, with everyone saying refugees, a lot of them are not literate, or they're not numerate, so how can they thrive in a country such as Australia? I'm really against that, because what we see here...the kids are amazing, they've done up to year 11 in their countries, they come from professional families. A lot of their families, they're teachers or engineers. The media just doesn't shed light on those positive things.

Taylor also noted that she had heard other teachers compare Livingston to living in Iraq or Syria, and added, "There's nothing explicitly what you hear in media, but there is almost the sense of disdain, if they get like 6 new students in their class from our students. I don't think it's racially fueled, I think it's frustration, because they're under-resourced. Or they don't have the knowledge to support those students, because the

majority are not ESL trained.” In this statement, Taylor drew connections between the influence of the media and its anti-refugee rhetoric and teacher preparation.

Anti-refugee rhetoric and L2 literacy. In response to a question about their students’ interest and willingness to discuss anti-refugee rhetoric in the classroom, all teachers tied their students’ L2 literacy levels (and in one case, L1 literacy levels) to student awareness of anti-refugee rhetoric in their host countries. One participant mentioned student inability to engage with host country media due their language and literacy levels. All of the participants acknowledged and spoke to the difficulties their refugee students face, and characterized their lack of literacy as a challenge. Morgan said, “...Because our students are so special and their backgrounds are so unique, it’s impossible for us to get a textbook and say here you go, complete the task. A lot of my time anyway is spent looking at resources and then adapting it to fit my class.” All participants noted that any lack of literacy skills was due to lack of exposure, with Taylor remarking, “Just seeing their achievements are leaps and bounds.” Asked to describe her current Level 3 class, Taylor said, “I would say their reading skills are pretty high. They just haven’t had a lot of exposure to complex language, so that’s what I’m trying to do right now.” Morgan characterized teaching reading to refugees as “very rewarding” as she described the amount of progress her students made in one term, from learning the alphabet to writing correct simple sentences.

Kelly said the following about her role in teaching reading to students of a refugee background:

My job is to help you to be able to learn how to read and write. The more you can read and write, the more you have access to information. Reading newspapers, reading websites, the more you can decide what decisions and choices you want to make. Literacy is the access to everything.

In this statement, literacy is positioned as both a daily necessity, but also a powerful tool that can be used to change one's life. Kelly continued:

...I do try to support advocacy, [for students] to feel a sense of efficacy-- if you can do this, if you have confidence in yourself...that sense of efficacy will translate to other things. If you want to go to a protest, go to a protest. We read about Cesar Chavez. When teachers do biographies, we read Cesar Chavez. Talking about protests and strikes. We read about Sonia Sotomayor...In the other classes, they teach about rights, and laws, about the U.S.

In this instance, Kelly begins to illustrate the ways in which literacy can be used to combat anti-refugee rhetoric, or, how it can be used to advocate for oneself. In addition, she shows how teachers may use their choice in instructional materials to impact students' understanding of civic engagement and democracy.

Teacher pride. It was evident in all of my conversations with the teachers that they took pride in their work and the schools themselves. They spoke highly of each other and of their students' progress. Likewise, the American teachers spoke of ways in which they use each other as a resource and learn from each other through observations

and coaching. All of the Australian teachers began their careers at the school site for this study, and have stayed, which speaks to their job satisfaction. Speaking of the staff as a whole, Terry said, “Our staff are very committed to our students and work very hard to give them the best opportunities....They feel very strongly about the plight of refugees. They want to support them.” Morgan described working at the IEC as “very rewarding” and spoke at length of her students’ academic progress and success. She also spoke highly of the program structure at the IEC, and explained that she felt the holistic approach as well as the collaboration amongst staff served to address help students settle in as well as learn the English language. Terry also characterized the IEC’s program as preventative rather than responsive, and noted that the staff tries to “minimize negative experiences they might have.”

Teacher perspectives on language education. The teachers spoke quite a bit about the students’ linguistic and cultural wealth. The head teacher mentioned her own language background, as did Morgan. All of them lamented what they saw as a lack of emphasis on language learning in Australia, including the explicit teaching of grammar to native speakers of English. They spoke highly of their students’ multilingualism, with one acknowledging that learning other languages allows for a greater understanding of one’s own native language and a better grasp of how languages work. Speaking generally of language education, Terry contended,

Learning another language helps you to understand your own language a lot better. It allows you to look at things from another perspective. Culture is

reflected in language. It's really important that young people are exposed to another language, and through that usually another culture.

English Language acquisition policy and refugee education. For the most part, the teachers did not make connections between English language acquisition policy and what happens in the classroom. One teacher asserted that regardless of federal or state policy, teachers had to know what good instruction is. This teacher further explained that while standards had to be taught, instruction must be tailored towards the students in the classroom: "Your belief system has to be that everyone can learn."

Australian teachers did acknowledge that the creation of IECs as well as the resources and staffing the IECs receive are a direct result of policy. They also made the direct connection between politics and the funding the IEC receives, and the subsequent number of staff hired. When interviewed at the beginning of the second term, the head teacher expressed the concern that if enrollment dropped because refugees were not being accepted into the country, the IEC would lose staff. By the end of the term though, Morgan noted that there had been an "influx" of new students. She expressed appreciation for needs-based funding, noting that the head teacher positions are funded externally.

Teacher recognition of community cultural wealth. While one teacher's characterization of a student's work experience in a transit country was positive, another teacher contended that it contributed to and exacerbated trauma. According to Morgan, some students arrive from transit countries with acquired study skills, and displayed resilience, which the head teacher also noted. On the other hand, some arrive after years

of “doing nothing” and “organizing their own schedules,” which, in the end of term interview, Morgan posited may contribute to a lack of engagement in the classroom and low attendance rate. But, she also spoke about the skills that students acquired during the time their schooling was interrupted. Some students cared for younger siblings or parents with disabilities, for example. Morgan said that such skills acquired outside of school are not always obvious in the classroom, but teachers do try to incorporate them. She also spoke highly of the students’ empathy for each other: “We have students who have suspected learning or intellectual difficulties. Very rarely would you see those students being targeted, you see a lot wanting to help instead. It’s fascinating, and it’s beautiful.”

