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***“It’s really important for them to feel comfortable within the classroom”:
Teachers’ experiences of refugee children transitioning into school.***

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Abstract

Australia has seen increased levels of migration and refugee families coming to Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010) which therefore has resulted in increased numbers of children entering school throughout the year, often when families have been in Australia for a short amount of time. Whilst the literature highlights the importance of effective transition to school processes as having long term benefits for children and families commencing kindergarten at the beginning of a school year (Early, Pianta et al. 1999; Dockett and Perry 2003; Pianta and La Paro 2003), refugee families arrive in Australia and their children start school any time throughout the year. These newly arrived families may struggle with school policies and practices that are often radically different from those in their home country. Further, research has identified that recently arrived students from Africa placed in high schools had difficulties within these institutions (Cassity & Gow, 2005). This was compounded by teachers’ lack of confidence in addressing their specific needs which may also likely be the case in primary school settings. Children joining existing classes and friendship groups may also experience isolation and difficulties with adjustment. This study used a phenomenological approach to understand the perspectives of newly arrived families, children and key staff in the school setting (teachers, executive and support staff). Stakeholders were involved in focus groups. Follow up interviews with children in the school setting enabled them to photograph parts of the environment and people that assisted with the settling process. Teachers were then invited through interview to comment on their perceptions of the photographs. Data was analysed with the assistance of NVIVO 9, (a qualitative software program) to generate key themes and processes which address issues for newly arrived families, children and their teachers in the classroom setting. This paper will report on one part of the study; specifically on the perceptions of teachers. Findings will identify supports and barriers for teachers to facilitate smooth transitions and highlight the importance of communication processes and relationships between families, children and teachers for effective supports during the transition process.

Introduction

There has been increasing numbers of refugee families with young children settling in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010; Refugee Council of Australia, 2011). According to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, a refugee is defined as,

Any person who owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country (Refugee Council of Australia, 2011).

Refugee families have often experienced inexplicable situations of fear, terror and violence to themselves and other family members (Cassity & Gow, 2005; Hek, 2005; Schweitzer, Melville, Steel, & Lacherez, 2006) and have survived many transitions in their complex lives prior to arriving in Australia. Families usually bring with them different cultural, religious and socio economic backgrounds (Casimiro, Hancock, & Northcote, 2007).

The Australian Government Department of Immigration & Citizenship states that “Under Australian law, children must attend school until they are 15 years old. ... should enrol your children in a school as soon as possible” (2011). Refugee families and children are immediately faced with a plethora of transitions when they arrive; transition into school is just one of many.

Transition to school

The notion of transition to school has become more prominent on the national and international stage and is defined by the period of time prior to which a child moves from the home or early childhood setting, to commencement of formal schooling. The 2006 OECD report identifies the importance of transitions and the continuum between early childhood programs and school

environments (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2006). Nationally, the Council of Australian Governments (2009) places transition to school as a specific outcome for all Australian children and families as part of the *National Early Childhood Development Strategy, Investing in the Early Years*.

The importance here is the focus on the interactions between and amongst stakeholders as key to understanding how the child and family is supported in the school and beyond and what the child and family bring into the context. The transition to school process has been explored through a myriad of ecological representations based on the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979) (see Dockett & Perry, 2007; Dunlop & Fabian, 2002; Rimm-Kaufman & Pianta, 2000). At the microsystem level, the child and family's personal expectations of school; their cultural background and prior experiences in early childhood settings and the home environment all affect the child entering school. The mesosystem; the school and environment is influential in determining adjustment to school and future outcomes for the child (Burrell & Bubb, 2000). The exosystem; whereby policies and processes at a school level including resources, a culture of community and parent partnership will impact on families and children adapting to the environment. The macrosystem; local context of expectations for transition balanced with societal views will impact on schools and processes for transition. The notion of the relationships and inter-relationships between the systems is critical in this framework. It is not a one way process but rather a complex interweaving of systems which impact on and allow for successful transition to school. Whilst there is a plethora of literature surrounding transition *to* school for young children, there is little research for transition *into* school for refugee children. Some studies have highlighted the need to explore requirements for culturally and linguistically diverse families in transition to school (Dockett & Perry, 2005; Sanagavarapu & Perry, 2005), but the focus in these studies has been on commencing kindergarten at the beginning of the year. The author acknowledges the importance of inter-relationship between these systems but for this paper is focusing on the mesosystem and exosystem levels – teachers in the school environment.

