Voices shaping education: Young African refugees in Western Sydney high schools

Elizabeth A. Cassity
University of Sydney
e.cassity@edfac.usyd.edu.au

Young refugees worldwide are confronted with multiple challenges in accessing and completing education. The Africa region is currently the focus of Australia's humanitarian program and is likely to remain so for some time. Since 2002, Sudan has ranked number one with 47 per cent of entrants in 2003-04 (DIMIA 2004). By 2004-05, that number had more than doubled. Other countries of birth are also featuring, although in smaller numbers, including Ethiopia, Congo, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burundi and Rwanda. Typically, young people are entering schools and Intensive English Centres under considerable stress. Teachers are overwhelmed by the challenges.

This article focuses on the transition experiences of 65 young African refugees in public schools in Western Sydney. These experiences are important for linking teaching and research to policy discussions. This study also emphasizes how international development issues connect tacitly to domestic classrooms and communities. In particular, this study explores policy solutions that provide possibilities for long-term participation of refugee young people in new societies.

[Key words: transition education, refugee education access and retention]

Introduction

Schools have roles as sites where young refugees experience and relate to the upheaval of forced migration and transition. Based on recent research conducted in high schools in Western Sydney with 65 young African refugees, this article focuses on students' experiences of transition to Australian schools, and the importance of those experiences for teaching and research. Importantly, this study calls attention to the need for constructive policy solutions focusing on students and their schools, as well as the long-term participation of refugee young people in new societies. It also emphasises important global development issues for teachers and policymakers. Conflict and upheaval add new dimensions to thinking about teaching, learning, student welfare, and education policy. This article presents an evidence-based approach that highlights contextual issues that frame fundamental debates in international and comparative education.

Transitions are periods of change. Students develop multiple expectations in attempting to reconcile their hopes for the future in Australia with families and friends still in regions of conflict. In the classroom, teachers are working with an increasing number of students who come from countries of conflict where they have experienced lengthy periods of interrupted schooling.

Even though physical circumstances of living in Australia may be new, many of the social and cultural circumstances of conflict remain unchanged for young refugees. Students still have family and friends in the countries they fled from. Their memories of war and upheaval are fresh in their minds, and they may have to work a part-time or full-time job in order to financially assist their fractured families. In this way global connections have become more intimate with the influx of students from places of conflict.

Schools have frequently been analysed in research on the history and sociology of education as sites of citizenship. In the body of literature about the development of mass schooling and building schools in developed and developing countries alike, schools have overwhelmingly been identified as key institutions used by the state for educating and training new citizens. In this way, schools have roles as sites where young refugees experience and relate to the upheaval of forced migration and transition. Schools can provide certification for pathways to work. Schools are also contested sites: located within are a complex array of relationships involving not only the transmission of academic knowledge, but the building of friendships and relationships, as well as community connections, and other challenges.

In the New South Wales Department of Education and Training (NSW DET) anecdotal evidence suggests the NSW school system is not working for recently arrived African children. It seems children are attempting to integrate into a schooling system with which they and their parents are unfamiliar. For example, most Southern Sudanese children arrive in Australia with no previous formal education or English language skills. These issues represent some of the rifts in a global context – students with a background of interrupted schooling and their attempts to catch up in a new location.

This article will present a background of issues for African humanitarian refugees in Australia, and discuss literature related to citizenship and belonging—an important theme for the young people in this study. This article will then revisit some of the Young Africans in Schools Project's (YASP) findings about students' expectations and their hopes for the future, particularly as a result of transition. It will also discuss key recommendations related to easing the impacts of transition based on the study's findings, as well as implications for government policy in education.

An alternative policy solution is briefly addressed in the policy recommendations section: the Minimum Standards for education in emergencies, chronic crises and early reconstruction contexts (Minimum standards) (INEE, 2004). While the Minimum Standards were not included as a policy recommendation in the YASP findings and report, they represent a viable international option for considering education for youth affected by conflict (see Kirk & Cassity, 2007). Kirk & Cassity

(2007) explore the possibilities for educators who work with refugee young people "over there" in refugee camps to share experiences, tools or educational approaches with those who work with refugee young people "over here" in a resettlement context (2007: 50). This article concludes by reflecting on the fundamental links and rifts between global and local contexts.