Morgan also spoke to students’ linguistic skills and multilingualism:

They’re carrying Arabic, Assyrian, Chaldean, they’ll pick up French if they’re in Lebanon, they’ll pick up Turkish if they’re in Turkey...it’s amazing how much they can actually retain just from a few years in that country, and adapting. I think that’s one that is especially a strength especially if they’re able to identify how language works a little bit through picking up other languages.

All of the teachers professed a love for language and spoke of how much they valued multilingualism. Morgan’s statement above illustrates the pride the teachers displayed in regards to their students’ language abilities. The head teacher echoed Morgan’s statement, describing the students at the IEC as “language aware.”

The impact of politics outside of the school building on what happens in the classroom. Overall, the participants in this study were quick to portray the classroom as an environment unaffected by and safe from outside politics. Terry noted that there is an

expectation that new arrivals to the country learn English. She also drew connections between politics and funding, saying that the funding the school gets is very much needed. This connection aside, teachers claimed little relation between politics and what happened in the classroom. They described their students as unaware of what happens in host country politics, and noted that they did not access English-language media. In response to a question about how the socio-political climate affects the classroom, one teacher said, "...They're quite oblivious to what is happening in the political world, it hasn't really hit them as much. We don't really see it really reflected just because they're so young. They understand what a refugee is, and the concept of that. They're just normal teenage girls." Another teacher emphasized that students did not see themselves as refugees, and disassociated themselves with the ways that refugees were depicted in the media as well as the politics surrounding refugee issues.

Kelly remarked that the American presidential elections in 2016 did affect what happened in the reading classroom: "There was a huge dip in efficacy and hope." She commented that some of her students worried they would be deported. However, she noted that at the moment, there is an "uptick." She said, "I try to focus on what's in your control" and that she tries to emphasize that learning to read in Spanish and English is within student control, whereas the possibility of getting deported is not. Her initial statement regarding the decrease in efficacy and hope as a result of President Trump's election highlights the ways in which outside politics can perhaps affect student motivation. Kelly teaches a reading intervention course for students who have limited literacy in their first language and interrupted schooling. She noted it is not a heritage

language reading course, but an English reading course, emphasizing that the course was an English language intervention. But, she added that she believes it is important for students to read in their first language, and that the teachers do rewrite the books in Spanish. While she was careful to explain that she could not teach a heritage language literacy intervention course and that there were not the resources to provide literacy support in all of the students' heritage languages, her acknowledgment of the important role heritage language literacy plays in second language literacy and effort to translate texts into the Spanish language indicate her value of multilingualism and heritage language literacy. Kelly's positioning of learning to read and write in the heritage language as something that students can control in the face of deportation perhaps could be seen as the positioning of heritage language literacy as a defiant act in an era when students understand political forces as having a negative effect on their lives. Furthermore, it shows how at the local school level, teachers support English language acquisition by making use of the heritage language and building heritage language literacy as they are able, even in political atmospheres that promote monolingual language ideologies.

Conclusions: Who Belongs Here?

The data collected from interviews and observations of teachers and administrators in the United States and Australia served to answer my second research question, What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of English language acquisition policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia? The themes detailed in the second half of this chapter indicate that as

teachers' perceptions of anti-refugee rhetoric increase, so too does the level of caring they feel as they implement English language acquisition policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia. As teachers become aware of the question others around them may be asking, "Who Belongs Here?", they use their teaching to answer. Some participants expressed that they saw a connection between students' English language acquisition and literacy and their potential to succeed in their host countries. One can surmise that in these instances, as reading teachers of students of a refugee background feel greater concern for their students in times of increasingly negative discourse in the media and political spheres, they wish even more to help their students achieve English language proficiency and literacy. The teachers interviewed in both countries voiced an appreciation for their students' community cultural wealth, particularly their linguistic skills and resilience. The appreciation teachers expressed towards their students' resilience in learning to read in a new language was particularly striking, especially in contrast to negative narratives in the political spheres. In addition, teachers interviewed here used their refugee students' heritage languages as a prop in aid of learning English, and in some cases, content. In the following chapter, I draw connections between the results from both research questions and the literature.

Chapter Five

In this chapter, I summarize the findings of this study, comment on the method, address the limitations of this study, and describe the implications this study can have for future research on refugee education in the United States and Australia.

Discussion

In this section, I synthesize and discuss the findings of both research questions. As mentioned in the first chapter, the United States and Australia have a similar history in regards to refugees. A comparison of the interactions between policy, practice, and anti-refugee rhetoric showed the ways in which Australia and the United States' histories in regards to refugee education and literacy have paralleled and continue to parallel each other. Interviews and observations of reading teachers of refugees in both countries indicated that despite historical and current stereotypes pertaining to refugees in the media, teachers are eager to welcome these students and see their work as a means of combating anti-refugee rhetoric.

Major Findings

The major findings from this study are as follows:

1. Racial stereotypes and linguisticism in the media contribute to stereotypes about refugees, while policy largely ignores them. In turn, this creates negative stereotypes about students of a refugee background.

2. The media values students of a refugee background who are “good” students; therefore there is less acceptance of what is seen as normal progress.
3. As anti-refugee rhetoric outside of the school building increases, so too does teachers’ commitment and caring towards their students of a refugee background. While the media may focus on exceptional students, the teachers interviewed and observed here valued all progress.

In the following section, I delineate historical and current connections between anti-refugee rhetoric and literacy in aid of explaining the first two major findings.