Teachers and refugee children in the classroom

The role of the teacher is critical in settling families and children into the school environment and ensuring they are able to meet their needs (Szente, Hoot, & Taylor, 2006) but classroom teachers may face tensions as refugee children can often arrive with little notice. The arrival at school throughout the year, coupled with differences in language and the process of acculturation for children and families can be quite complex (Colic-Peisker, 2005; Driver & Beltran, 1998; Trickett & Birman, 2005). These difficulties associated with this transition are also highlighted by teachers. Cassity & Gow (2005) identified in their study that recently arrived students from Africa placed in high schools had difficulties within these institutions. This was compounded in some instances by teachers' lack of confidence in addressing their specific needs. This may also likely to be the case in primary school settings. The notion of refugee children and families being fearful or distrustful of people in authority is well documented, but the teacher is less likely to be perceived by others in the dominant culture as an authority figure and it assumed that the teacher would be less likely to cause distress; however, this may not be the case (Igoa, 1995). Teachers can be positioned as authority figures within the school by parents or family members. The perceived role of the teacher as expert may have an impact on the likelihood of developing relationships with families.

A study by Hones (2002), identified that teachers were more likely to be accepting of and empathetic towards refugee children in their classroom when they have an understanding of their background and experiences. Cultural misunderstanding is more likely to lead to discrimination. The opportunity for shared understanding could be extended to shared experiences which transcend culture and social class. According to Naidoo (2010), teachers should consider moving beyond classroom practice to connecting with the community within which students' live. Tuomi (2005) discussed the possibilities of viewing the school as an agent of social change and therefore the role teachers play in this process. The transition into school becomes a two way process with teachers actively and positively identifying methods for preparing children in the class and the physical environment of the classroom for the refugee children. This tends to shift the emphasis to a welcoming and encouraging experience for the child from a whole class perspective.

Purpose of this study

As previously stated, transition to school has been a widely researched phenomena (see Dockett & Perry, 2006; Margetts, 2000; Pianta & Cox, 1999) with considerations focusing on children entering school at the commencement of the school year with their peers, coming from the home and/or early childhood setting. Teachers have expectations around the cohort they are to receive into the Kindergarten¹ classroom and their role as teacher. However, refugee children and families have little control over their arrival in Australia and hence the time in which they start school. Exploration of teacher perceptions of their role will assist in gaining an understanding of further processes for enabling initial contact and entry into school to occur in a manner which is supportive to all stakeholders.

This study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the barriers for teachers in transitioning refugee children into the classroom environment?
2. What supports teachers in transitioning refugee children into the classroom environment?

Methodology

(a) Research design

This study employed a phenomenological approach to investigate teachers' perceptions of supports and constraints to newly arrived children transitioning into school throughout the year. The use of phenomenology enables the researcher to identify teachers' lived experiences of the phenomena (Richards & Morse, 2007); refugee children transitioning into school throughout the year. It enables the researcher to develop an understanding of their encounters in the context of their relationship to people or children, the situations and events which occur as part of their everyday lives (Van Manen, 1990).

(b) Participants

Ethical clearance was obtained through Macquarie University and the New South Wales Department of Education and Training (DET). Key stakeholders in this study were purposively selected. The author had a connection from previous community engagement projects with a Program Coordinator from a migrant resource centre located in the Western Sydney area who had agreed to be involved in the research. Participant groups are identified below.