Background

The Africa region is currently the focus of Australia's humanitarian program and is likely to remain so for some time. The majority enter Australia under the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) and smaller numbers in the Refugee category. Since 2002, Sudan has ranked number one with 47 per cent of entrants in 2003-04 (DIMIA, 2004). By 2004-05, that number had more than doubled (2,775 to 5,654 entrants). Other countries of birth are also featuring, although in smaller numbers, including Ethiopia, Congo, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burundi and Rwanda. In New South Wales the growing numbers of arrivals are settling in Western Sydney, although, in recent years, DIMIA has dispersed humanitarian entrants to regional locations, notably Newcastle, Wollongong, Coffs Harbour, Goulburn and Wagga Wagga.

In terms of Australia's immigration history, the emerging African communities represent a distinct pattern. They are refugees who bring with them enormous trauma from civil conflicts such as torture, rape, family separation and loss, and community breakdown. Moreover, they are difficult to classify in terms of identity, language, community and settlement needs. Communities such as the diverse Southern Sudanese are minorities in their own country and remain small and splintered in Australia. Research suggests that one of the major challenges for recently arrived young people is to identify with a community to which they can safely belong (Burnett & Peel, 2001; Cassity & Gow, 2005). For many young people, schools provide a primary place of belonging.

Making Up for Lost Time. Young African Refugees in Western Sydney High Schools (Cassity & Gow, 2006) is the culmination of findings of a study conducted from August 2004 through to March 2005. The project investigated the schooling experiences of 65 recently arrived African young people across three high schools in Western Sydney. It contributes significantly to the few studies on Africans in Australia. Gow's study of the Oromo refugees from Ethiopia in Melbourne (2001a, 2002), and Robinson's work with the Somali people (1999) are two major studies dealing with African refugees in Australia. Aside from this, various communities are usually addressed in small generative studies: for example, works by Batrouney (1991), Ssali (1998) and Beattie and Ward (1997).

Young people from refugee backgrounds face enormous challenges in the settlement process. Apart from the difficulties of new schooling, they must locate themselves within a new social, cultural, geographic and adult space, yet also try to find security within the spaces of their own families and communities. Given the breadth of issues, the literature relating to the settlement experiences of refugee young people

is remarkably weighted toward mental health considerations—which tend to individualise and pathologise complex processes (cf. Bevan, 2000).

Wyn and White (1997) contend the experience of young people is best understood in a relational way, which enables researchers to "take into account the diverse ways in which young people are constructed through social institutions, and the ways in which they negotiate their transitions" (1997: 25). On the same note, Brough et al. (2003) argue that trauma exists within a life continuum and recommend that approaches to supporting refugee young people should move away from an overemphasis on individual pathology (i.e. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)) to a focus on the broader social context of their lives. A sense of community and belonging in school appears to be a crucial element for positive learning outcomes for refugees. Similarly, teaching and learning are enhanced by connections and partnerships with the broader community outside the school (CommunityMatters, 2001: 13-14).

The young African refugees must locate themselves within a new cultural space, yet also try to find security within the spaces of their own—albeit fractured—families and communities. This Australian cultural space entails an immediate shift into a new semi-autonomous identity called 'youth'. It seems, the category 'youth' is novel and initially confuses both the young people and their families. While 'youth' is recognised as a key developmental stage of life in Australia, in Southern Sudan, for example, the category is relatively unknown because at around the age of 12, or the onset of puberty, a child is usually initiated into adulthood (Malual 2004: 6). The ambiguity of the term 'youth' potentially complicates transition to and between schools.

In exploring the role of schools as sites of transition, Levinson, Foley & Holland (1996) suggest that encounters with formal education are contradictory. While schools endow one with 'knowledge', and being 'somebody', they may also encourage a sense of self as failure (1996: 1). For young refugees in schools, schools can be sites of struggle, empowerment and displacement. For those refugees with years of interrupted schooling, not only is a new structure being learned, but also new sets of skills and knowledge.

Within these complex worlds that refugee young people must negotiate, schools are key structures of citizenship and belonging. "Schools are considered crucibles for socialisation into citizenship and a democratic society, yet clearly issues of national identity, civil rights, and freedom of expression are always deeply contested" (Maira, 2004: 228). New notions of citizenship accompany the increasingly complex lives of youth. Migration changes the way societies experience national identities and cultural belonging. Refugee young people are challenged to engage in competing models of kinship, gender, and language (Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). These youth are at a crossroads of opportunity.