Connections between Anti-refugee Rhetoric and Literacy

In an academic journal article published in 1940, Haxton addresses the struggles refugee children might have upon arrival in the United States, and notes that “necessarily” the majority come from England (p. 133). As I found was common in the newspaper articles from this time period, Haxton (1940) details the comparisons the children made between the U.S. and England and says that the children behave as if on an adventure. “Teachers everywhere have the opportunity of assisting with those adjustments and..interpreting both to newcomers and even old residents the meaning of the ideas and ideals that have always made America a haven to liberty-loving people” (p. 134). In this instance, according to Haxton, teachers are responsible for imparting American ideologies in the classroom— beyond content area learning and language acquisition. Literacy is not mentioned here. However, after the admission that most refugees came from England and the characterization of them as “visitors,” the mentioning of Jewish refugees is accompanied by the following: “While sympathy has

been intense, there has also been a lurking fear that these Europeans might become an economic threat” (Haxton, 1940, p. 133). This statement was confirmed by the articles analyzed for this study.

Another academic journal article in this series demonstrates the ways in which teachers recognized the trauma refugees experienced in their home countries and attempted to provide safe, secure spaces at school (Barash, 1940). The classroom vignettes indicate teachers ready to welcome refugee students, to embrace their linguistic diversity, and encourage them in developing their English literacy skills. For example, a teacher named Helen Fair shares about two of her students starting their own newspaper: “At first they wrote all of the stories, then they were persuaded to collect and edit other children’s stories” (p. 278). The use of the passive voice in this sentence leads the reader presume it was teachers who persuaded the students in their efforts to expand their newspaper. These classroom vignettes stand in contrast to the sentiments found in the article with the headline “Unaccompanied are the Biggest Problem” analyzed in Chapter Four. As in the current time period, whereas the media may recycle stereotypes and negative discourse pertaining to refugees, these particular teachers demonstrated the opposite.

Monolingual, monocultural, and nationalist influences. In both the United States and Australia, language acquisition policy regarding the education of bilingual children and/or students of a refugee background was non-existent during the World War II timeframe (Clyne, 2005). Any language policy addressing migrants was largely aimed at adults. In both countries, such policy was geared towards assimilation and the idea

that migrants should become Australian or American. In order to do so, they should only speak English. In the decades prior to the second world war, proponents of Americanization movement in the United States conflated a push to Anglicize new immigrants with strengthening democracy, and positioned the “influx” of new immigrants as a “tremendous educational task” (Weyl, 1920, p. 189). The use of the word “influx” to describe immigration patterns and the arrival of both immigrants and refugees has a historical basis and carries with it notes of linguicism and racism.

As seen in the critical discourse analysis of newspaper articles and policy documents from the post-Vietnam War era in both countries, the influence of monolingual language ideologies continued. In the United States, bilingual education was a topic of debate, with some school districts protesting that their own programs for ESOL were sufficient. The idea that bilingual students could learn in their heritage language was rejected based on the idea that in an English speaking country they should learn in English, too.

Refugees welcomed, if they speak the right language. Studies indicate linguicism and racism are linked (Cho, 2017; Mitchell, 2013; Viesca, 2013). Additionally, stereotypes propagated in the media coupled with an Australian public’s preference for certain cultures and languages over others contributes to xenophobic attitudes towards refugees (Hatoss, 2019). This modern-day understanding of the connections between languages and racism echoes the same sentiments found in Australian and American World War II and post-Vietnam era newspapers. Anglo culture and English held more value in both countries. Subsequently, the discourse used to

describe refugees from non-English speaking countries is sometimes mocking, sometimes belittling, and at times clearly unwelcoming. In an example of the ways in which English language acquisition was understood to demonstrate assimilation during the World War II period, some members of the Australian Jewish community supported the quota system:

The danger was imminent that the progress of a century might suddenly be undone and Australian Jews swamped by a sudden eruption unable to speak English . . . fortunately this danger is guarded against through restricting visas for passports to Australia for persons of alien nationality. (Rutland, 1985, p. 37)

The use of the word “eruption” calls to mind the commonly used term “influx” to describe various immigrant groups throughout the past century in both countries. This familiar trope is frequently used in tandem with the idea that immigrants do not speak English and are therefore illiterate, as illustrated in the op-ed written by Barbara Bush during the post-Vietnam War period analyzed in Chapter Four.

Current news and rhetoric. Much has happened in American and Australian news media since the initial design, implementation, and analysis phases of this project. In July of 2019, the President of the United States’ tweets, rallies, and news conferences dominated headlines as he used both anti-refugee rhetoric and racist tropes to characterize four United States Congresswomen (Chiu, 2019). One of the Congresswomen, Ilhan Omar, came to the United States as a refugee as a child. The racist statements used to describe this Congresswoman served as a backdrop to the data collection and data analysis of this study. In conversation with teachers in Australia, when I asked about

their experiences with anti-refugee rhetoric, teachers mentioned Trump as an example of inflammatory rhetoric. The teachers used his rhetoric as a metric when describing their colleagues' use of anti-refugee rhetoric: "They're not as bad as Trump." In the lead up to and aftermath of Trump's election, some teachers and students across the United States in diverse communities grew fearful and anxious (Pendergrass, 2017).

Literacy as a gatekeeper for refugees. The White Australia immigration policies borne of the beginning of the 20th century to curb immigration from Asian countries lingered throughout the better part of the century. These policies influenced both the government's and the general population's understanding of who should and who should not be allowed to settle in Australia. An English language and dictation test was used to reject people of color under the White Australia policy (Jayasuriya, 1990). Despite the abolition of the White Australia policy, visa applicants are still asked to prove English language proficiency with relevant evidence (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs, 2019). Similarly, in the United States, the Trump Administration aims to decrease the number of immigrants applying for green cards with education requirements which include proof of high school education and English language proficiency so as to prove the applicant will not become a "public charge" (Hauslohner, Miroff, Sacchetti, & Jan, 2019, para. 3).

In the following section, I explain how this study illustrated the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and what happens in the reading classroom with refugees in the United States and Australia.