1) School staff

Four New South Wales Department of Education and Training schools in Western Sydney were identified in consultation with the Program Coordinator. These schools were known to have large numbers of refugee children transitioning in throughout the year. Initial contact with the Principal was made by phone and each Principal confirmed that they received increasing numbers of refugee families and children throughout the year. One Principal did note that in his school the numbers had decreased in the past few months as families were enrolling in another local school (which was also involved in the study). All four Principals gave permission for their schools to be involved in the study. A follow up letter outlining the study and inviting involvement was sent to the school for distribution to Kindergarten to Year 2 classroom teachers, specialist teachers who had regular contact with these children; for example, English second language teachers; and support staff; for example, teachers' aides and administrative staff. A total of 30 participants across the four schools agreed to participate. Teaching experience ranged from one year to thirty years.

2) Children

Principals from two of the previously identified schools were also invited to extend participation to refugee children in kindergarten to year 2. Information on enrolment forms identified that children

¹ In New South Wales Australia, Kindergarten is the first year of formal schooling. Children are eligible to commence kindergarten at the beginning of the year if they have turned 5 years of age on or before 31st July in that year.

were from Sierra Leone, Sudanese and Afghani backgrounds (n=10) and had arrived at school less than a year prior. Family members were contacted through the school. In one school the Principal contacted families either by phone or in person to explain the study and potential involvement for their children. In the second school, the Principal delegated this task to the Assistant Principal. In both schools the Principals decided that this was the most appropriate way to elicit involvement as they had a rapport with families and usually provided information or sought permission for various school activities in this way.

(c) Data-gathering

The study employed three phases of data gathering; focus group discussion, interviews and photographic data. In the first phase, focus group discussions were held in the four schools with teachers. Questions were open ended to begin the conversation and enable participants to share their experiences and “way[s] of being...” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 39) in this situation. Once demographic data had been gathered (role in school, length of time teaching, length of time in the school), open ended questions followed two main areas; settling refugee children into the classroom environment; and processes for ongoing communication with families.

Two focus groups with children were also held in the school environment. The Principal in each school was contacted to arrange participation. In one school, the Principal sent letters to families which had been translated where requested. She then followed up with families a week later. In the second school, the Assistant Principal sent letters home with children and followed up with a conversation when they were dropping off or collecting children. Focus group discussions were held during school time. Open ended questions focused around children’s experiences of starting school in Australia and what they felt they needed to know. Children were released from class to attend. They were asked if they would like to answer questions about their experiences and reassured that if they didn’t want to answer a question then they didn’t have to. Two siblings in one school were unable to speak English proficiently. The classroom teacher of the older child sent another child from their class to translate for them. Confirming this with the Principal, I was told that this was a usual practice which had been put in place in the school to provide peer support. This role was identified as a “Cultural Guide” (Principal, School A).

The second phase of data gathering involved the children from the focus groups photographing significant aspects of the school setting that represent places/ people which assisted the transition process. Unstructured interviews based on the photographs were conducted with the children to further explore their reasons for their subject choice. During this interview children’s permission was also sought to share the photos with the relevant teachers at the school.

The third phase of data gathering involved follow up interviews with teachers in the schools where the children had taken photographs. Two Assistant Principals (both also classroom teachers) and a Principal agreed to be involved across the two schools. They were provided with an opportunity to discuss their perceptions of places or spaces children would be initially drawn to and then comment on the photos the children had taken. A final question explored possibilities of places or spaces which could be created for children.

(d)

(e) Data analysis

Focus groups and interviews were transcribed. Photographs were downloaded and all of the data were entered into QSR NVivo 9, a computer software program which assists with data analysis (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2011). Data were assigned demographic attributes. Focus groups were de-identified and assigned pseudonyms (School A, B, C and D). Interviews and photographs were assigned general participant information; pseudonym, school, teacher or child, child age and class.

Initially focus group and interview data were collated under the answers to the open ended questions. Patterns in responses became visible and data were coded to these themes and topics to allow for the development of categories. Further reflection enabled abstraction (Richards & Morse, 2007) of categories to identify the ‘essence’ of the phenomena (Van Manen, 1990).

