TOWARDS THE WHOLE-SCHOOL APPROACH: THE CHANGING NATURE OF “BEST PRACTICE” FOR REFUGEE EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

Harrison J. Spratling

Alumnus of Deakin University, Australia

Corresponding author: harrysprat@live.com.au

Article info

Abstract

Submitted: 16 November 2021
Received: 02 April 2022
Published: 29 April 2022

Since 2000, the dynamics and demographics of refugee education in Australia have changed constantly. Meanwhile, academic literature on refugee education continues to explore best practice approaches in various contexts. While these realities continue to shift, it is important to analyze any changes in what Australian literature considers best practice for refugee education. To analyze such changes, this study conducts a qualitative content analysis of academic literature published in Australia since 2000 and draws out various themes of best practice. It then analyses studies chronologically to detect change in the concept of best practice for holistic refugee education over time. The goal of holistic education is suitable for refugee students who often have extremely complex learning needs, and as such it forms the basis for what this study considers “best practice” education should strive to achieve. This study reveals that current best practice for supporting refugee students in Australia includes whole-school approaches to inclusivity, study and mental health supports, and community and family engagement. Additionally, professional training and appropriate pedagogical approaches, especially relating to literacy and supplemented by adequate resources, are vital to successful refugee education. It also reveals that since 2012, academic literature has places more emphasis on staff professional development, inclusivity, advocacy and the positive framing of refugees, and the whole-school approach to refugee education, whilst placing less emphasis on links between schools, families and refugee communities, as well as mental health and study supports for refugee students. Literature on the importance of pedagogy has remained constant since 2000.
INTRODUCTION

Australian refugee demographics, policy, public opinion and scholarly views on best practice for refugee education are constantly being redefined. In order for refugee education in Australia and elsewhere to remain relevant and effective, the direction of such trends requires constant analysis. This study aims to provide some insight into the ways in which best practice for refugee education in Australia has changed over the past 20 years.

“Best Practice”

Best Practice within the context of refugee education describes effective strategies used by educators to address the specific needs of refugee students. Over the past 2 decades, best practice has generally surrounded the ability of schools to provide a holistic model of education (Block et al., 2014).

Holistic education is rooted in a humanist theoretical approach to teaching where the goal is the development of each individual in all facets of life. Holistic education acknowledges the socio-economic, cultural and mental health related needs of refugee students, which cannot be addressed through classroom pedagogy alone (Block et al., 2014; Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett, 2010; Downey, 2008; Murray, Davidson & Schweitzer, 2008). The theory of holistic education forms the basis of this study because the complex needs of students from refugee backgrounds are rarely simply academic.

General Concepts of Refugee Education in Australia

Factors contributing to the complex educational needs of refugee students include poor mental health from pre- and post-displacement trauma (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett, 2010; Downey, 2008; Murray, Davidson & Schweitzer, 2008), literacy barriers (Matthews, 2008; Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Woods, 2009; Garcia, 2000 in Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005), gaps in prior schooling (Windle & Miller, 2012; Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006; Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, 2008b in Miller & Windle, 2010; Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Matthews, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Ogilvie & Fuller, 2016), racism (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007, 2012; Matthews, 2008), adjustment difficulties (Moloney & Saltmarsh, 2016; Iqbal et al., 2012; Miller et al., 2018), and financial and cultural tensions (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Dooley, 2009; Woods, 2009; Matthews, 2008; Keddie, 2012b). Addressing these needs is often outside the expertise and training of individual teachers.
Failures in refugee education risk students exiting school with a lack of social capital, which is directly linked to ‘a greater risk of isolation, social dislocation and the costs resulting from anti-social behavior’ (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003 in Sidhu & Taylor, 2007, p. 288; Haig & Oliver, 2007).

Refugees are not a homogenous group (Matthews, 2008; McBrien, 2005; Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Rutter, 2006; Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Miller et al., 2018). For educators, this means that ‘a one-size-fits-all approach [to refugee education] is unlikely to be effective’ (Naidoo 2012, p. 267), and refugee student needs should not be conflated with those of English as a Second Language (ESL) students. Nevertheless, refugee students generally share some common learning needs and challenges (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Strekalova & Hoot, 2008).

Currently, assistance from state and federal governments with respect to refugee education is mixed. For instance, language support programs such as the federal government’s 510-hour Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) have been criticized as being ‘wildly unrealistic’ (Hakuta, Butler & Witt, 2000, p. 13) and ‘grossly inadequate given the social, emotional and cognitive needs’ of refugee people (Ferfolja & Vickers 2010, p. 160). However, some state education departments offer valuable support to teachers (NSW Department of Education, 2017; Victoria Department of Education and Training, 2018) (cf. SA Department of Education, n.d.; WA Department of Education, n.d.; Tasmania Department of Education, n.d.). Therefore, while some schools are capable of catering for more refugee students, others struggle to keep pace (Refugee Council of Australia, 2017). This has led some academics to describe governmental support for refugee students as ‘piecemeal’ (Matthews, 2008, p. 32), resulting in ‘conditions for policy on the run’, where the ‘state reacts to crisis rather than planning and leading’, leaving refugee education in Australia ‘to chance’ (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007, pp. 296–297).

Changes in Australian Refugee Demographics and Policies

Since the 1990s, Australia’s intake of refugees has risen from around 2,500 to around 6,000 per year (Karlsen, 2016). In the decade between 1990 and 2000, Australia saw 34,898 refugees resettled (Karlsen, 2016). These refugees generally came from former Soviet and Yugoslav countries such as Ukraine, Latvia, Bosnia and Kosovo, as well as Lebanon, Sudan, Burma, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Vietnam and East Timor (Refugee Council of Australia, 2019). Between July 1999 and December 2001, the majority of refugee arrivals were from Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan (Hazou, 2008).

From 2001 until 2011, Australia resettled 54,710 refugees (Karlsen, 2016). At this time ‘resettlement from Africa increased from 16%... to 70% in 2003-04 and 2004-05’’ (Refugee Council of Australia, 2019). This marked a major change in refugee demographics from the majority European and Asian arrivals a decade earlier.
From 2012 until the end of the 2015-2016 financial year, Australia granted over 38,000 refugee visas (Karlsen, 2016), taking 12,000 refugees in 2012, and a further 12,000 refugee visas issued for Iraq and Syrian refugees in 2015 (Hurst & Shalailah, 2015; Refugee Council of Australia, 2020). In 2019, most refugees entering Australia were from Africa, Asia and the Middle East (Refugee Council of Australia, 2019; see also Australian Department of Home Affairs, 2019). These demographics continue to change with world events. As of March 29th 2022, the Australian government has announced 16,500 places for Afghan refugees and 5,000 for Ukrainian refugees (Dziedzic & Burgess, 2022; Australian Broadcasting Company, 2022).

Alongside changes in Australia’s refugee demographics, policies towards refugees and asylum seekers – especially those arriving by boat – have grown increasingly harsh. Ostensibly, these policies, which include refoulement and indefinite detention, have been in the name of stopping people smugglers (see for example Davidson, 2013).

Over the period from 1990 until 2022, the detention of asylum seekers and refugees in Australia became routine, especially for those undocumented asylum seekers arriving by boat. In 2001, Operation Relex began Australia’s refoulement of undocumented boat arrivals (Refugee Council of Australia, 2020), which was continued after 2012 under Operation Sovereign Borders (Ibid.). In 2004 the High Court of Australia confirmed that the Australian government could detain asylum seekers indefinitely, regardless of the conditions of detention. (Al-Kateb v. Godwin, 2004; Behrooz v. Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2004). Meanwhile, studies conducted at this time revealed a general anti-refugee prejudice within Australian public opinion (Schweitzer et al., 2005).

After 2010, Australia attempted to find regional solutions in New Zealand, Malaysia and Cambodia for its detained asylum seekers (Refugee Council of Australia, 2020). It also passed new legislation giving the Australian government powers to detain undocumented persons at sea outside Australian jurisdiction, limit judicial review of decisions on refugee status, and re-define Australia’s non-refoulement obligations under the Refugee Convention (Migration And Maritime Powers Legislation Amendment (Resolving the Asylum Legacy Caseload) Act, 2014; Border Protection (Validation and. Enforcement Powers) Act, 2001; Migration Legislation Amendment (Judicial Review) Act, 2001; Migration Amendment (Protection and Other Measures) Act, 2015). Since 2016, Australia’s refugee policy has seen resettlement deals reached with the US, amidst a backdrop of deaths and suicides in refugee detention (Refugee Council of Australia, 2020; Hendrick, et al., 2020).
Emerging from this parallel timeline of increased refugee intake and hardline policies against asylum seekers was ‘a general climate of fear’ creeping into the political discourse surrounding refugees in Australia (Gale, 2004 in Taylor, 2008, p. 3).

**Aims of the study**

The changing nature of Australia’s refugee policies, and indeed the demographics of refugees who enter Australia, means that best practice for refugee education is never static. Since 2000, Australian academics have studied best practice approaches to refugee education, and over time their perception of what constitutes best practice has changed. This study is therefore important in its focus on change within literature on best practice, as it highlights and questions the reasons for and direction of such changes. This research is also important in a practical sense, as it provides guidance for various stakeholders such as classroom teachers, school administrators and those involved in the creation of education policy in Australia.

This study is limited to the examination of themes of best practice and how they have changed. Further research may be needed to determine whether the direction of Australian academic literature on refugee education is appropriate in light of new refugee demographics.

**METHODS**

**Research Design**

This study is a direct qualitative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). It fills a gap in Australian literature on refugee education by compiling concepts of “best practice” within this context and describing their change over time. The current study addresses this gap by analyzing the content of Australian academic literature on refugee education. It employs a limited critical content analysis, as its purpose is to uncover the best practice suggestions of other literature. The study also employs a chronological-thematic review to identify the way in which these concepts of best practice have changed over time.

**Data Collection Methods and Analysis**

The dataset was established using Deakin University’s library database. Key words “refugee education”, “Australia” and “best practice” were used to locate relevant literature. Articles matching the following criteria were included in the dataset:

- A piece of academic literature (preferably peer-reviewed);
- Published between 2000 and 2022.
- Concerned with:
- Refugee education;
- Australia;
- Best practice; and
- Secondary or primary school contexts.

A range of literature was read and a set of 27 articles compiled (see Figure 1). The decision to stop collecting data was made when new articles selected for reading yielded no new themes, while original themes continued to recur consistently. This signified that the collected articles had drawn out the major themes of best practice amongst Australian literature on the topic. In particular, the literature review by Miller, Ziaian & Esterman (2018) bares similarities to this study. Although both come to some different conclusions, the current study also adds weight to any overlapping conclusions.

Studies in primary school contexts were included because ‘[m]any [refugee] students entering mainstream [secondary] classes … have reading and writing levels similar to those of lower primary school students’ (Windle & Miller 2012, p. 318). This requires secondary teachers to adopt pedagogies similar to those of primary school teachers and is important to note given that ‘the teaching of basic beginning reading and writing is not often considered as part of high school teachers’ standard skill set’ (Woods 2009, p. 93).

**Analytical Process**

**Thematic Analysis**

The methodological approach of this study is based on Braun and Clarke’s (2006) 6-step framework for thematic analysis.

1. **Becoming familiar with the data**

Articles were read and basic codes were determined. While some codes were determined upon the initial reading (Braun & Clarke, 2006), others emerged during coding (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

2. **Coding data**

This study used open theoretical coding (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Upon reading, suggestions on best practice were given values. After the initial readings, further readings of each article revealed various semantic themes regarding best practice (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3. **Emergence of themes**

During and after coding, significant patterns emerged. Their significance was determined by how prominently certain ideas recurred across multiple studies, as well as the weight
and time dedicated to them by the authors of those studies. These patterns formed various themes.

4. Review of themes

Themes were revised upon additional re-reading. Some were combined as they overlapped, while others were eliminated due to a lack of emphasis within the data. The resulting seven themes were color coded and evidence of these themes within each article were marked with thematic colors. Themes were also categorized as either ‘major themes’ or ‘minor themes’. This division was adopted to separate dominant suggestions of best practice from those mentioned in passing. These are shown in Figure 1.

5. Defining Themes

Themes were defined to ‘identify the “essence” of what each theme is about’ in the context of holistic refugee education (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92).

6. Reporting through written discussion

A discussion of holistic education was included as an introduction to the analysis. Findings were analyzed under thematic subheadings.

Chronological Analysis

After the thematic analysis, a 4-step chronological analysis was employed to determine change in academic emphasis across themes over time.

1. Arrange Data Chronologically

The 27 academic articles were arranged in chronological order according to year, and divided into two groups. Group 1 consisted of articles published before 2012. Group 2 consisted of articles published from 2012 onwards. 16 of the articles fit into the first category, and 11 fit into the second, as seen in Figure 1.

2. Devise a Point Based System to Give Weight to Major and Minor Themes

To account for the difference between major and minor themes identified in the thematic analysis, a point-based system was devised so that any change in emphasis on major themes carried more weight than shifts in minor themes. Themes not mentioned in an article were given 0 points, whilst minor themes were allocated 1 point for each article they appeared in, and major themes given 2 points (See Figure 1).
3. Calculate the Percentage Change

Results from this chronological analysis were then tallied according to theme and separated into pre-2012 and post-2011 data groups. Totals were converted into percentages to account for the larger dataset in the pre-2012 group. It was then possible to determine how much emphasis, expressed as a percentage value, had been placed on each of them before 2012 compared to studies published in 2012 and beyond (See Figure 2).

Reliability and Limitations

Since refugees should not be framed as a homogenous group (Matthews, 2008), best practice is ultimately determined on an individual basis. Despite this, ‘many of the core concepts [of refugee education] are useful in the local context’ (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005, p. 20), and these core needs may be similar from group to group (Haig & Oliver, 2007). The fact that this study analyzes literature concerning various contexts of refugee education is therefore not detrimental to its reliability. Indeed, as notions of best practice are drawn from recurring themes across many contexts, they may be more readily generalized as best practice for refugee education throughout Australia.

Changing refugee demographics require continual quantitative and qualitative shifts in practice to provide effective education for such students (Matthews, 2005; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010). Refugee education is also a complex issue transcending the field of education to include politics, psychology, ethics and sociology. This research limits itself to education and does not map the field of Australian literature on refugee education. It therefore cannot stand as conclusive evidence on best practice for refugee education in Australia. Furthermore, the methodological approach of data was not a criterion for selection of data. The study is therefore limited ‘in its lack of quality assessment of research’ and as a consequence there is ‘potential for bias’ (Miller et al., 2018, p. 341). The fact that some authors appear multiple times across the dataset may also skew the chronological analysis, as certain authors may focus on certain themes of best practice in their work compared to others.
## FINDINGS

**Figure 1**: Chronological Categorization of Literature according to Major and Minor Themes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key:</th>
<th>Major Theme:</th>
<th>Minor Theme:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whole-School</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassity &amp; Gow, 2005.</td>
<td>2 2 0 2 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Mitchel &amp; Brown, 2005.</td>
<td>0 1 2 0 2 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie &amp; Sidhu, 2006.</td>
<td>0 0 2 1 1 1 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Miller &amp; Mitchell, 2006.</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgeyn &amp; Hull, 2007.</td>
<td>2 2 2 0 2 1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haig &amp; Oliver, 2007.</td>
<td>2 2 2 1 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidhu &amp; Taylor, 2007.</td>
<td>0 1 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, 2008.</td>
<td>0 1 2 1 1 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, 2008.</td>
<td>1 0 1 1 2 1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dooley, 2009.</td>
<td>0 2 0 0 1 0 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naidoo, 2009.</td>
<td>0 0 0 2 2 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidhu &amp; Taylor, 2009.</td>
<td>0 1 1 2 1 2 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferfolja &amp; Vickers, 2010.</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 1 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatoss &amp; Huisier, 2010.</td>
<td>0 2 0 2 1 1 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hattam &amp; Every, 2010.</td>
<td>0 1 2 2 2 2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naidoo, 2011</td>
<td>0 2 2 1 2 0 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (of maximum 32)</strong></td>
<td>9 19 16 21 24 11 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (Percentage)</strong></td>
<td>28.1 59.4 50 65.6 75 34.4 34.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keddie, 2012a.</td>
<td>2 1 1 2 1 1 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keddie, 2012b.</td>
<td>2 1 0 2 1 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naidoo, 2012.</td>
<td>2 1 1 2 2 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pugh, Every &amp; Hattam, 2012.</td>
<td>0 0 2 2 1 0 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidhu &amp; Taylor, 2012.</td>
<td>2 1 2 2 2 2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windle &amp; Miller, 2012.</td>
<td>1 2 1 2 2 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block, Cross, Riege &amp; Gibbs, 2014</td>
<td>0 2 2 2 1 1 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Windle &amp; Yazdanpanah, 2014.</td>
<td>2 0 1 1 2 2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melville, 2017.</td>
<td>0 1 1 2 2 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Ziaian &amp; Esterman, 2018.</td>
<td>2 2 2 2 2 2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naidoo &amp; Naidoo, 2018.</td>
<td>2 0 1 2 1 2 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (of maximum 22)</strong></td>
<td>15 11 14 21 17 4 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (Percentage)</strong></td>
<td>68.2 50 63.6 95.5 77.3 18.2 9.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage Change from Data:</strong></td>
<td>+40.1 -9.4% +13.6 -29.9 +2.5 -16.2 -25.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**International Journal of Educational Best Practices (IJEBP)**  
ISSN:2581-0847  
Vol 6 No 1 April 2022  
DOI: 10.32851/ijebp.v6n1.p68-97
THEMATIC ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Whole-School Approach (Change in Emphasis: +40.1%)
Best practice centered around the adaptability of whole-school systems to meet refugee student needs (Miller, Windle & Yazdanpahan, 2014; Block et al., 2014; Burgoyne & Hull, 2007; Miller et al., 2018; Francis & Cornfoot, 2007; Alford, 2014). For schools to remain flexible, it was deemed necessary to preserve staff expertise through continual professional development (Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012), long-term employment (Block et al., 2014), mental health support (ibid.; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016), and the creation of a positive school culture (Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012). The role of school leaders was also notably important (Block et al., 2014; Taylor, 2008), given that ‘having leadership which actively promotes “believing in the good nature of everyone first” … help[s] to create [an] established culture in which deficit views of students are contested by other staff’ (Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012, p. 134).

This theme saw one of the largest shifts in the dataset after 2012, reflecting the way Australian academics increasing see best practice as holistic approaches to refugee education coordinated across whole-school settings.

Inclusivity, Advocacy and the Positive Framing of Refugees (Change in Emphasis: +29.9%)
In educational contexts, advocacy is ‘not about directing the political views of others, but about … calling the familiar into question through vigorous analysis [of societal and

Similar to the whole-school approach, data suggested that advocacy and inclusivity also require top-down action from school leaders (Block et al., 2014; Taylor, 2008; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012). Both chronological groups of data emphasized the importance of fostering feelings of ‘belonging’ within the school environment as best practice (Sidhu & Taylor, 2012, p. 283; Matthews, 2008, p. 40; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010, p. 145; Cassity & Gow, 2005, p. 52; Keddie, 2012b, p. 1298).

Every study in the post-2011 data group mentioned inclusivity, advocacy, and the positive framing of refugees as either a major or minor theme of best practice. However, data published after 2011 was more likely to stress that advocacy and inclusivity should be explicit and school-wide, incorporating anti-racism programs (Matthews 2008; Sidhu & Taylor 2012; Miller et al., 2018), and opportunities to ‘celebrate diversity’ (Sidhu & Taylor, 2012, p. 288; Naidoo, 2012, p. 266; Block et al., 2014, pp. 1340–1341, 1347, 1352; Queensland Department of Education, Training and the Arts, 2005, in Taylor, 2008; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016, 2019; Victorian Settlement Planning Committee, 2005; Kimani, 2015; Riggs & Due, 2011). The majority of studies praising schools that advocated for diversity as well as notions of ‘safety’, ‘support’ and ‘welcoming’ environments were published after 2011 (Luizzi & Skaer, 2008, p. 2; Sidu & Taylor, 2012, p. 299; Matthews, 2008, p. 39; Keddie, 2012b, p. 1298; Melville, 2017, p. 2; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012, p. 113; Miller et al., 2018, p. 343; Olagookun & White, 2017, p. 87).

Classroom pedagogy was also linked to inclusivity through the adaptation of a culturally appropriate curriculum (Windle & Miller, 2012; Hammond, 2008; Woods, 2009; Reeves, 2004; Naidoo, 2011; Block et al., 2014; Taylor, 2008; Miller et al., 2018), by focusing on student strengths (Florian & Linklater, 2010; Burgoyne & Hull, 2007), and addressing racism (Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2019). Teaching strategies which encourage knowledge sharing among peers were considered best practice, such as story sharing activities (Melville, 2017; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012). Primary schools also demonstrated inclusivity by recruiting staff from diverse backgrounds (Keddie, 2012b). Emphasis on inclusivity as part of classroom pedagogy was largely consistent across both decades, as is replicated in data on general classroom pedagogy.

Parental and student aspirations place stress on refugee students, who often view ‘any kind of failure … as a cause of shame’ (Naidoo, 2009, p. 263). However, some academics suggest that these ‘high family expectations [are] a … motivating factor to student success’ (Kimani, 2015, p. 20), which negate deficit views of student abilities (Keddie, 2012b; Melville, 2017). Miller, Ziaian and Esterman (2018) explain that these deficit views have ‘a major influence on students’ capacity for successful educational engagement’ (p. 348). Models which employed deficit understandings or psychological
intervention to address refugee needs were often criticized throughout the dataset (Matthews, 2008; Melville, 2017; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007; Sidhu & Naidoo, 2018; Uptin, Wright & Harwood, 2012, 2016). It was generally agreed that teachers should not ‘pathologise’ (Keddie, 2012b, p. 1298) or ‘infantilise’ (Keddie, 2012a, p. 207) refugee students, because ‘being a refugee is only one aspect of [a refugee student’s] subjectivity’, and these strategies risked reinforcing notions of victimhood upon them (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010, p. 151). Instead, good practice included ‘promot[ing] positive images of asylum seeker and refugee students’ (Sidhu & Taylor, 2012, p. 296). The culture, resilience and successes of these students should be celebrated (Matthews, 2008; Olliff & Cough, 2005; Keddie, 2012a, 2012b; Ferfolja, 2010; Watters, 2008).

**Effective Pedagogical Strategies and Literacy Support (Change in Emphasis: +2.3%)**

Effective classroom pedagogy was emphasized consistently across the dataset, rising only by 2.3%. In fact, effective pedagogical practices and literacy support were mentioned as either a major or minor theme in all data across both decades. The specifics of which pedagogical strategies constitute best practice were also largely agreed upon across both decades, with some exceptions such as language support.

Language support was frequently identified as a pivotal need for refugee students prior to 2012. (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Olliff & Couch, 2005; Harding & Wigglesworth, 2005; Miller et al., 2018). In 2005, Miller, Mitchell and Brown reported that teachers often felt overwhelmed with the task of differentiating tasks for students with very low literacy, possibly because ‘decisions about movement to the mainstream … are sometimes based on a student’s oral proficiency, which does not indicate readiness for … mainstream classrooms’ (p. 22). Assuming the literacy skills of any student based on oral fluency or age is not considered to be good practice (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006; Burgoyne & Hull, 2007; Miller et al., 2018; Sainsbury & Renzaho, 2011).

Around 2011, emphasis on language support shifted slightly, due to criticism of the way classroom teachers used language support for refugee students. It was generally agreed that best practice requires teachers to adapt ‘pedagogy and curriculum to meet diverse needs of … refugee background students’ using ‘a combination of explicit and relevant language instruction and awareness of students’ individual histories’ (Miller et al., 2018, p. 351). Some authors also recommended ESL teaching strategies (Luizzi & Saker, 2008) and ESL–mainstream teacher collaboration (Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Taylor, 2008). However, between 2009 and 2012, literature began to highlight the fact that many refugee students lack first-language literacy and prior schooling. Therefore, ‘much linguistic and conceptual knowledge cannot be transferred into English’ (Windle & Miller, 2012, p. 319, Woods, 2009; Sidhu & Taylor, 2012), and the literacy needs of refugee students are often ‘beyond [an ESL teacher’s] normal role of English language support’ (Sidhu & Taylor, 2009, p. 3). Instead, data suggests that written resources could be adapted and accompanied by visual and oral pedagogies (Luizzi & Saker, 2008; Windle & Miller,
2012) which take into account the fact that ‘many learners [become] overwhelmed by [tasks which combined] speaking, listening, reading, writing and numeracy concurrently’ (Burgoyne & Hull 2007, p. 10).

Across both decades, data consistently recommended extra clarity in classroom instruction to foster a feeling of security for students (Luizzi & Saker, 2008), thereby ‘restoring a sense of normalcy’ (Haig & Oliver, 2007, p. 7). This involved explicitly teaching unspoken norms (Matthews, 2008; Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Burgoyne & Hull, 2007; Taylor, 2004; Miller et al., 2018), metacognitive skills (Windle & Miller, 2012; Matthews, 2008; Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Hammond & Gibbons, 2005; Keddie, 2012b; Miller, Windle & Yadzanpanah, 2014; Miller, 2009), and scaffolding ‘assumed cultural knowledge’ (Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006, p. 157). Since differentiation may be ‘[seen] as punishment’, it should be provided sensitively (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005, p. 28). This is because refugee students tend to compare their academic results with those of English-speaking peers, especially where modified work or intensive programs highlight academic gaps between students (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Windle & Miller, 2012; Burgoyne & Hull, 2007; Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006).

Best practice recommendations tended to advise against teacher-led, whole-class instruction (Windle & Miller, 2012) and the use of pedagogies which require students to simultaneously listen and take notes (Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006). Alternative strategies offered included those which ‘enhance inclusion, improve the student’s literacy and enable them to develop social networks’ (ibid., p. 2), such as student-led group projects (Hewson, 2006; Melville, 2017). It was therefore considered best practice for teachers to provide a safe and supportive environment where students could build relationships and take risks with learning (Matthews, 2008), since refugee students may be ‘reluctant to participate in small group activities because they [are] unfamiliar with this approach to learning’ (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005, p. 158).

In 2012, some data suggested the benefits of intensive English classes prior to mainstream integration (Sidhu & Taylor, 2012), but others suggested that student ‘interaction was hindered where students were separated’ into intensive classes, leading to a lack of socialization between refugee and non-refugee students (Pugh, Every & Hattam 2012, p. 131). Here, the shift from intensive and specialized intervention to a more whole-school approach can be seen.

This shift was also present before 2011. For instance, in addition to issues of inclusivity, Woods (2009) criticizes this strategy of intensive programs as failing to account for the often-significant literacy and prior schooling gaps faced by refugee students ‘by assuming that [short programs of] intensive instruction … will make a difference’ (p. 94). Data suggests that if intensive programs are required, they should be contextually appropriate and flexible to meet the needs of individual students (Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Cassity & Gow, 2005). This flexibility requires shifts in pedagogy, assessment, and data recording practices. Assessments should focus on ‘distance-travelled type of success’
(Keddie, 2012b, p. 1307), and ‘reflect the learning experiences in the classroom, rather than using standardized tests’ (Melville, 2017, p. 3). Across both chronological groups, data considered informing pedagogy through student feedback to be best practice (Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Cassity & Gow, 2005).

Access to appropriate teaching resources was also seen to have significant implications for refugee education and teacher pedagogy across both chronological groups of data (Sidhu & Taylor, 2009, 2012; Woods, 2009; Naidoo, 2009; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Miller Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Miller, Windle & Yazdanpanah, 2014; Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006; Miller et al., 2018). According to Brown, Miller and Mitchell (2006), for students lacking first-language literacy, ‘print-based materials themselves are part of the problem’ (p. 155). So too are school systems which limit the time available for teachers to create or access such resources (Ibid.; Miller, Windle & Yadzanpanah, 2014).

While there seems to have been agreement on the need for appropriate teaching resources across both data groups, access to literacy texts was heavily emphasized prior to 2012, since the debate regarding literacy pedagogy only intensified at the end of the ‘00s. For teachers and students, Miller, Mitchell and Brown (2005) recorded ‘unanimous’ feelings that ‘having some ownership of the textbook would help’ (p. 29). Yet even with access to English texts, the fact remains that ‘most [refugee] students couldn’t read a bilingual dictionary’ (Ibid., p. 30). This is particularly concerning considering four studies recorded the use of dictionaries as a primary literacy support for refugee students (Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006; Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Taylor, 2008).

**Study Support (Change in Emphasis: -25.2%)**

Pre-2012 data was more likely to mentioned homework and study groups as effective supports for refugee students (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007; Sidhu & Naidoo, 2018; Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Haig & Oliver, 2007; Cassity & Gow, 2005; Burgoyne & Hull, 2007; Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006; Dooley, 2009; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010; Naidoo, 2009, 2012). The reason given was that parents of refugee students often cannot help their children with homework (Dooley, 2009; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010; Miller et al., 2018). Ferfolja and Vickers (2010) also cited increased academic results for consistent homework club attendees than for sporadic attendees. It is therefore interesting to see a decrease of 25.2% in academic literature citing it as best practice since 2012. This may reflect an academic consensus on the issue, but also fits with the general trend away from specialized support and towards inclusivity and a whole-school approach.

Face-to-face instruction led to trusting relationships, allowing students to express pride and openness about their cultures (Naidoo, 2012), gain social capital (Sidhu & Naidoo, 2012), and take risks in their learning (Naidoo, 2012; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010). Due to refugee students’ conflicting family and study obligations, their parents were more supportive of homework clubs if the time and places of such clubs was flexible (Dooley, 2009). It was considered best practice for teachers to prescribe homework that was
purposeful, differentiated, varied, relevant, and designed to develop academic independence (Ibid.; Queensland Department of Education and Training, 2006). Face-to-face instruction was also highlighted, but these data were mostly written by a common author and so the results may be skewed (Naidoo, 2012; Sidhu & Naidoo, 2012; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010).

**Staff Professional Development (Change in Emphasis: +15.6%)**

Training teachers in refugee education was consistently cited as best practice, and emphasis on this theme increased after 2011. Miller, Mitchell and Brown’s (2005) study found that teachers felt ‘their prior teaching experience had not prepared them’ for the high needs of refugee students (p. 25). As Premier and Miller reported in 2014, ‘only a small number of teachers [have] the necessary skills and awareness to create inclusive classrooms for [culturally and linguistically diverse] students’ (p. 44). Studies published between 2008-10 were more likely to suggest professional development for teachers in ESL teaching strategies (Hattam & Every, 2010; Luizzi & Saker, 2008; Taylor, 2008; Windle & Miller, 2012).

Staff training was also deemed necessary since teachers are often unaware of the presence of refugee students within their classrooms (Haig & Oliver, 2007). This explains why data consistently suggested teacher training as best practice. Articles published after 2011 were more likely to suggest professional development through university programs (Keddie, 2012b; Sidhu & Naidoo, 2018; Naidoo, 2012; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010), whilst studies published prior to 2012 placed more emphasis on continual professional development for those already in the teaching profession (Sidhu & Naidoo, 2018; Matthews, 2008; Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Taylor, 2008; Block et al., 2014; Burgoyne & Hull, 2007; Hattam & Every, 2010; Luizzi & Saker, 2008; Haig & Oliver, 2007; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Miller et al., 2018).

One new thread of discourse on professional development stressed a whole-school approach to professional development. For instance, service providers such as the Victorian Foundation for the Survivors of Torture (2016) clarified that ‘professional learning is important for all staff at the school … [including] principals, reception, administration and ancillary staff, teachers, school nurses [and] welfare coordinators’ (p. 83). Data suggested professional development programs target staff awareness of refugee student cultures, backgrounds and needs (Naidoo, 2012; Woods, 2009; Block et al., 2014; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012).

**School-Family-Community Links (Change in Emphasis: -9.4%)**

Involving refugee communities and families in school processes was considered best practice (Taylor, 2008; Woods, 2009; Dooley, 2009; Naidoo, 2009; Block et al., 2014; Cassity & Gow, 2005; Hek & Sales, 2002; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Luizzi & Saker, 2008; Haig & Oliver, 2007; Kimani, 2015; Miller et al., 2018; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016, 2019). This is especially true because refugee families are unlikely to venture outside their area of local settlement (Woods, 2009).
Interestingly, despite the move from specialized support to whole-school, holistic support as best practice, links to the wider refugee community and families were emphasized almost 10% less after 2011. However, this is not to suggest that studies after 2011 saw no benefit in generating closer ties between schools and refugee families or communities. For example, while Matthews (2008) criticized school reliance on community organizations as unable to substitute ‘comprehensive long-term educational projects’ (p. 36), Block (et al., 2014) countered that many Australian schools ‘[underestimate] the benefits to be gained through such engagement’ (p. 1350). In particular, data published immediately before and after 2011 cited university–school partnerships as mutually beneficial, cost-effective ways to enhance refugee education (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010; Naidoo, 2012).

Prior to 2011, many studies acknowledged that community organizations and ESL staff often ‘bear the brunt’ of supporting refugee students’ needs (Sidhu & Taylor 2009, p. 3), which can create tensions between staff (Miller et al., 2018). It was therefore considered important for teachers to understand the communities and families of refugee students (Naidoo, 2009), and the existence of services which otherwise may not be accessed (Sidhu & Taylor, 2009). Community services also aided in providing study and literacy support (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010), social and cultural events (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2019), transport and financial assistance (Sidhu & Taylor, 2009), and mental health services (Christie & Sidhu, 2006). One new addition to this list of services which was overwhelmingly supported as best practice by post-2011 studies was engaging interpreters for in-person and written communications (Sidhu & Taylor, 2012; Keddie, 2012a; Miller et al., 2018; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016, 2019).

**Mental Health Support (Change in Emphasis: -15.6%)**

The decrease in emphasis on mental health support amongst since 2012 reflects recent views that ‘focusing on Western concepts of trauma may be unproductive’ (Ferfolja & Vickers 2010, p. 151), because focusing on mental health risks treating refugees as victims and distracts from other positive aspects of their individual personalities (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010).

Despite this, data in both chronological groups still acknowledged that refugee needs often stem from trauma (Joyce et al., 2010), and ‘emotional wellbeing … [has] a direct effect on educational attainment’ (Block et al., 2014, p. 1339). Trauma can also affect refugee students’ ability to function in new social settings (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2005; Strekalova & Hoot, 2008; Goodman, 2004, in Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010), which can be exacerbated in the classroom where students may experience racism (Matthews 2008), identity or cultural confusion, or social exclusion (Haig & Oliver, 2007). It was suggested that schools focus on providing counseling (Burgoyne & Hull, 2007; Christie & Sidhu, 2006; Miller et al., 2018; Burridge, Buchanan & Chodkiewicz, 2009; Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012).
Inclusivity, communication with refugee families, language support, and providing opportunities for relationship-building were all considered to be best practice (Matthews, 2008; Rousseau, Abdelwahed & Moueau, 2001; Miller et al., 2018). Incorporating emotional intelligence and life skills into the curriculum, pastoral support, co-curricular activities, and extensive induction processes were also considered best practice (Block et al., 2014).

Since Australian academics have criticized earlier studies focusing disproportionately on mental health (Taylor, 2008; Matthews, 2008; Sidhu & Taylor, 2012), there has since been a shift toward social and cultural approaches. This reflects the preference for holistic education as best practice rather than viewing refugee needs as problems to be fixed.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR STAKEHOLDERS**

*Teachers*

The theme of classroom pedagogy is useful for current secondary teachers in Australia with refugee students. With respect to literacy support, this study reveals a shift towards inclusivity in the classroom and a cautious approach to the instruction of refugee students. Regarding literacy, it was considered best practice not to assume literacy skills based on oral fluency, or that ESL pedagogies will work with refugee students. It was advised that resources and texts should be accompanied with visual and oral aids, since written materials and dictionaries are often unhelpful.

Best practice approaches to classroom pedagogy centered around peer-learning and explicit instruction of cultural norms and knowledge which are often taken for granted. For students from refuge backgrounds, the creation of a safe and supportive learning environment is important for story-sharing and student-led pedagogic styles, which should remain flexible and sensitive to student feedback.

*Schools*

With the emergence of whole-school approaches to refugee education as the major shift in recent academic literature on the issue, this study provides valuable information to school administrators on how best to achieve holistic education for students from refugee backgrounds.

In relation to school resources, the data suggested that schools invest in teaching and learning resources that are not purely print-based. Textbooks, literacy texts and other necessarily print-based resources should be made available to refugee students to be able
to take home. Fiscal resources should be spent on services such as counselling, and interpreters, whilst other social services should be liaised with in order to connect these services to the families and communities of refugee students where needed. Universities also provided an innovative and cost-effective way to improve refugee education through teacher training programs and volunteer homework clubs.

In order to promote inclusivity and the positive framing of refugees, data consistently and strongly suggested explicit school-wide advocacy, inclusivity and the positive framing of refugees is best practice to achieve holistic education for these students. Deficit views of refugees should be avoided in staff meetings and school documentation, and the achievements and culture of refugee students should be celebrated.

Best practice requires the continual professional development of all staff on refugee education which is specific to the refugee-background students at the school. The preservation of diverse staff and a school culture which promotes positivity and mental health are also best practices. It must also be noted that the training of teachers in ESL strategies is good practice where there is an understanding that these strategies will only work with refugee students who have first language literacy.

Schools must also adapt curriculum so that it is appropriate both culturally appropriate and incorporates emotional intelligence. This study has shown that it is best practice to bolster pastoral support, co-curricular activities, and induction processes whilst remaining aware that modified work or intensive programs may be counterproductive if not designed for specific individuals.

**Governments and Policy Makers**

For various Australian education ministries and governments more broadly, this study illustrates the benefit of promoting the positive framing of refugees when attempting to educate and integrate newly arrived refugees into Australian society. Policymakers should see the shift towards inclusivity and whole-school approaches to refugee education within Australian literature as an opportunity to push these concepts in terms of materials, curriculum and resource allocation to schools. Government policymakers could play a role in fostering links between schools, universities, refugee communities and other social services such as interpreters and counselors. Schools, governments and private companies should aim to address the need for adequate resources such as textbooks.

**Academics**

This research is useful for academics in two major ways. First, it outlines current best practice for refugee education in Australia. Secondly, it maps the change and direction of what Australian literature on refugee education considers best practice. This invites...
further research into the reasons for this change, and questions as to whether academia is moving away from potentially useful themes of best practice which could be explored further. The falling lack of emphasis on school-community links and study support despite convincing evidence that these practices are effective for refugee education are two such examples of this.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions on Best Practice

This study follows the suggestion of Block (et al., 2014), that:

“‘best practice’ comprises a holistic model addressing learning, social and emotional needs of refugee-background students with a focus on inclusiveness and the celebration of cultural diversity’ (p. 1352).

Best practice strategies for refugee education focus on holistic approaches to education which address social, cultural, psychological and other needs alongside academic support. Holistic education varies depending on the context of each school, and localized solutions are encouraged (Garcia, 2000; Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005). Many refugee students do, however, share some common learning needs (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005; Strekalova & Hoot, 2008), and certain general themes of best practice have arisen through this analysis.

Data suggests that school advocacy is vital for the provision of funding, resources and inclusivity, on which the success of refugee education depends. School systems and discourse must be contextually relevant to address the needs of individual students and be established within the fabric of families and local communities. This is demonstrated in practice through homework clubs, recreational events, social justice initiatives, mental health services, financial and family supports, and language and literacy support such as interpreters.

Literature focusing on classroom pedagogy suggested that teachers must apply themselves to the positive framing of refugee students by celebrating diversity and creating spaces in which students can socialize and learn. Teaching strategies should be informed by continuous professional development which is reflective of local contexts. In practice, pedagogy should include appropriate learning resources and teaching strategies which focus on literacy, conceptual scaffolding based on experience, and assessment practices focusing on progress.
Conclusions on Change in Emphasis

The chronological analysis of data demonstrated that pedagogy has and remained at the heart of best practice for refugee education in Australia. With the exception of disagreements regarding the usefulness of some literacy supports and resources, both chronological groups of studies agreed that flexible pedagogies which focus on inclusivity, safe learning environments and peer-led learning are best practice.

However, data did reveal a shift in academic literature away from separate, specialized and intensive education designed to “fix” refugee student needs, and towards a more holistic, inclusive, whole-school approach to accommodating these needs.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this data is that emphasis on school links to refugee families and communities fell by 9%. This suggests that while Australian literature on refugee education has shifted from intensive intervention towards a whole-school approach, it falls short of the whole-community approach. This could be due to new refugee community dynamics or an emerging view that support provided by community organizations cannot compare to the value of educational projects within a school, as Matthews suggested in 2008. However, with a weight of evidence suggesting links between refugee families, communities and their schools are indeed beneficial, this drop in emphasis since 2011 should be called into question.

Emphasis on mental health support fell by 15.6% after 2011. This reflects the current view in academic literature that deficit views of refugees and the reduction of refugee students to mere victims is unhelpful. Whilst counselling and pastoral support are still considered best practice, a shift away from emphasizing mental health support is directly linked to a shift towards the positive framing of refugees and the role of holistic supports in education.

Interestingly, while post-2011 emphasis mental health support fell by 15.6%, emphasis on staff professional development actually rose by 15.6%. Data recognized the need for all staff to be aware of refugee students and their needs. This again reflects the growing interest amongst the academic community in strategies of inclusion and whole-school approaches to refugee education. Tellingly, academic literature focusing on whole-school approaches to refugee education rose by approximately 40%, whilst emphasis on inclusivity and the positive framing of refugees rose by around 30% after 2011.
REFERENCES