Anti-Refugee Rhetoric and What Happens in the Reading Classroom Today

My second research question is as follows: What is the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language acquisition policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia? I collected data from the interviews of two Australian teachers and one Australian head teacher, classroom observations of two Australian teachers, and two American teachers, one American head teacher, and two classroom observations of two American teachers. The findings from this question overall indicate that the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language acquisition policy in reading classrooms in the U.S. and Australia is an increased dedication on the part of the teachers to their refugee students, regardless of what language acquisition policy says. During times when anti-refugee rhetoric increases, teachers are responsive and ready to support their students of a refugee background. They support their refugee students' growing English literacy skills with planned and careful use of their heritage languages. The teachers interviewed in the United States and Australia differed in their ideas of how politics and anti-refugee rhetoric impacts what happens in the classroom, but all displayed and expressed caring attitudes towards students, and concern about any struggles students face. Teachers spoke highly of their students. They showed appreciation for their students' multilingualism, and the journeys they undertook to get to their host countries.

The teachers I spoke with in Australia claimed little knowledge of language policy, but drew direct connections between policy and funding. They characterized the relationship between refugee literacy and language acquisition and policy as "indirect."

They expressed concern about losing staff if the numbers of students enrolled in the IEC were to drop, and expressed pride in the existence of IECs and their own contributions. The educators interviewed in the States spoke more of the “fads” that result from federal policy, and emphasized the importance of learning from other professionals and “knowing what good instruction is.” In more than one conversation about anti-refugee rhetoric in both countries, teachers characterized their work teaching students of refugee background English and how to read as a form of combating anti-refugee rhetoric. In the following sections, I draw connections between the teachers’ ideas about their students’ strengths, anti-refugee rhetoric, and the literature.

Teacher recognition and appreciation of community cultural wealth. Some of the questions that I asked all participants required them to think of their students’ strengths. I intended to use these answers to explore the ways teachers’ beliefs and values regarding their refugee students may contradict the more common messages containing anti-refugee rhetoric in the news media. For example, all participants were asked, “What skills, knowledge, and abilities do your students bring to the classroom?” in each interview. Even though these questions were geared to focus on the positive attributes of refugee students, in some cases, negative attributes were still mentioned. For example, teachers brought up students’ lack of literacy skills in their primary languages and the difficulties in teaching them to read in English as a result. In these instances, the teachers’ words echoed the discourse surrounding refugee students in the media throughout the time periods studied here. However, teachers did acknowledge that in some cases, their students did have study skills established in schooling in their home

countries or transit countries, and they were able to read in their primary languages. In both settings, there was a sense of urgency amongst the participants— they wanted to ensure that their students of a refugee background were able to learn to read and write in English, and in some cases their home languages, as well as meet the graduation requirements. One participant was dismissive of the influence of language acquisition policy, placing emphasis on the idea that everyone can learn and the importance of professional learning in order to teach students to read. The implicit message was that policies can change, and with them, the fads in instruction. But, teachers’ core beliefs in their students’ potential to become readers regardless of their starting points and teachers’ own efforts to grow as professionals should stay constant.

Teacher recognition and appreciation of their refugee students’ community cultural wealth, and particularly their language skills, could serve to run counter to anti-refugee rhetoric in the news media. Some scholars argue that simply including bilingual students’ heritage languages in the classroom to support their second language acquisition and literacy is a superficial measure (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Seltzer, 2019). Rather, Seltzer (2019) contends, “We must focus more on the ideologies of the listener than the linguistic practices of the speaker to understand how language and processes of racialization produce marginalization both in and out of school” (p. 148). It is notable that teachers emphasized students’ lack of literacy in their heritage languages. This could perhaps indicate the extent to which they value their students’ multilingualism. Their multilingualism was only so useful without heritage language literacy. That said, the

following section details the ways in which teachers valued multilingualism in service of English language acquisition.

Teacher appreciation of refugee student multilingualism. All of the Australian participants praised their students' multilingualism and resulting ability to learn English as an additional language. They expressed appreciation for the advantages this gave the students. Even if the students had interrupted or limited formal schooling, the teachers posited that the students had a better understanding of how languages work. The participants' repeated acknowledgment of their refugee students' multilingualism shows that in this case, reading teachers of refugee students recognize the linguistic capital (Yosso, 2005) their students bring to the classroom, and take pride in it. Teacher recognition of refugee student multilingualism can serve as a contrast against the English-only messages in the news media and education policy, but must go beyond the surface in order to counter refugee student marginalization. One teacher in the United States emphasized that students needed to be able to read in their first languages to be able to grow their English literacy skills. This teacher noted that while teachers cannot be responsible for teaching all multilingual students how to read in their first language, if they have the skills to they should put them to use to further their students' English language literacy skills.

Teacher appreciation of students' background knowledge and experiences. The teachers also spoke frequently about their students' resilience, a tenet of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). They spoke of the impact trauma has on student learning, but they also noted the level of resilience it takes for students to come to school in a new

country each day and learn in a new language. One teacher said the students bring great kindness to the classroom and are very supportive of one another in their language and literacy learning. This teacher spoke of the vulnerability involved in learning to read in secondary school, and emphasized again that the students support each other through the process, and display understanding. The Australian teachers in particular noted that their students had acquired various work skills in their transit countries. These teachers tried to include the prior knowledge and skills their students of refugee backgrounds brought to the classroom.

All teachers expressed appreciation and admiration of their students' progress. Their acknowledgment of their students' progress in learning the alphabet and how to read stood in contrast to the messages the media has sent historically about what progress should look like-- learning English upon arrival and excelling in all subjects. Whereas the media is less accepting of what could be considered normal academic progress for a recently arrived language learner, the teachers participating in this study valued and praised all progress.

The school building as a resource for refugee families. As newcomers, refugee parents often find the educational process in their host countries confusing and unfamiliar, and benefit from school-provided resources that equip them with a greater understanding of the opportunities available to them at school and the greater community (Wiseman & Cassidy, 2019). The Australian participants in this study highlighted a number of programs available to students and their families to aid them in the resettlement process, navigating the school system, and recovering from trauma. The

wide variety of programs available are made possible by the school's connection to community agencies and organizations as well as the work the staff does both to organize excursions for students and to make families feel welcome at the school. The American participants in this study also spoke to the number of community resources available to students and made mention of local government organizations and agencies that conduct presentations at the school. Providing support for refugee students' parents has a positive effect on students, but organizing such programs takes funding (Watkins, Noble, & Wong, 2019). The participants in this study spoke to the positive effects that extra support for refugee families can have, showing why such funding is necessary.