Photographs and responses in relation to the photographs were dealt with in a similar manner. Data were imported into QSR NVivo 9 and collated in relation to their location, for example, photos of the playground were initially coded together, as were classroom environments. Further scrutiny of the interview dialogue which went with the photos allowed the development of categories and themes to develop. Abstraction of categories relied on the teacher perceptions of the photos in relation to the children's explanations.

Findings

The findings are presented to address the questions posed:

1. What are the barriers for teachers in transitioning refugee children into the classroom environment?
2. What supports teachers in transitioning refugee children into the classroom environment?

(f)

(g) Barriers to successful transition into classrooms for refugee children

The following barriers to successful transition into the classroom for refugee children were identified:

- 1) Time

All participants involved in the school focus groups identified time as a significant barrier to successful transition into the classroom. Interestingly, *time* was associated with the notion of arrival at school, access to information, addressing needs in class and allocation to English second language classes.

Arrival at school

Teachers identified different points in the school year as more hectic than others for children arriving at school and this had implications for learning.

... often depending on the time year they come, it's quite difficult. Because you have [the] class at certain level, or the majority, someone that comes in with no English what so ever, it's extremely difficult (Focus Group, School C).

It depends on the time of the year they come in too. Some times of the year are just flying. Like the work, everything that we're expected to do, especially the reporting time. ... So it does impact on us and our workload to how we expose them to the work. Often they'll come in academically lower than the other children. So then developing another program or getting them into ESL; getting them into a class there or into a maths group or a reading group, it's just huge (Focus Group, School A).

I got my new arrival first day Term 4. And we know Term 4 we're so busy with everything. I feel really bad because I haven't really had time to really get to know him and to cater to all of his needs. Rather I just set him off with a basic maths booklet or basic colouring booklet. (Focus Group, School B).

Access to information

A significant time barrier explained by teachers in two of the focus groups was the inability to find out information about children pertaining to their background in order to know the children and build relationships. Two comments from teachers identified this issue:

From the classroom teacher's perspective she doesn't have the time to go and ring to organise an interpreter (Focus Group, School A).

The thing is the child lands on the doorstep and there's very little time to get any background information. So my guy from Budapest, who came via Egypt, it took me

weeks to learn about him. If I could have sat down at the beginning with this family and be introduced to him as his new teacher, that might have set us off on a better foot and then I would have had a better understanding (Focus Group, School B).

Addressing needs in class

Time was also an important factor in classroom management. Participants identified that these children required additional support within the classroom setting in relation to behaviour and learning needs. This needed to be balanced with the overall needs of the cohort of children.

Also you tend to have your behavioural problems who take all your time and attention (Focus Group, School B).

But then we have to – you have to realise that the teachers have to find the time as well [as addressing needs of other students in the classroom]. You know we have to find the time (Focus Group, School C)

Time for intensive English

Teachers also identified time needed for intensive English classes. This was highlighted in the following comments:

But in saying that, if you saw our ESL program, it would be great to be able to introduce more time. It would be great to be able to have a teacher come in, or an ESL teacher come in with that child to settle them in. But the ESL timetable is unbelievable. I don't think they'd have a second (Focus Group, School B).

They need intensive English class they can move into – not just a select few – but a proper intensive English class when they come in (Focus Group, School C).

Teachers from these focus groups explained alternative strategies they used in the classroom setting such as visual cues, but also felt children were disadvantaged by their lack of English and consequent understanding of classroom functioning.

2) Role confusion

For many participants in the school focus groups there were commonalities in the way they saw their changing role as teacher. Teacher identity was questioned in terms of pedagogical practices and the perceived new role participants felt they had acquired involving welfare for these children and families beyond usual practice. Confusion was evident particularly amongst one group of participants;

You need to be aware, we're teachers and our sense is probably basically to teach the curriculum, however sadly we look like we're doing a lot of outside skills and we don't know what we're supposed to be ... (Participant 1, School A)

Whose role is that? (Participant 2, School A)

It's like we need, domestic social workers, that's what we need (Participant 1, School A).