However, images and narratives that govern construction of citizens are under pressure to change, as multiple cultural groups struggle for recognition and participation (Popkewitz, 2003: 269). In contemporary policy research concerned

with access, inequality, and participation, Popkewitz writes that focus must be placed on groups marginalised through educational practices. Exclusion, then, is the result of faulty policies, social arrangements, or practices.

The impact of conflict on young refugees in schools cannot be underestimated. Graca Machel (1996) wrote that the right to education is one of the rights denied to many children in conflict-affected contexts; the denial of this particular 'enabling right' has multiple negative impacts for children and their families (Kirk & Cassity, 2007: 51). Scholars writing about the importance of education in emergency contexts note that education is crucial in establishing routines, giving a sense of normalcy and hope for the future, giving structure to children's lives, and providing a place of security when everything else seems to be in chaos (Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003; Machel, 1996). This aforementioned body of literature illumines the potential for schools—and education—to provide similar stability in a resettlement context, as well as highlighting important considerations for policymakers, educators and youth workers.

The YASP Project

> When I was in Kenya in a place called Kakuma refugee camp, we went to school but the problem was this, girls don't study because they are always busy fetching water and doing other work. This is UN canteen. It is a place that refugees are given their food. It is really dangerous here when people are going to take maize. Because people fight, Kenyan police cane children for no reason and also the weather is hot.
>
> <div align="right">High School student</div>

> I will do TAFE to go get my Certificate and look for apprentice mechanic. When I finish TAFE I will look for a full time job. I will make a visit to my family in Sierra Leone. Then I will look for a good woman to marry. Then start a new life and have a house…get children. Later on I want to become a businessman in life…man and family.
>
> <div align="right">High School student</div>

> Trauma is a big issue that a lot of teachers do not understand. My students…they were saying that sometimes they get flashbacks or thoughts come into their head and they completely switch off to the lesson…and they were saying that they want teachers to understand that sometimes thoughts and memories just come back…and they feel uncomfortable.   High School teacher

> It is difficult to concentrate in the class when your mind is not at peace…you need peace in your heart before you can do all these things.
>
> <div align="right">High School student</div>

The above series of vignettes highlights the experiences and transitions of students and teachers in Western Sydney (Cassity & Gow, 2006). Young African refugees are beginning at Intensive English Centres (IECs) and high schools under considerable stress. Meanwhile, teachers say they are overwhelmed by the teaching

and learning challenges and find it difficult to develop expectations for the students. The significant background of conflict and interrupted schooling for the African refugee students is a new phenomenon for many teachers.

While previous cohorts of refugee students could often be fast-tracked into high school, the new African students are requiring more time. In general, they have completed fewer years of schooling than other humanitarian entrants originating from Asia, Europe and the Middle East. According to the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs' 2003-04 figures, upon their arrival in Australia Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS)-assisted African young people aged between 16 and 24 years averaged 6.3 years of schooling (DIMIA, 2004).

Teachers and their schools (including on-site IECs) do not know enough about the educational, cultural and family backgrounds of their new African students. This research aimed to provide schools with the knowledge generated by the 'Young Africans in Schools Project' (YASP)—a partnership between the Centre for Cultural Research at the University of Western Sydney and the New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Multicultural Programs Unit.

YASP explored how refugee young people from the Africa region are negotiating new learning challenges in high schools. It was guided by six themes: transitions, classrooms, teachers, extra-curricular activities and pathways to further education and employment, and parents/guardians. The following discussion draws from the findings about two significant transitions—from IEC to high school and from school to work or further education. Complete findings are discussed in *Making Up for Lost Time. Young African Refugees in Western Sydney High Schools* (Cassity & Gow, 2006).

Methodology

The primary component of the project was a series of five arts-based workshops with students in each of the schools. In collaboration with two multilingual arts facilitators, we conducted the workshops with six groups of young people approximating to Years 7-8 and Years 9-11 age levels (drawn from IEC and high school classes). The participants were recruited with the assistance of school staff and consisted of equal numbers of girls and boys. The research team asked for a range of students, very new arrivals and those who had been in Australia for more than one year. The young people were overwhelmingly of Southern Sudanese (60) background, which represented Australia's refugee intake priority at the time. Other participants originated from Sierra Leone (three), Somalia (one), and Senegal (one).