Combating anti-refugee rhetoric. When asked about whether anti-refugee rhetoric had an effect on what happens in the school building, one participant noted that the staff tries to emphasize the positive. She spoke about occasional media interest in the IEC's operation. She said on these occasions, the staff tries to emphasize the positive, and provide an opportunity for refugees to share their stories. The IEC has a number of programs available to support refugee students and their families. She said they work with outside organizations to combat anti-refugee rhetoric in an indirect way-- by building capacity, so refugee families can advocate for themselves. She mentioned programs that help refugee families learn how to fill in forms in particular, noting that knowing how to fill in forms is an essential part of life. The work undertaken towards this effort likely makes life in Australia much easier for refugees, as they learn more about the systems available to them and how to navigate them, possibly building upon their social and navigational capital (Yosso, 2005). However, the idea that schools must

work to build capacity amongst refugee families in order to combat anti-refugee rhetoric is problematic as it indicates that there is a fear that refugees are understood to be a burden on society because they may need help. This reaction to anti-refugee rhetoric-- the desire to emphasize the positive and the ways in which refugees help themselves-- is further problematic because it shows that there is a worry that is refugees are not perfect, they will not be wanted or accepted in their host countries. While the participants in this study asserted that their students are not directly affected by anti-refugee rhetoric as they live in an area that is largely made up of immigrants and refugees and they do not access Australian media, the burden placed upon refugee students to be beyond reproach is unfair as it is not assumed for their native born peers. One participant contended, "These families are not here because they enjoy leaving their countries, there's very good reasons why these families are here." The need to make this statement in response to a question about how anti-refugee rhetoric in the media has an effect on what happens in the school building shows how, in this case, teachers understand that others may believe that refugees are in the country for nefarious reasons.

Anti-refugee rhetoric in the school building. Some of the participants in this study work at an IEC, serving a population of students who mostly come from refugee backgrounds. The participants all spoke of the issues their refugee students faced in transitioning from the IEC to the mainstream high school, namely, going from a nurturing environment in which their language acquisition processes were supported, to an environment in which teachers were less familiar with their strengths, needs, and backgrounds. As Naidoo (2010) contends, all teachers should be aware of how language

acquisition works, because language and literacy lessons do not belong only in the reading classroom. However, even if some mainstream teachers are aware of ESOL pedagogy, they may not be aware of the language and literacy needs of students of refugee backgrounds. This added challenge in the classroom for mainstream teachers is likely what contributes to the negative talk about refugee students the participants in this study report hearing from their mainstream colleagues.

Monolingual language ideologies in multilingual environments. Learning English and becoming literate in English have traditionally been major factors in migrant assimilation in Australia and the United States (Baumel-Schwartz, 2016; Jayasuriya, 1990). The teachers participating in this study frequently positioned English language acquisition as a major component of students' potential to integrate. While they voiced a great appreciation for students' multilingual background, their main concern for their students' futures in their host countries involved the English language only. In this way, knowledge of other languages are seen as a nice thing to know, or perhaps even a stepping stone to learning English, but of no more value beyond that.

Good intentions. In this section, I discuss instances where teachers acted out racist microaggressions towards refugee students, whether during observations or in recounting anecdotes during interviews. Because of the sensitive nature of the topic, I do not make any reference to participants' locations. Notably, the stories here are marked by good intentions-- the teachers thought they were helping their students in the stories they shared, or they thought they were simply describing them. I feel it is important to share these vignettes while noting that teachers are in positions of power in the classroom as

representatives of the power structure that is the school. In one instance, prior to observing a teacher, she took the time to tell me about the class to provide context. Part of her description included mimicking her students' accents, and the way they address her. I was uncomfortable during this conversation, and made more so during the class itself when I realized that the teacher was speaking to the students in an exaggeratedly slow manner, on occasion continuing to mimic their accents in the class. During the observation, it was clear that the students had a good relationship with this particular teacher, and were perhaps unaware of the fashion in which she addressed them. They spoke with her comfortably, laughed, and asked questions. Likewise, she spoke fondly of them prior to the class, although most of the talk centered on their needs, rather than strengths.

While this vignette is not a blatant display of anti-refugee rhetoric, I mention it because it illustrates how teacher enacted English-only language policy can serve to paint refugees as the other, whether purposefully or not. Caricaturing accents only serves to set apart the group being described, and make fun of their efforts to acquire language. In addition, this young, white teacher's caricaturization of refugee students coupled with an earlier description of their struggles in English literacy and academic weaknesses served to emphasize to me that this particular individual saw English as the gold standard, with little value for multilingualism. When schools offer English-only curricula, perhaps "English-only" messages are what teachers feel are right and appropriate.

In another instance, a reading teacher used a text about the refugee experience to allow students to draw connections to their own backgrounds. This individual noted that

the students were able to empathize with the characters' struggles as they undertook a dangerous journey to flee their host country, with not all of them surviving. After our conversation, I reread this text, noting the graphics and vivid imagery used to depict the traumatizing and scary experiences the characters had. According to Todres (2018), "By helping child readers understand the experience and humanity of refugees...children's books can help counter Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric and foster empathy and respect for refugees and other migrants" (p. 20). However, as the subject matter addressed in the text is quite difficult to process emotionally, I was surprised that this particular text was given to a class made up of refugee students who were likely to have experienced some of the more traumatizing aspects of fleeing one's home country in the recent past. The message, that host countries should be more welcoming to refugees, seems misplaced when directed at refugees themselves.