But it's sort of been drilled into us not drilled, but it's certainly been our perception – well my perception, through my training and years – that even though our role encompasses so much more, and that I've mothered well 14 years of kids, sometimes it feels like, we've always been drilled that our role is actually to teach these children, not to look after them in that respect (Participant 3, School A)

But our roles are multifaceted ... you have to. In a school like this you have to (Participant 4, School A).

3) Lack of support

Resources and funding were key areas where participants felt unsupported. One Principal stated, The DET's broken up into regions, we're [one] Region, and I am aware that in [another Region] their resources are up. They're very well resourced because they were receiving the refugees and migrants a lot earlier than us. It is transferring across. We have been under-resourced, but they're trying to speed it up. That's why from the beginning of the year I started taking myself along to meetings and asking the questions. Why don't we have this? Why don't we have that? We've got this number of students, why don't we have it? And you just as the Principal you have to push. You just have to keep pushing and pushing to get the right level of support (School D).

Further, each focus group identified high number of languages other than English being spoken in the school community. School A identified 30-40 different languages, School B: a participant identified "too many to count", School C: 30 and School D identified 97% of the school population spoke languages other than English. This created challenges in terms of accessing interpreters who could assist in schools with communication processes. Lack of understanding around cultural groups within ethnic groups was a consideration some schools were also struggling with; sometimes school staff felt they had little knowledge of particular peculiarities to tribes within countries and needed further cultural awareness.

But there are some languages that don't have any interpreters (Focus Group, School A).

...some of our countries do not have interpreters yet, so that's very difficult. And for example in Sudan, I forget there's so many different tribes that you don't want to just assume that they're Dinka or assume that they're something else (Focus Group, School D).

4) Communication processes

Communication processes were seen by participants to be complex tasks, coupled with language and sometime cultural barriers. Information can be 'lost in translation'. Findings in this section have been addressed in the following manner; firstly, cultural complexities are explored, then communication processes.

Cultural complexities

Difference associated with lifestyle, previous experiences and discipline were highlighted by participants in the teachers' focus group. Comments included:

Life in camps was so different often they only had one meal a day. And our expectation is very different to that. So just simple things like food, and I can remember an occasion where I spoke to a Year 1 parent about the food expectation and the child arrived with Cornflakes on bread. So the confusion between meals, that they were only used to having one meal a day (Focus Group, School D)

[parents] look at you [like] 'Well you're not really doing your job, are you?' Because you're not hitting them and that physical punishment, a lot of them get that at home as well. That's their main means of punishing their children (Focus Group, School D).

Teachers also identified conflicts in their role and the relationships they were developing with families:

Teachers are held with the utmost respect because they're educators – they're the path to a better life. So we understand that, but what we need is for that open line of communication as well. (Focus Group, School B).

Most of the time you have to be their friend, because they're so new to Australia they don't have many, so they actually do see you and they tell you about their family stories and they expect you to be there and listening there are confidentiality issues can you repeat some of this stuff that they've told you. It changes your role and puts pressure on you (Focus Group, School B).

Communication processes

There were processes for communicating with families which were identified but also there were difficulties faced.

They have an Elder that takes care for the entire group that comes to Australia. So most times I think the school contacts the Elder – like he's in charge of all this group of people that he has brought over. And most of the time they communicate with him and he communicates with the group (Focus Group, School B).

But there are some languages that don't have any interpreters. And we wait until somebody comes; it might be a long time (Focus Group, School B).

Most of them are illiterate. And that also causes huge embarrassment, so that's why you'll also get notes not signed. (Focus Group, School B).

Mention of children being used as interpreters to aid the communication flow between families did occur, but this was also quickly identified as a last resort for schools when it was urgent and there were no other alternatives. All school focus groups spoke of the importance of interpreter services particularly when addressing issues of concern with families. For example,

Well it's a means for – a means of communication that you don't have any other way of doing. But I find it hard as well because you're not altogether sure what the child – how the child's interpreting what you're saying to that parent and how it's going back from the parent through the child. And often they don't quite get the message across correctly what you want to get across to the parent. So I mean – it's not the best way, but it's A way of communicating (Focus Group, School C).