Without exception, the students enjoyed creating tactile objects in a group workshop setting. The arts-based approach enabled us to sensitively explore a range of issues with them—transitions, classrooms, teachers, pathways to further education, and extra-curricular activities. After the initial two sessions, the young people became very generous toward the research team and openly expressed their experiences and feelings about schooling in Australia. They created a portfolio of paintings,

drawings, textile collages, and drama plays—which constituted the research data. Upon completion, each student received a professional development certificate of participation from the NSW DET and UWS.

Supplementing the student workshops were focus group interviews conducted with 14 teachers across the three high schools. The interviews addressed the range of project sub-questions and allowed teachers to identify what they see as the key issues. Additionally, two professional development workshops were conducted with 90 teachers and other school staff. Finally, a one-off, two-hour consultation was conducted with 16 parents/guardians and community members.

Ostensibly, the research highlighted varying experiences across the three schools. But overall we found the schooling system is not working well for new African students. There are success stories but, in general, students are struggling with new institutional settings and unrealistic expectations. The young people are attempting to integrate into a schooling system with which they and their relatives are almost totally unfamiliar. The research explored the key themes, and factors which help and hinder students' transitions to schooling.

Transition Experiences of YASP Participants

The following discussion addresses two transitions that the students participating in the research identified as key challenges. Each transition represented a struggle to find a community and safe space in Australia through the school. For many of the students, schools represented sites of empowerment and displacement as they struggled to fit in to new communities and develop social and cultural affiliations. The transition from IECs to high schools was perceived as being the most difficult after the initial transition of arrival in Australia (as highlighted in the vignettes at the beginning of this section). A second key transition point was for students attempting to find pathways to work or further education.

IEC to high school

While the IEC mediated Australian schooling to new arrivals during their first year of settlement, many of the participants in this project had since exited IECs and moved on to high school. They reported high school as patently different from IECs. The students said that, for various reasons, the transition from an IEC to high school was perhaps their most troubling and difficult period since arriving in Australia. It seems that successful IEC students often begin high school with great expectations but quickly find themselves unable to cope with the degree of academic 'catching-up' (or, as they put it, 'coping-up'), required to manage the workload. In general, they often do not have a foundational knowledge base expected of Australian high school students. This was particularly so for the older students who make the transition from an IEC to Year 10 (Cassity & Gow, 2006). It should again be emphasised that the majority of students in this study said they had completed between three to four years of formal education in a conflict or refugee camp context.

Students described the challenges of learning another school structure, becoming a new student again, and learning skills and classroom activities in the context of high school. The main source of anxiety was the speed at which they were expected to cope and adjust to high school classroom and curricular activities. Alongside this is the fact that IECs provide an environment where students receive higher levels of individualised support.

For instance, one IEC teacher reflected on the changed dynamic of group work students experience at high school – in particular learning the processes and structure of group work (an activity many students said they liked at IEC):

> A lot of my students … I don't know how they'll cope with anything they do in groups at high school. And that will be really hard for them. I mean, they've identified that as something that they love, and when they get to high school it might be something that really intimidates them.
>
> IEC teacher

During focus group interviews with teachers, the desire to learn more about their students' backgrounds was frequently discussed. One IEC teacher mentioned that staff has access to considerable information about specific students and their contexts of arrival and settlement, and suggested that if high school teachers received the same information it would be of great assistance.

> … if the teachers [high school] knew where these students were coming from, what they've had in their background, their country, the trauma that they've been through, then I think they could cater for them a lot better. I mean, a lot of that information I think we're privy to here that maybe people in the high schools aren't, and I think that really helps us to be able to support the students as much as we can and know where they're coming from and what they've been through … to sort of help guide them as much as you can.   IEC teacher

The high school students said that high schools need to make it easier for new African students moving from IECs who feel anxious, often have no friends and are confused by the different buildings and rooms. As one student complained: 'I don't like changing classes with different subjects … I get lost'. The 'buddy' system was considered a necessity for new students. Students also said they were confused by school rules and wanted to get copies of school rules 'on article'. Timetables on article were also considered a necessity.