Observations about the Methodology of this Study

The critical comparative case study design allowed me to explore the phenomenon of anti-refugee rhetoric interacting with policy and its implementation in depth. This design provided the opportunity to examine the historical roots of the interactions between language policy and anti-refugee rhetoric in the United States and Australia, to trace changes in these interactions over time, and draw connections between the history of these interactions and what happens in the reading classroom with refugee students today. In the following sections, I reflect upon the specifics of using this design and methods for research on refugee education.

What Worked

Using Critical Discourse Analysis to study historical newspapers and policy documents provided a way to think more deeply about the ways in which common language in the media and education systems is used to both construct an identity for refugee students and emphasize stereotypes about them. I chose to study two major newspapers in each country. All of these newspapers were associated with densely populated metropolitan areas which have been areas of refugee resettlement throughout the three time periods studied. This meant that overall, there was substantial content available to be studied in the newspapers in all three eras to develop the transversal axis of this study.

In order to explore the horizontal and vertical axes, I interviewed each participant three times over the course of a semester or two academic terms. Doing so allowed me to learn more about the participants' contexts. I also was able to compare and contrast participants' thoughts and feelings about their teaching contexts over time. One teacher in Australia was full of praise for her students one term, for example, but expressed frustration at the growing number of absences the next term. These two interviews taken in isolation could have led to very different conclusions about this teacher's understanding of her students, her thoughts about their values, and community cultural wealth. To develop the vertical axis of this study, I followed language policy from the guidance documents issued by federal and state level governments to local school districts. At the local level, I interviewed two teachers and one head teacher at an Intensive English Center in a suburban setting in Australia. I then conducted interviews

and observations of one reading specialist and administrator at a large public school housing an international school in the United States. I also conducted two classroom observations using an observation protocol in which I took field notes.

What Did Not Work

The majority of the data taken from the observations did not prove relevant to this study, so only portions are included in Chapter Four. Logistical problems arose, and district level administrators and non-profit workers are not included as participants.

I started this study with a clear understanding of the participants I wanted to recruit in order to inform my research questions: reading teachers with students of a refugee background in their public school classrooms, and their administrators. In Australia, this process was straightforward. I completed a research application to conduct this study in a public school system, and upon approval, contacted a local school within a community home to many refugees. The teachers and staff spoke about their students' experiences in their home countries, transit countries, and host country, Australia. As I developed the transversal axis of this study, I realized that interviewing former teachers who taught refugee students in the post-Vietnam era could also yield valuable data. I used professional and community contacts to recruit former teachers as participants, but was not successful. As I reached out through these contacts in the United States, I realized that the rhetoric surrounding refugees and undocumented individuals in the media in the U.S. impacted who I was able to recruit, as it changed understandings of who refugees were and who were "teachers of refugees." In one instance, a professional contact asked, "Who is a refugee? Do you mean only refugees with visas, or like a kid

from Honduras?” This reflects the confusion and reluctance to discount the backgrounds of some students as refugee experiences-- if a student fled violence in his or her home country, he or she was understood to be a refugee, regardless of their visa status.

Limitations

As previously mentioned, there were benefits to focusing on the particular newspapers chosen for this study. However, in choosing newspapers tied to the Washington, D.C. metro area in the United States and the greater Sydney area in Australia, the majority of the articles analyzed here are limited to those two geographical areas. Future studies on refugee education and anti-refugee rhetoric in both countries could be served by a closer examination of media tied to other traditional areas of refugee resettlement, especially rural areas.

In order to develop the vertical and horizontal axes, I chose not to interview refugee students in either country. The reasons for this were twofold-- one, because I was interested in studying the implementation of language policy and its interactions with anti-refugee rhetoric, which pertains more to the perspectives and actions of teachers and administrators. Two, because I did not feel that it was right for me as a stranger to ask refugee students questions about such a sensitive subject as anti-refugee rhetoric. I did not want to contribute to or increase the level of stress refugee students may already experience as a result of refugee rhetoric (Hamann & Morgenson, 2017). Some of the teachers stated that their refugee students did not appreciate attention drawn to their refugee status, and they did not want to talk about their journey to their new country. While this may not have been true for all students, these statements reaffirmed my

supposition that interviewing refugee students would be insensitive for this project. But, after interviewing teachers and administrators, I do feel it is a limitation of this study that refugee student voices are not included. An understanding of refugee student perspectives on some of the topics the teachers spoke to would have been useful. As Todres (2018) points out, usually adults are asked for their perspectives on the impacts of Trump's rhetoric, which means that we know less about its effects on children and their lives at school. The subject of Trump-inspired bullying has been covered in newspapers such as *The Washington Post*, and student voices are included (Natanson, Woodrow Cox, & Stein, 2020). Student voices should be included in academic research as well, so researchers have the opportunity to learn from them. In a discussion of the raciolinguistic ideologies that marginalize students' heritage languages and dialects, Seltzer (2019) posits that researchers should focus on the ideologies of the listener, rather than the languages of the speaker (the student). In other words, when it is not the students' languages that cause them to be stigmatized, but rather the negative stereotypes or beliefs that other members of society hold, it should follow that students should not be asked about their own stigmatization-- others who contribute to it should. That said, student voices could have confirmed or refuted some of the interview data collected from school staff.

In addition, the participants in this study were all individuals who chose to work with language learners, whether they were trained to do so or not in their initial teacher training. This likely influenced some of the data collected for this study, as these individuals were potentially more apt to express sensitivity towards anti-immigrant and

anti-refugee rhetoric. Future studies on the impacts of anti-refugee rhetoric on the classroom could further develop the field with data drawn from interviews with teachers who do not see themselves as language acquisition teachers.

Implications

The findings of this study have a number of implications. They are as follows:

- 1) Professional development must include information on current language policy at the state and federal level. Based on the data collected for this study, a gap exists between the policy documents at the federal and state levels and teacher awareness of those policies. One could infer that as teachers implement the policies relevant to their teaching, they are enacting district level administrators' interpretations of those policies, or perhaps even in some cases, educational consultants' interpretations. Teachers must be aware of the language policies relevant to the students they teach in order to understand the origins of the labels they use to refer to their students as groups, a necessity in beginning to deconstruct the negative discourse surrounding bilingual and refugee students. A firsthand understanding of language policy documents would also allow for teachers to better recognize the rights students already have and where more advocacy is needed. The participants in this study recognized the value of using students' heritage languages to learn in a content area such as reading. The participants in this study were perhaps taken aback when asked to speak about policy, even though they make choices about how to enact it each day. Heineke, Ryan, and Tocci (2015) found that teacher candidates understood policy better

through the lens of their field-based teacher learning experiences. Perhaps continuous professional development regarding policy and policy updates will likewise provide a better understanding for career teachers.

- 2) Teacher education programs for all teachers should include material on teaching students from refugee backgrounds and interrupted education. All of the participants in this study said they did not receive any specific training on teaching students from refugee backgrounds or students with interrupted education. Despite the historic preoccupation with the “influx” of refugee students in the media and political spheres, according to the data collected in this study, teacher education programs do not reflect the reality of the current makeup of students in American and Australian classrooms. Given that some of the participants noted that some of their classrooms were majority students with interrupted education, more training in this area is needed. In a study on the ethics of caring in the classroom with SLIFE, Hos (2016) found that a caring attitude is insufficient for teaching SLIFE. DeCapua and Marshall (2015) argue that SLIFE need educators to teach with a dissonance view, which involves reframing educators’ mindsets to consider SLIFE as students who are navigating cultural barriers rather than students who lack academic or literacy skills. Proactively providing teachers with the knowledge and skills to teach SLIFE and students of a refugee background at the beginning of their teaching career could better position both students and teachers for success.

- 3) Race and equity training should be included in professional development and teacher training, to include the deconstruction of monolingual language ideologies and the encouragement of translanguaging. Data collected for this study indicates that there are teachers working within school systems that promote monolingual language ideologies who do value multilingualism. However, some of the data collected for this study also indicates that teachers of refugee students can be influenced by the negative rhetoric in the media and could benefit from race and equity training.

Recommendations for Future Research

- 1) An exploration of the ways in which students of a refugee background have been portrayed in academic journals historically. Such research could yield more knowledge regarding how students of a refugee background were understood both in research and in the classroom, and provide greater understanding of their current portrayals in academic research. This research could benefit from another Critical Discourse Analysis using the Situated Meaning Tool (Gee, 2014b) to delve into the context-specific meanings behind certain language choices in academic journals over time. Alternatively, a content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004) could be used to further investigate the topics and ideas addressed in the historical research on refugee education.
- 2) A historical look at the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in reading classrooms in the United States and Australia, with interviews of reading teachers of students of a refugee background

in their classrooms during the Vietnam era as well as their former students.

Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) suggest that the oral history method could be used to record individuals' memories of a specific event or moment in time. They note that using such a method could illustrate a number of perspectives on the same event. Using this method to interview former reading teachers and their students could better illuminate the historical roots of the interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and the implementation of language policy in the reading classroom.

- 3) I chose to focus on the United States and Australia for this critical comparative case study because both are major refugee resettlement countries with a history of monolingual language ideologies present in schools and the public sphere. A future critical comparative case study to examine interactions between anti-refugee rhetoric and language policies in other major refugee resettlement countries such as Canada and Germany could further develop the field. In a study of attitudes towards unaccompanied refugee minors in Germany, Plener et al. (2017) found that the German participants mostly felt that education was essential to refugee integration into German society. Despite their overall feelings that more unaccompanied refugee minors should not be accepted into the country, they also felt that the students who were already there should have the same rights to an education as German students. In a Canadian study of separated refugee children, researchers found that both the prevalence of racist stereotypes and the perception of separated children as risky impact separated children's experiences in Canadian society in a negative fashion (Bryan & Denov, 2011). While these

studies indicate that racist stereotypes and anti-refugee rhetoric exist in both places and serve to negatively impact refugees' experiences in their host countries, at this time, it appears there is a gap in the research on interaction between anti-refugee rhetoric and language policies in both countries.

Conclusion

In conducting this study, I considered Yosso's (2005) ideas of community cultural wealth, which includes aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital. As I collected and analyzed data, I used Critical Race Theory as a lens to think about the ways that power structures in education and the larger world place refugee students outside of the mainstream while simultaneously urging them to assimilate. Conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis of newspaper articles and policy documents from the World War II, post-Vietnam War era, and the current period in the United States and Australia allowed me to further consider the ways that anti-refugee rhetoric, xenophobia, and linguicism can affect educational systems. This critical comparative case study was designed to understand the ways negative discourse in the media and policy can have an effect on what happens in the reading classroom with refugees, but also to understand how such phenomena were created over time. This study broadens research in the field of refugee education by comparing two major resettlement countries with a highlighting of current teacher voices and tracing change and interaction in anti-refugee rhetoric in the media and policy historically.

The major findings of this study led me to two conclusions: first, that schools in both the United States and Australia are not free of politics. One teacher told me politics

are not discussed at school, and implied that the two worlds are separate. The impact of anti-refugee rhetoric in the media on policy and teacher instruction indicates otherwise. As the teachers in this study acknowledged the “Who belongs here” questions they heard from their peers, they were implicitly acknowledging the impact of anti-refugee rhetoric from the political sphere on the classroom and school building. Second, students of a refugee background need acknowledgment in education policy in the United States and teacher preparation programs. Refugees are discussed with frequency in the political sphere and the media, and face a negative political climate in their new host countries. In the United States in particular, teachers receive students of a refugee background with little policy guidance specific to this group of students. In both countries, teachers with little formal preparation specific to the teaching of refugees welcome these students to their reading classrooms.

In his 1958 book entitled, *A Nation of Immigrants*, John F. Kennedy asserted that under the laws of the time, the “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free” inscription on the Statue of Liberty needed an addition: “...as long as they come from Northern Europe, are not too tired or too poor or slightly ill, never stole a loaf of bread, never joined any questionable organization, and can document their activities for the past two years” (p. 58). Over sixty years later, this assertion still holds true.

Who belongs here? The reading teachers who participated in this study in the United States and Australia demonstrated effort to ensure their refugee students know they belong, despite the political and media messages to the contrary. Reading teachers

of refugee students are participants in the power structures that uphold monolingual and monocultural language ideologies. However, the participants in this study indicate reading teachers in the United States and Australia assert not only that their refugee students belong in their host country classrooms and countries, but that their heritage languages matter as well when refugee students are learning to read in English. As reading teachers work to ensure their refugee students gain the English language and literacy skills needed for life in the United States and Australia, they also work against anti-refugee rhetoric. The Australian and American participants in this study indicated they work to create a sense of belonging for refugee students and to communicate that their heritage language skills are assets, rather than deficits. As such, reading teachers of refugee students in both countries deserve better teacher preparation and policy guidance.

Appendix A

Observation Protocol

Name of teacher:

Date:

Time:

Location:

Number of students present:

Description of physical appearance of classroom:

Topic & content of lesson (including objectives, if explicitly stated):

Description of materials used:

Language(s) of instruction and spoken by students:

Fieldnotes/Transcript:

Taken from Menken (2006).

Appendix B

Interview Protocol

Project Title: Interactions between Socio-political Climate and the Teaching of Reading to Refugees

Date:

Researcher: Ellen Clark

Participant: Teacher

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to take part in three interviews over the course of the semester. You may quit the interview process at any time; it is entirely voluntary. I will be asking questions related to your background, experiences, and knowledge of the teaching of reading to refugees and language policy.

Interview 1

1. Please describe your background in teaching (years in the profession, years as a reading teacher to ELLs and refugees in particular, degrees)
2. Why did you become a reading teacher?
3. Were you prepared in your teacher education program to teach Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education and/or refugee students? In what ways?

4. Please describe the class instruction model (for example, is it pull-out model? Inclusion?):
5. What languages do your students speak?
6. Please describe your refugee students as readers and writers.
7. Do your students read in their primary language in class/out of class?
8. How do you measure student growth in reading and writing?
9. What resource do you think helps your students the most?
10. Please describe some of your students successes in literacy.
11. How do you work with your students' families?
12. How has the socio-political climate influenced your classroom?
13. How do you see anti-refugee rhetoric in your school? In your classroom?
14. Do your students express interest in discussing anti-refugee rhetoric?

Interview 2

Participant: Teacher

Date:

Researcher: Ellen Clark

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to take part in three interviews over the course of the semester. This is the second interview. You may quit the interview process at any time; it is entirely voluntary.

1. Can you describe your refugee students' progress this semester?
2. What skills/knowledge/abilities have your students brought to the classroom?
3. Please describe your collaboration with the ESOL co-teacher/ESOL coach.

4. Please describe your beliefs regarding language education (i.e. how do you feel about bilingual education, English-only).
 5. Do you see federal or state language policy as an influence on what happens in your reading classroom? How?
 6. How has the socio-political climate influenced your classroom?
 7. How do you see anti-refugee rhetoric in your school? In your classroom?
 8. Do your students express interest in discussing anti-refugee rhetoric?
 9. How do you take anti-refugee rhetoric into account in curriculum planning?
Daily lesson planning?
- Relevant follow-up questions in subsequent interviews with each participant set will be asked based on what is learned from students, teachers, and administrators in previous interviews.

Participant: Teacher

Interview 3

Date:

Researcher: Ellen Clark

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to take part in three interviews over the course of the semester. This is the third and last interview. You may quit the interview process at any time; it is entirely voluntary.

1. Can you describe your refugee students' progress this semester?
2. What skills/knowledge/abilities have your students brought to the reading classroom?

3. Please describe your collaboration with the ESOL co-teacher/ESOL coach.
 4. Please describe your beliefs regarding language education (i.e. how do you feel about bilingual education, English-only).
 5. Can you speak to your experiences with standardized tests and your refugee students?
 6. How has the current socio-political climate influenced your classroom?
 7. How do you see anti-refugee rhetoric in your school? In your classroom?
 8. Do your students express interest in discussing anti-refugee rhetoric?
- Relevant follow-up questions in subsequent interviews with each participant set will be asked based on what is learned from students, teachers, and administrators in previous interviews.

Appendix C

Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



Office of Research Development, Integrity, and Assurance

Research Hall, 4400 University Drive, MS 6D5, Fairfax, Virginia 22030
Phone: 703-993-5445; Fax: 703-993-9590

DATE: October 3, 2018

TO: Kristien Zenkov
FROM: George Mason University IRB

Project Title: [1243418-1] The Interactions between Anti-Refugee Rhetoric, Monolingual Language Ideologies, and Refugee Literacy in the United States and Australia: A Comparative Case Study

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE: October, 3 2018

REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited review category #7

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The George Mason University IRB has APPROVED your submission. This submission has received Expedited Review based on applicable federal regulations.

Please remember that all research must be conducted as described in the submitted materials.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form unless the IRB has waived the requirement for a signature on the consent form or has waived the requirement for a consent process. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the

researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by the IRB prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to the IRB office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed (if applicable).

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to the IRB.

This study does not have an expiration date but you will receive an annual reminder regarding future requirements.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of five years, or as described in your submission, after the completion of the project.

Please note that department or other approvals may be required to conduct your research in addition to IRB approval.

If you have any questions, please contact Katie Brooks at (703) 993-4121 or kbrook14@gmu.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

GMU IRB Standard Operating Procedures can be found here: http://oria.gmu.edu/1031-2/?_ga=1.12722615.1443740248.1411130601

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within George Mason University IRB's records.

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Biography

Ellen Cantwell Clark graduated from The American International School of Muscat, Oman in 2003. She received her Bachelor of Arts from the University of Virginia in 2007. She was employed as a teacher in Prince Georges County Public Schools for six years and received her Master of Education from George Washington University in 2010.