I know I'm not supposed to do that. From my ESL consultant I've been told not to do that ... (Focus Group, School D).

Interpreters were seen as key in the transference of information, however there were also issues associated with this. Schools were struggling with languages for which interpreting services were not available and the ethical issue of using children for interpreting information. The dichotomy of needing to get information across to families rested uncomfortably with the way in which this could be achieved.

In summary, barriers to successful transition into school for refugee children included factors associated with time, ability to address family needs beyond classroom curriculum, a feeling of lack of support and communication issues. However, participants were also able to highlight supports to families and children and share their experiences of success for transitions into the classroom.

(h)

(i) Supports for successful transition into classrooms for refugee children

All of the focus group participants were able to identify supports for successful transitions for these children. Additionally this was reinforced during the children's focus group and interviews in relation to the photographs they had taken. Supports were identified in terms of classroom strategies;

including buddying and grouping. The environment was also seen as a supporting factor; taking into consideration both indoor and outdoor aspects. These supports are explored further below.

1) Classroom strategies

Teachers were able to identify strategies they had developed to assist refugee children to settle into the classroom. A common strategy to emerge from the data was the notion of 'buddies' within the classroom. This is consistent with transition to school literature whereby kindergarten children are paired with year 5 or 6 buddies (Dennison, 2000; Dockett & Perry, 2005).

But you try to buddy them up ... and preferably someone that may, if you're lucky, they may speak the same language, so it's much easier (Focus Group, School B).

In addition to buddying children, teachers made strategic decisions about ways of learning in the classroom, offering children options through small group learning:

Yeah. So I have a lot of learning centres in my rooms. So I just find they kind of, like, for a while in the learning centres which I'm happy for them to do. Because to me they're learning. They're sort of looking at what kids - what are you doing in here? They copy on from there. What are you doing there? They model a lot from each other in that way as well (Assistant principal Interview, School D).

The importance of concrete experiences was noted by teachers;

I've found that they work really well with any hands-on activities, and you can then see, particularly in mathematics, you can then see their ability; if they are able to use hands-on equipment, games equipment, things like this, things that they can move around (Focus Group, School A).

This was also acknowledged by a boy in the children's focus group at School A. He stated:

When I started school, the first time I came into class there was like toys everywhere and ... I played with the cars first.

The value of visual aids or cues for children in the classroom setting was identified.

We do a lot of - everything we teach is through visuals so that they can see and understand what we're doing. There's no point in just talking away because you've got to put yourself in their situation. When we go to another country we can't speak their language plus they've got all the trauma (Principal, School D).

The following discussion in School B highlighted the value of self esteem and allowing refugee children to feel good about their accomplishments.

The biggest thing is when you find something they're good at, make sure you incorporate it into your programming each week so that they shine and get admiration. That helps a lot. Absolutely, it's more meaningful to them probably than anything else. They enjoy it (Focus Group, School B).

2) Environments

Having discussed the indoor environment as part of classroom strategies, the outdoor environment also provided spaces for children to feel comfortable. In School D the children in the focus group were keen to discuss the oval and the games played on the oval. When reflecting on this in the follow up interview, the Assistant Principal acknowledged that for a particular group of refugee children this was a preferred place. She commented on seeing the photo of the oval,

Actually it's true, it's very true. They do because a lot of them are living in units too. They haven't had wide open spaces. They come from camps and things as well. So they do love to run. They do love to play on the oval. We're lucky here, we have massive grounds here; massive, safe grounds too.

In School A, one child took a photo of the space outside the classroom and said that this was where she liked to be at lunch time and recess with her brother and friends. The Assistant Principal commented that this may have been selected as the children were likely to feel safe close to their classroom, which was a familiar environment. Supports for transitioning into classrooms for refugee children linked to places and relationships. Teachers actively promoted relationships through buddy systems and grouping of children for classwork. Spaces were also important and acknowledged by children; including the indoor and outdoor environment.