Pathways to the Future

The final student workshop was guided by the theme 'pathways to the future'. Through an interactive arts-based activity students discussed and reflected on their hopes for the future, as well as challenges to their dreams of following an ideal pathway in Australia. The exercise showed that all students had future plans of one kind or another, and they considered education important to their future success. Most students expected to complete their HSC, go on to university and then enter the workforce. In general, students' plans encompassed tensions between working

for money, education, family obligations, future expectations and present difficulties. As one student stated: "I like school because it is the way to my future, But I must help my family."

The older students (Years 10-11) at each school provided more detail about their proposed pathways than their younger counterparts (Years 7-9). This was perhaps because many of the older students had previously undertaken paid work. For example, some of the older boys spent up to five years working menial low-paid jobs in Cairo. They were quite focused on getting back to work again and earning better money. Most of the older students, and some of the younger ones, placed their personal and work goals alongside obligations toward people remaining in their home country or places of asylum. They wanted to find careers that would enable them to help society, their families and communities. Many, however, had a limited awareness of the difficulties involved in climbing the socio-economic ladder in Australia (Cassity & Gow, 2005, 2006).

Overwhelmingly, students said their overall goal was a 'happy life'. For example a high school student said, "I just want to get some work and have a family and be happy." Like him, others simply wanted peace, security and happiness. Generally this entailed reconnecting with loved ones and becoming part of a family again: "I want to reach happiness in 2007"; "I want my life to be happy"; "I want to visit my country"; "Visit some friends and relatives"; "Help my family"; "Bring my family together"; "I want to marry and I want to have two children", and "I need children" (Cassity & Gow, 2006).

In terms of obstacles, the most often cited was having inadequate money to pursue both their career pathways and to help their relatives. The need to send money to relatives remaining in dangerous situations was a consideration for nearly all of the students (junior and senior). As one 14 year old girl described: "When I finish high school I have to look for job to help people in Kakuma refugee camp." Related to financial difficulties were fears of unemployment: "No job", "No good job", "Not enough money", or "No job, no money".

Students were anxious about low marks or 'bad results'. Nearly all cited this as a likely obstacle which could derail their plans. Frequent reference was made to the fear of 'bad' HSC results. Some students signalled trauma as a factor which may prevent them from achieving good academic results. One student speculated: "When I am still in university maybe I may find it hard to help give money to my family and I may think of war" (Cassity & Gow, 2006).

Summary of Policy Recommendations

The outcomes of YASP resulted in a number of recommendations made to schools, the NSW DET, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, the NSW State Government, and African Communities. It also stressed the need for future research on pedagogy and tracking post-school progress of older students over a longer term (a five year period was recommended).

Particular to transitions, a recurring theme was the need for a community development approach (Cassity & Gow, 2005, 2006). Schools need to identify a number of significant staff to act as mentors and help coordinate the transition of refugee students, as well as appoint a staff member who can communicate with parents (Cassity & Gow, 2006: 40). Many students consistently identified teachers as the most important people in helping them negotiate schools. Often a single teacher was identified as being someone who could give advice on a number of issues. While this certainly presents challenges for teachers and schools, at the same time it emphasises the trust that students hold in teachers as people who can help them achieve their dreams.

It was recommended that the NSW DET support schools with professional learning opportunities and resources, particularly for the needs of African students. The research report also suggested that NSW DET help schools in facilitating links with communities and support services (Cassity & Gow, 2006: 43). On a practical level, it was recommended that the NSW DET initiate an African Youth Partnership as a whole of government approach targeting African young people and working with their schools (Cassity & Gow, 2006: 46).

Finally, African communities themselves are crucial groups that can assist in the transition between schools and from school to work and further education. This can be done importantly through further education and recognising young role models in their respective fields (Cassity & Gow, 2006: 46). Earlier findings suggest that older student mentors can be valuable tools for immediate and long-term problem solving, particularly when linking recently-arrived young people with those who have been in Australia for a longer period of time (Cassity & Gow, 2005).

While the study developed a long list of recommendations, there was a connecting theme of developing a more coordinated policy approach between schools, communities, and government in terms of helping African young people in the transition process. In this way, youth can explore new notions of citizenship and come to new understandings in an increasingly interconnected world.