Discussion

The classroom teacher is confronted with a myriad of daily issues which can be compounded when they have children and families from a refugee background transitioning into this environment throughout the year. In this study it was possible to identify strategies which teachers adopt that sit within the understood notion of 'transition' to school. Such activities included using buddies or as identified in one school a 'cultural guide'. This enabled children to feel supported within the classroom and school environment and seek assistance from a peer. The adaptation of the classroom environment was also conducive to creating spaces to watch or small groups to slowly encourage participation. However, transition into school also highlighted many challenges for classroom teachers. Teachers struggled with time constraints which impacted on relationship building and their identity, describing feelings of role confusion.

Developing relationships for ongoing support

The development of relationships was identified at two levels; 1) relationships with families and children and 2) relationships with community agency supports. The findings highlighted a number of issues associated with developing relationships with families and children. Moving beyond the issue of time, cultural misunderstandings were commonplace. Teachers were often hindered in their ability to develop partnerships with families. School B described issues with communication due to illiteracy and a lack of interpreters in a particular language. The implications of this are significant. Research has shown that there are significant advantages of parental involvement in terms of children's educational outcomes (Bakker, Denessen, & Brus-Laeven, 2007), further Harris and Goodall (2008) state that it is the engagement of parents in children's learning in the home environment which has the greatest impact on their accomplishments. Students from refugee backgrounds start school at a significant disadvantage which is additionally impeded with parents deferring to the school for decisions and not understanding the discourse of partnership embedded in the dominant culture of schools.

Sustainable relationships with community agencies contribute to schools building new networks for families which assists them with their emotional support and wellbeing (Schweitzer, Greenslade, & Kagee, 2007). This in turn is advantageous for children's wellbeing and ability to cope in the classroom. One Principal during a focus group stated:

This year, only through phone calls, many phone calls, I've developed links with [migrant resource centre], Transcultural Mental Health, Community Health, and I just keep phoning and emailing, but now I'm building up a network. So when I need to make a phone call I will, because they are at a loss. They have a caseworker for a very short time, but then they're left on their own after that.

The ongoing nature of these networks provide local community context and understanding of refugee children and family needs which in turn provides information to teachers in addressing some of these needs on their arrival at school.

Reconceptualising teacher identity

The debate about the identity of teachers is timely given the increasing number of children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in the school system. Teachers in this study recognised that their role had moved beyond that of 'stand and deliver' classroom teacher to encompassing wellbeing and social work. Naidoo (2010) supports this notion and calls for a recognition of the necessity for engagement with the community as central to teaching. Teachers

who have strong links to the community will have a greater understanding of refugee issues and a greater opportunity to develop trust relationships.

Ball and Pence (2000) note that teacher education programs can be seen as being culturally neutral, reflecting those from the dominant culture who develop the curricula. Increasing the awareness of the plight of refugee children and families transitioning into school through pre-service education programs is critical. Processes for developing effective teaching strategies and community engagement will influence teachers' pedagogy as a learner and their knowledge about learning and teaching (Santaro, 2007).

Conclusion

In order to ensure successful outcomes for refugee families and children transitioning into school it is necessary to consider processes for supporting teachers in their complex role. It is pertinent to rethink approaches; the manner in which relationships, interactions and time is considered for key stakeholders. Successful transitions for these children will create the potential for positive ongoing learning experiences. As described by one teacher (Focus Group D),

... the whole structure of them coming to school, I think that's a fantastic idea. We just need more support so it's structured so it's actually advantageous to the kids. Because at the moment, they're put in a room with a whole group of people they don't know, they have no connection with, and that can be really, really difficult... and not the same language. So if we were in a situation where we had teachers ... that could actually address the needs of different children of different ages, in the school but that these children could then go out and play on the playground with the other children, so there was a connection there. But just having more support for the initial first 12 months of their schooling life, is something that we need.

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