Other Knowledge? The *Minimum Standards* and the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE)

While not included in the policy recommendations of the YASP study, it is worthwhile discussing the *Minimum Standards* as an international policy alternative. The *Minimum Standards for education in emergencies, chronic crises and early reconstruction contexts* were launched by INEE in December 2004 and were used to guide the educational response to the South Asian tsunami of 26 December 2004 (Kirk & Cassity, 2007). The *Minimum Standards* provide a broad framework to give guidance in responding to needs at the community level, as well as an outline to coordinate educational activities for communities and humanitarian organisations.

It should be emphasised that this article does not recommend the explicit use of the *Minimum Standards* in Australian schools; rather it embraces the emphasis on education as both a right and a stabilising factor in the lives of refugee youth (Kirk

& Cassity, 2007). It calls attention to the fact that connections between schools, youth, policy and advocacy communities provide crucial links to refugee youth gaining access to and completing their schooling and future pathways to work or further education.

Several findings and recommendations of the YASP study pointed to the fact that the community was a crucial factor in helping young refugees gain successful educational outcomes (Cassity & Gow, 2006). Critical policy steps that have parallels to the *Minimum Standards* include "involving the community in the planning and prioritising of education, involving children and youth in the development of educational activities, and ensuring that capacity-building activities exist for community members, children and youth" (Kirk & Cassity, 2007: 55). Exploring the possibilities of enriching and informing local educational contexts with international research and experience has the potential to contribute to constructive policy solutions for refugee youth in a third country resettlement context.

Conclusions

In reflecting on the challenges of education, the students regularly put it that their schooling in Australia was always directed toward 'coping up' (catching up through extended effort). The 'lost time' refers to long periods spent away from school because of war, refugee flight and asylum—an experience variously shared by all of the students who participated.

In similarly thinking about the global context, this research is important. Students have hope for new lives in Sydney, but have clearly left hearts in their homelands with family and friends back home. In this regard, this highlights the diverse cultural, social and linguistic backgrounds of students in NSW public secondary schools. In terms of education in Australia, it highlights the need to present a school structure that responds to the diverse needs of young refugees.

As the background of conflict and upheaval forces the transnational movements of youth, increasingly diverse school settings become places where cultures 'rub up' against each other (Cassity & Gow, 2006). Using a simple phrase, schools are places where global meets local. Refugees from regions of conflict now settle permanently in Australia under the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs' Humanitarian program. In this way, refugees are connecting to a new place, making links in a globalised world.

However, students also bring with them issues that can create rifts. While moving to Australia may be a new and safe location, the circumstances and memories of conflict remain unchanged. These rifts create challenges for education. To repeat one student's eloquent comment, "It is difficult to concentrate in the class when your mind is not at peace…you need peace in your heart before you can do all these things."

Australia is one of many resettlement countries for humanitarian refugees. At the same time, the plight of refugees in regions of conflict and their access to (or lack of access to) basic social services, including education, are increasingly addressed in academic, policy, government and media circles. And this suggests that the growing body of research and experience, such as the INEE's *Minimum Standards*, can provide alternative (though by no means the only) policy options. In this article, the *Minimum Standards* principles around community were considered.

Conflict and upheaval, then, add new dimensions and complexities for education. It is not only about peace and security, rather locating oneself within new social, cultural, and geographic spaces. These are the global development issues that are increasingly becoming part of Australian classrooms, and understanding these issues is a first step in considering policy options for the long-term participation of refugee young people in new societies.

References

Batrouney, T. (1991) *Selected African Communities in Melbourne: Their characteristics and settlement needs*. Canberra: Bureau of Immigration Research.

Beattie, A. & Ward, S. (1997) *The Horn of Africa—background information for workers with young people*. Fitzroy: Ethnic Youth Issues Network.

Bevan, K. (2000) Young People, culture, migration and mental health: a review of the literature. In M. Bashir & D. Bennett (eds.), *Deeper Dimensions: Culture, Youth and Mental Health*. Sydney: Transcultural Mental Health Centre.

Brough, M., Gorman, D., Ramirez, E. & Westoby, P. (2003) Young refugees talk about well-being: a qualitative analysis of refugee youth mental health from three states. *Australian Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 33, No. 2, 193-208.

Bruce, A (1999) *To re-make our world: The Horn of Africa communities in Sydney*. Sydney: Ogaden Relief Association Inc.

Burnett, A. & Peel, M. (2001) Health needs of asylum seekers and refugees. *British Medical Journal,* Vol. 3, No. 22 (7285), 544-549.

Butcher, M. & Thomas, M. (Eds.). (2003) *Ingenious: Emerging Youth Cultures in Urban Australia*. North Melbourne: Pluto Press.

Cassity, E. & Gow, G. (2005) Making Up for Lost Time: Southern Sudanese young refugees in high schools. *Youth Studies Australia,* Vol. 24, No. 3, 51-55.

——— (2006) *Making Up for Lost Time. Young African Refugees in Western Sydney High Schools*. Parramatta: Centre for Cultural Research, University of Western Sydney.

CommunityMatters (2001) *CommunityMatters: Working with Diversity for Wellbeing*. Carlton, Victoria: Curriculum Corporation.

Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2004) *DIMIA Africa Newsletter,* Vol.1, No. 1, March 2004.

Gow, G. (2001a) Viewing Mother Oromia. Communal /Plural: Journal of Transnational and Cross-Cultural Studies,Vol. 9, No. 2, 203-22.

———2001b. Ethiopians. In J. Jupp, (Ed.), The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———2002. The Oromo in Exile: From the Horn of Africa to the Suburbs of Australia. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Gow, G., Pookong, K. & Nguyen, T. (2000) *Settlement Patterns for Small and Newly Emerging Communities*. Canberra: Department of Immigration & Multicultural Affairs.

Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (2004) Minimum standards for education in emergencies, chronic crises and early reconstruction. Retrieved January 29, 2007, http://www.ineesite.org/standards/MSEE_report.pdf.

International Rescue Committee (2004) *Somali Youth Program*. Retrieved June 5, 2005, http://www.theirc.org.

Kirk, J. & Cassity, E.A. (2007) Minimum standards for quality education for refugee youth. *Youth Studies Australia,* Vol. 26. No. 1, 50-56.

Levinson, B. Foley, D. & Holland, D. (Eds.). (1996) *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Machel, G. (1996) *UN study on the impact of armed conflict on children*. Retrieved January 29, 2007, http://www.unicef.org/graca/women.htm.

Maira, S. (2004) Youth Culture, Citizenship, and Globalization. In M.M. Suarez Orozco & D.B. Qin-Hilliard (Eds.), *Globalization. Culture and Education in the New Millennium*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Malual, M. T. (2004) *Issues facing young people from Southern Sudan and their community as they settle in Australia, Cabramatta*: Anglicare.

Moore, R. (1997) *Australia,* Vol. 16, No. 4, 27-36.

Muecke, S. (1992) New paradigms for refugee health problems. *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 515-523.

New South Wales Department of Education and Training (2004) Retrieved August 15, 2004, http://www.schools.nsw.gov.au.

Nicolai, S. & Triplehorn, C. (2003) *The role of education in protecting children in conflict*, Humanitarian Practice Network, Overseas Development Institute, London. Retrieved January 29, 2007, http://www.eldis.org/cache/DOC13337.pdf.

Popkewitz, T. (2003) National imaginaries, indigenous foreigner, and power: Comparative educational research. In J. Schriewer (Ed.), *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education,* Frankfurt Main: Peter Lang, 261-294.

Queensland Program of Assistance to Survivors of Torture and Trauma (QPASTT), (2004). Retrieved August 15, 2004, http://www.qpastt.org.au.

Robinson, J. (1999) *Joined Hands Bring Success: a resource for service providers working with Somali people*. Collingwood: Ecumenical Migration Centre.

Ssali, T. S. (1998) Best practice in promoting mental well-being amongst Horn of Africa refugee women and youth. *Migration Action, XX* (1), 19-28.

Suarez-Orozco, M.M. & Qin-Hilliard, D.B. (2004) *Globalization. Culture and Education in the New Millennium*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wadeson, H. (2000) *Art Therapy Practice. Innovative Approaches with Diverse Populations*. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Wyn, J. & White, R. (1997) *Rethinking Youth*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin.