APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Dissertation: A mixed-methods exploration: Refugees' caring relationships as a source of social capital

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ABSTRACT

Title of Document: A MIXED-METHODS EXPLORATION: REFUGEES' CARING RELATIONSHIPS AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL.

Amy Pucino, Ph.D., 2014

Directed By: Claudia Galindo, Ph.D., Language Literacy and Culture Doctoral Program.

The importance of caring relationships between youth and their teachers, mentors, and tutors, for fostering positive academic and socioemotional outcomes is widely recognized in the literature (e.g. Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hao & Pong, 2008; Wentzel, 2003). However, limited research explores the nature and impact of caring relationships between refugees and their educators. Iraqi refugees make up a growing population in the United States (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011). Understanding this growing population and identifying interventions that benefit youths' integration into an unfamiliar world is increasingly important.

This research expanded understanding of young Iraqi refugees' notions of caring and the implications of those caring relationships for refugee populations. This study was grounded in a theoretical framework, which integrated caring theory (Noddings, 2001), and social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1983; Putnam, 2000; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Data were collected utilizing a multi-method approach. First, qualitative in-depth interviews with Iraqi refugees (ages 14-20) were conducted to examine their caring relationships with educators and the resulting academic and socioemotional benefits. A secondary analysis of a large database from the Children

of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2012) was also conducted, including people whose families came to the United States for political reasons. This research explored caring teacher-student relationships and their impact on students' academic outcomes and self-esteem.

Most of the interview respondents revealed that they had caring educators. Respondents perceived these educators as those who cared for them academically and personally. Students felt particularly cared for by educators who recognized their specific needs as refugees; these care-providers were often English as a Second Language (ESOL) teachers. While not all educators were perceived as caring, those who were caring provided resources for youths. Respondents benefited from caring relationships, as they learned about academic and professional programs, accessed assistance with college admittance, and received emotional support. The quantitative portion revealed that students who perceived their teachers to be good, fair, and interested, all indicators of caring, had higher self-esteem and Grade Points Averages (GPAs). Overall, this research fills an important gap in the literature and provides important implications for theory and practice.

A MIXED-METHODS EXPLORATION: REFUGEES' CARING RELATIONSHIPS AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

By

Amy Lynn Pucino.

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, Baltimore County, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the teachers and mentors who have cared for me both as a *learner* and as a *person*. I also extend this dedication to my students and mentees, who I hope will hold me accountable for the same dimensional caring I have been fortunate to receive.

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I do not believe that our achievements are solely our own doing; rather, they are a patchwork of the support and insight of many valuable persons involved during the process of reaching those accomplishments. This dissertation is no exception, as creative and inspiring people have contributed to it. Not only has my work been made better by their involvement, but so too have I been made better by connecting and collaborating with those who have graciously chosen to be involved in this process. (Where a list is provided, alphabetical order is used. There is no hierarchy to my gratitude.)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Recent wars in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America have resulted in a marked increase in the number of individuals who are displaced from their homes (UNHCR, 2009). Presently, over 30 million people are displaced because of war or persecution, and about 11 million of these individuals are outside of their home country as refugees (UNHCR, 2013). Since the 1980s, the United States has resettled over two million refugees (Office of Refugee Resettlement [ORR], 2011). Most asylum-seekers and refugees in the United States today come from China, Venezuela, Ethiopia, Burma, Bhutan, and Iraq (Martin & Yankay, 2012). The research of this study largely focused on refugees from Iraq.

The number of Iraqi refugees has significantly increased since the beginning of 2000. The Iraq war, declared in 2003, displaced over two million Iraqis (International Organization for Migration, 2010), causing many to seek refugee status in other countries, such as the United States. The increased numbers of Iraqi refugees and the support needed for their integration into an unfamiliar country places important responsibilities on U.S. institutions, such as resettlement centers, social service agencies, and schools. In order to support the integration of the growing refugee community, it is important to understand the strengths and challenges refugees experience in the resettlement process. One must also recognize how organizations might provide services to address these strengths and challenges. Given the concentration of Iraqi refugees in some geographical areas of the country, the responsibility for providing such services has fallen mainly on institutions within particular cities and their surrounding areas; Detroit,

Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Nashville, Washington, D.C., New York, San Jose, and Dallas (Grieco, 2003). However, in recent years, cities in Maryland have also witnessed a significant increase in refugees in general and Iraqi refugees in particular (Maryland Office for Refugees and Asylees [MORA], 2008). To care for this growing population, institutions in Maryland have also examined how best to address the particular needs of refugees. One way that Maryland has done this is by providing services for children and adolescents (MORA, 2008, 2013).

Children and adolescents make up about half of the global refugee population (UNHCR, 2006), making it therefore important to consider their needs when discussing resettlement issues and processes. Schools may play one of the most important roles in supporting refugee acclimatization into U.S. society, so adults who are involved in the education of refugees, such as teachers, tutors, and mentors, should be aware of the challenges that some refugee youths have faced. These challenges may have occurred before the youths left their country of origin, during their migration experience and resettlement, and while they experienced ultimate integration into the United States. Challenges include trauma (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Duncan, 2001), language difference (Chiswick & Lee, 2006; Garza, Reyes, & Trueba, 2004; Rah, Choi, & Nguyen, 2009), or interrupted or limited education (Hickey, 2007), among others. Besides acknowledging these challenges, it is also important for teachers, mentors, and tutors to be aware of students' strengths, such as resilience (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Duncan, 2001; Montgomery, 2010), a strong value of education (Bigelow, 2007; Duncan, 2001), and high academic expectations of themselves (Stevenson & Willot, 2007).

1.2 Purpose and Research Questions

The main purpose of this research was to explore caring relationships between refugees, or other groups in the United States displaced for political reasons, and people who play an educational role in their lives (i.e., teachers, mentors, and tutors). This was done in two ways: (1) young Iraqi refugees' notions of caring were explored, as were their relationships with educators and the resulting socioemotional and academic benefits of these relationships; and (2) the impact of caring on the educational outcomes and self-esteem of a larger group of immigrant children whose families came to the United States for political reasons was analyzed. To meet this purpose, the following research questions were addressed:

1) How do young Iraqi refugees (ages 14-20 years old) characterize their U.S. school experiences? In what ways are these experiences reported as positive or negative?
2) How do young Iraqi refugees conceptualize and describe their caring relationships with their educators?
    a. Which educators are perceived as sources of caring relationships?
    b. What are the characteristics that young Iraqi refugees attribute to care-providers, and in what ways do care-providers care for refugees as persons and learners?
    c. To what extent are caring relationships conceptualized differently depending on the educational role of the care-provider and setting of the relationship (formal v. informal; teacher v. mentor, home setting v. school setting)?

3) How do young Iraqi refugees describe the benefits of their caring relationships, if any, with their educators in terms of their academic success and how they feel about themselves?
4) To what extent does having caring relationships with teachers contribute to the school success (GPA and educational attainment) of young people whose families are in the United States for political reasons? Also, how do these relationships impact student self-esteem?
5) To what extent do the characteristics of caring relationships found in the qualitative sample reflect broader patterns of caring relationships between young people and teachers, found in a larger data sample of those whose families are in the United States for political reasons?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This research was framed by two theoretical perspectives: caring theory and social capital theory. Caring theory focuses on the importance of the interactional relationships between individuals: the care-provider and care-recipient. Social capital theory operates on both an individual as well as a structural level, focusing on the social context and social structures within which individuals can access resources. By using both of these theories, a broader assessment of the benefits and challenges of relationships between refugees and their educators is provided.

More specifically, this research positioned caring relationships between the care-provider and the care-recipient as those in which the care-provider cares for the recipient, both as a learner and as a person (Noddings, 1999; Wentzel, 2003). A fundamental aspect

of caring theory is the importance of the care-recipient acknowledging that care has taken place (Noddings, 1992).

The caring relationship, its definition, and the practices viewed as caring, can differ from one culture to the next (Noddings, 1992, 2001). Notions of caring between people of different cultural backgrounds may contrast, making it therefore important to assess what caring means to individuals, particularly those who belong to ethnic minorities. Though sometimes challenging to build, caring relationships are very important because they may yield positive socioemotional and academic outcomes for the youth (Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hao & Pong, 2008; Kim & Schallert, 2011; Osterman, 2000; Philip, 2008). Building these relationships may be especially important for refugee youth, as they may have experienced trauma and face challenges in new and unfamiliar educational settings.

The second theoretical perspective that frames this research comes from sociology. Though variously defined by different theorists, common to all notions of social capital is the understanding that relationships and networks are important because they allow individuals to access resources (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000), which may not be otherwise accessible without such relationships. Social capital also has positive consequences for young people's academic and socioemotional outcomes (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Caderberg, 2012; Valenzuela, 1999). Particularly relevant for refugees may be access to what Stanton-Salazar and colleagues have called "institutional resources." These resources, such as information about academic programs and scholarships, likely benefit youth's later academic experiences (Stanton-Salazar, 2011; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003).

In spite of the benefits of social capital for youth wellbeing, there are persistent inequalities in access to resources acquired through relationships (Bourdieu, 1977, 1983). Some researchers argue that privileged individuals are those who benefit most from their social capital, given that their initial advantages are perpetuated by the advantages of their social relationships (Philip, 2008). For example, high-income individuals have most likely developed networks with other similar individuals. Therefore, their economic and social advantages may be reproduced through such relationships, and they, and their families, can benefit reciprocally from the network of resources. Therefore, social capital theory also provides a lens to examine the issue of inequality, which must be explored when discussing the education of immigrant populations, such as refugees.

1.4 Research Design

In order to address the research questions of this study, a multi-method approach was used. First, in-depth interviews were conducted with young refugees to address the first three questions. Second, a quantitative study was conducted to address the fourth question. The fifth research question was addressed using both methods.

As part of the qualitative study, in-depth interviews with 17 young Iraqi refugees (ages 14-20) were conducted. This methodology was appropriate because the purpose of this study was to understand the lived experience of caring relationships from the perspective of Iraqi refugee youths. Also important to mention is my positionality as a researcher. I was a mentor for three years for an Iraqi family. I also have volunteered with the Resettlement Center. It is through these networks that I was able to access the sample. I acknowledge that my relationship with the Iraqi refugee community may have influenced my research endeavors, and this is discussed in Chapter 4.

In the quantitative analysis, the impact of caring was assessed using a sample of over 1,000 first and second generation youths from the dataset, Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2012). The quantitative analysis focused on high school students who had indicated that their parents came to the United States for "political reasons," which is often one of the most important motivations for individuals to seek refugee status. Young peoples' perceptions of caring qualities in their teachers were explored as well as the impact of caring on student outcomes including GPA, educational attainment, and self-esteem. This portion of the research was important because no quantitative research is available on refugees' caring relationships with their educators in the United States.

1.5 Research Significance

This research was important for several reasons. First, it expanded the understanding of caring as defined by young Iraqi refugees. While previous research has studied caring relationships for minority (e.g. Saavedra & Saavedra, 2007) and immigrant youth (e.g., Valenzuela, 1999), limited research exists on caring relationships between young refugees and their educators. It cannot be assumed that findings derived from research on caring relationships with minority or immigrant youth is directly applicable for refugees. While some refugees may share common characteristics with other immigrant populations, such as learning a new language, culture, and school system, refugees also have unique characteristics. Given that refugees experienced fear of persecution in their home country, they may have endured trauma or hardship, which could have a detrimental impact on their socioemotional and academic outcomes (Arroyo & Eth, 1996; Suarez-Orozco, Gaytan, Bang, Pakes, O'Connor, & Rhodes, 2010).

Second, this research contributed to the understanding of factors that enhance refugees' wellbeing. "Wellbeing" is a broad concept, encompassing social and emotional characteristics of individuals, including quality of life, health, self-esteem, and happiness; generally speaking, it encompasses "how people are doing," while also acknowledging the social contexts which may impact overall social and emotional health (Bourke & Geldens, 2007, p. 166). According to McBrien (2005), for refugees, wellbeing "includes a sense of safety, a sense of self, and an adjustment to the cultural expectations of a new country while maintaining a connection to their heritage" (p. 339). This research helped to shed light on how educators can contribute to refugees' wellbeing through caring relationships.

Third, because of the growing population of Iraqi refugees and the potential that caring relationships yield socioemotional and academic benefits for young people, this area of research is critical. Understanding how caring impacts educational experiences is important because it could inform the development of programs and interventions to more efficiently support the resettlement of Iraqi youths. By better understanding the experiences of refugee youth in the United States, we could increase culturally sensitive and culturally relevant programming. Pinson and Arnot (2007) very effectively justify the importance of understanding refugees:

> … one can argue that the task of exploring educational responses to refugee and asylum seeking children could tell us something about our educational system, its inclusivity and cohesion and about how we understand the effects of globalization on education and social change. In a way, refugee and asylum-seeking children and their integration represent a litmus test in terms of social inclusion. As the

> absolute stranger, the asylum-seeking child could tell us something about how we define education and its role in society. (p. 405)

Findings from this research may inform the development of programs specifically targeted for Iraqi and refugee students, which may help our schools to be more inclusive.

1.6 Terminology

- *Refugee*: As stated in the Immigration Nationality Act of 1980, Section 101(a)42, a refugee is defined in the following way:

  A refugee is an individual who is outside or inside of his or her country of nationality (or habitual residence) who has a well-founded fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political affiliation or membership in a particular social group or has been forced to undergo abortions, sterilizations or other coercive controls.

- *Asylum-seeker/asylee*: An asylum-seeker or asylee is an individual who has a well-founded fear of his or her home country and has already fled to an asylum-seeking country to apply for asylum (Immigration and Nationality Act, 2010).
- *Voluntary Organization (Volags)*: Volags are private or non-profit organizations, such as the International Rescue Committee (IRC) or the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services that provide a range of services to support refugees' resettlement. Voluntary organizations may receive governmental funding to assist with placing refugees in housing and connecting refugees with financial assistance.
- *Caring relationship*: The caring relationship is an interactional one in which a care-provider (also called, carer) cares for the care-recipient (also called, cared-

for) as both a person and a learner (Noddings, 2003; Wentzel, 2003; Mayeroff, 1971). In this relationship, the recipient must acknowledge that caring has taken place (Noddings, 1992).

- *Social Capital*: Social capital is variously defined in the literature. For this research, social capital includes the benefits and resources that individuals accrue from relationships and networks (Bourdieu, 1977, 1983; Coleman, 1988, 1990).
- *Educator*: In this research, "educator" refers to individuals involved in the education of young people, including teachers, mentors, and tutors.
- *Self-esteem*: Self-esteem is a characteristic of overall wellbeing, or a general term that encompasses "how well we are doing" (Bourke & Geldens, 2007, p. 166). In this research, "self-esteem" or one's "effective or evaluative appraisal of self" (Johnson & Patching, 2013, p. 44), is an aspect of one's self-concept, which was defined by Rosenberg (1979) as "the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings with reference to himself as an object" (p. 8).

1.7 Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in six chapters. Chapter 2 provides the historical and political context of refugees in the United States, highlighting the history of U.S. refugee resettlement, trends in refugee migration, and resettlement policies. Additionally, educational experiences of, challenges faced by, and strengths of refugees are discussed. This chapter is meant to offer background information on the refugee experience in the United States. In chapter 3, the theories that framed this research, including caring theory and social capital, are explained. Additionally, the chapter highlights literature pertaining to the educational experiences of youths. Particular attention is paid to research utilizing

these theories and describing the value of caring theory and social capital for young people.

The mixed-method approach used for this research is described in Chapter 4. The qualitative and quantitative studies are described, particularly focusing on the sampling method and sample, data collection procedure, analytical strategy, and validity. In Chapter 5, the results of the study are described, focusing first on the qualitative and then on the quantitative components of the research. Finally, Chapter 6 offers a discussion of the findings, the theoretical and practical applications, future areas of study, and limitations related to this research.

Chapter 2: Refugees in the United States and their Resettlement Experiences

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the historical and political context of refugees in the United States is described. Such a description is important to fully understand refugees' educational experiences because the history and politics of resettlement have, in part, shaped the educational resources available for refugees. Therefore, to understand refugees' educational relationships and experiences, it is first important to grasp what it means to be a refugee, how the definition has changed over history, and what services are available for refugees. One must also understand current refugee experiences and challenges in the United States.

"Refugee" is a legal status in the United States and therefore the U.S. government determines who deserves the status of refugee. As stated in the Immigration Nationality Act of 1980, Section 101(a)42, a refugee is defined in the following way:

> A refugee is an individual who is outside or inside of his or her country of nationality (or habitual residence) who has a well-founded fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political affiliation or membership in a particular social group or has been forced to undergo abortions, sterilizations or other coercive controls.

Other individuals who experience fear and persecution in their home countries also have special immigration statuses in the United States. For example, asylum-seekers, according to the Immigration and Nationality Act, Section 208(a), are defined by the same characteristics of having a well-founded fear, but these individuals have already arrived in the United States (or any other asylum-seeking country). They do not have

refugee status, but they apply for asylum once they arrive (Gibney, 2010). Both refugees and asylum-seekers are defined by their inability to return home due to well-founded fear and qualify for similar support and resources (ORR, 2011). This similarity is part of the reason that the two statuses are sometimes used together or interchangeably. Other examples of groups who receive similar resources include Cuban and Haitian entrants and Amerasians[1] (Bruno, 2011).

2.2 Current U.S. Refugee Population and Demographic Trends

There are about 214 million international migrants around the globe (International Organization for Migration, 2010) making up for about 3% of the global population (Migration Policy Institute, 2010). Migrants move for many reasons: to reunite with family members, to travel, or to pursue better education or occupational goals (Hammar & Tamas, 1997; Malmberg, 1997). However, not all migrants move from place to place voluntarily. Some migrants, such as refugees or asylum-seekers, may be forced to leave their homes because of fear related to war or persecution.

Present and/or recent conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America, have dramatically increased the number of refugees, and others, who experience fear and persecution in their home countries (UNHCR, 2009; UNHCR, 2013). There are about 11 million refugees and asylum-seekers worldwide (UNHCR, 2013), and about half of them are children (UNHCR, 2006). Additionally, over 20 million people are

[1] Cuban and Haitian nationals include individuals who are paroled (those who are temporarily permitted to be in the United States for humanitarian reasons), are subject to exclusion or deportation proceedings, or are applying for asylum (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2011; Refugee Services Program, 2011; Cuban Haitian Entrant Program, 2011). Amerasians are children born between 1962 and 1974 in Vietnam to an American father and a Vietnamese mother (Bruno, 2011).

internally displaced[2] across the globe, a number that has more than tripled since 2005 (UNHCR, 2013). Currently, the majority of global refugees come from Afghanistan, Syrian Arab Republic, Somalia, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Myanmar, Iraq, Colombia, Vietnam, and Eritrea (UNHCR, 2013).

With the rise of refugees, asylum-seekers, and other displaced persons, there is an increased need for countries willing to welcome and provide support for their resettlement process. About 80% of refugees are initially resettled in developing countries, including Pakistan, Iran, Jordan, Kenya, and Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2009, 2010, 2013). This may be, in part, because some of these countries are in close proximity to countries that have undergone conflict in the recent past (Gibney, 2010). In recent years, nations such as Pakistan, Iran, and Syria (before their civil war erupted) resettled many refugees from Iraq and Afghanistan, countries that have produced high numbers of refugee populations due to wars (UNHCR, 2011). Most refugees return to their home countries once peace is restored; however, when conflict continues, refugees may be more permanently resettled in another country. Developing countries may not be able to offer long term support to large numbers of refugees (International Rescue Committee, 2012).

Industrialized nations, like the United States, have also played an important role in resettling refugees.[3] Since 1983, the United States has admitted around 2 million refugees, and in 2008 alone, admitted 60,192 (ORR, 2011). As of 2008, the U.S.

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[2] Internally displaced means that individuals are within their own country but displaced from their home to a separate location due to fear (UNHCR, 2009).
[3] Other industrialized nations, such as Canada, China, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom also resettle refugees (UNHCR, 2010).

President, in conjunction with Congress, raised the cap[4] for refugees to 80,000 per year (Gibney, 2010). Hence, the United States has seen increasing numbers of refugees (ORR, 2011). In 2011, the United States admitted 56,384 refugees and 24,988 asylum-seekers (Martin & Yankay, 2012). Refugees coming to the United States are coming from countries such as Burma, Bhutan, and Iraq, while most asylum-seekers come from China, Venezuela, and Ethiopia (Martin & Yankay, 2012). About 35% to 40% of refugees in the United States are children, and the vast majority accompanies their families. About 5% of refugees are unaccompanied children (Unaccompanied Refugee Minors, 2012).[5]

Maryland, mirroring the national pattern, has seen increased numbers of refugees in recent years (Maryland Office of Refugees and Asylees, [MORA], 2009, 2012). Since 1983, Maryland has admitted 32,986 refugees (ORR, 2011). Most of the Maryland refugee population comes from Burma, Bhutan, Iraq, Eritrea, Iran, Congo, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Sierra Leone (MORA, 2012). Table 1 shows the country of origin of refugees resettled in Maryland between 2008 and 2012.

[4] The cap does not apply to asylum-seekers (Betalova, 2009).
[5] The Unaccompanied Refugee Minor program provides resettlement services to young refugees without parents to become self-sufficient. These refugees will often receive foster care services in the United States (Unaccompanied Refugee Minors, 2012).

Table 1

Refugees Resettled in Maryland by Country of Origin, 2008-2012 (% in parentheses)

Country of Origin	Maryland Number	U.S. Number
Bhutan	1,584 (29)	60,773 (19)
Burma	1,469 (27)	78,713 (24)
Iraq	965 (18)	72,135 (22)
Eritrea	395 (7)	7,535 (2)
Iran	271 (5)	17,947 (6)
Congo	176 (3)	761 (0)
Ethiopia	139 (3)	2,698 (1)
Somalia	69 (1)	19,615 (6)
Sudan	63 (1)	2,985(1)
Sierra Leone	51 (1)	236 (0)
Other	330 (6)	59,415 (18)
Total (100%)	5,512	322,813

Note. Does not add to 100% due to rounding.
Source: Maryland Office for Refugees and Asylees (MORA). (2012). *Refugee and Asylee Resettlement in Maryland (2008-2012).* Baltimore: Maryland Office of Refugees and Asylees.

The number of Iraqis in Maryland, and the United States, has dramatically increased in recent years, accounting for 19% and 23%, respectively (MORA, 2012) of the total population of refugees. Between 2008 and 2012, over 45,000 Iraqi refugees have been resettled in the United States. In Maryland, while only 167 Iraqis (4% of refugees) resettled between 2004 and 2008, 965 (18%) were resettled between 2008 and 2012 (MORA, 2009, 2012).

2.3 Historical Perspectives on U.S. Refugee Policies

To better understand refugee policies, three main historical periods are particularly relevant: World War II (1939-1945), the Cold War (1945-1989), and post September 11, 2001. These historical periods and events have been important for the development of policies related to refugees (Gibney, 2010). Also, where relevant, a discussion of general immigration policies is included.

2.3.1 World War II (1939-1945) and the Cold War (1945-1989)

WWII changed refugee policy on a global level, as many people were displaced by conflict (UNHCR, 2001). After the war, the UNHCR began operating to provide protection and find solutions for people fearful in their own country (Gibney, 2010). Before the creation of the UNHCR in 1951, there was no global organization to provide assistance and protection to refugees. In the same year, the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was signed (Gibney, 2010). The Convention was an international treaty designed to establish a commitment ensuring that the poor handling of displaced persons in Europe, caused by WWII, would not happen again. However, the Convention only applied to Europe in its language, and with the continuation of wars

across the globe, the Convention was expanded through the 1967 Protocol to be more inclusive of additional countries (UNHCR, 2001).

The Convention and Protocol defined what it meant to be a refugee and outlined what constituent countries must do to protect refugees. The United Nations legally recognized a refugee as a person outside his or her country of citizenship and unwilling to return because of a well-founded fear of persecution related to race, religion, nationality, or membership in social or political groups (Berthold, 2000; Gibney, 2010; Martin & Midgley, 2006; Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Regarding the obligations of signatories, the Convention explained that nations must cooperate with the UNHCR and inform the U.N. Secretary General of the policies they implemented to meet the Convention agreements (UNHCR, 2001). The Convention of 1951 was not initially signed by the United States. The United States favored a more restrictive idea of refugees than what was set out in the treaty (Haines, 2007; Salehyan, 2001).[6]

Before WWII, in the United States and across the globe, there was no legal distinction between refugees and immigrants (Gibney, 2010; Okojie, 1999). Individuals who came to the United States because they felt unsafe in their home countries were treated similarly as individuals who voluntarily arrived in the States. In the 1800s, and into the 1900s, many arrivals sought the United States for religious freedom or to flee persecution, but they were not yet considered "refugees" and did not receive any settlement support (Legomsky, 2009). After the 1920 instatement of a quota system for

[6] Ultimately, the U.S Senate ratified the 1967 Refugee Protocol which meant the United States was binding itself to the Convention (Legomsky, 2009). However, this was largely symbolic, as no legislative changes were implemented at that time to adapt the definition of refugee (Salehyan, 2001).

immigrants,[7] which set limits on the number of immigrants who could enter the United States based on country of origin, individuals who arrived from war torn countries to seek safety in the United States were deducted from each country's quota (Legomsky, 2009). A fundamental problem with this system was that people seeking refuge could be denied entry if the quota had already been reached, even if returning home could place them in danger. One unsettling example of this is documented by Gibney (2010):

> Certainly one of the cruelest instances of this inattention to people in great need was the incident involving the steamship *S.S. St. Louis*, which in 1939 sought to bring 900 Jewish children from Germany to the United States but was turned away on the grounds that the German quota for that year had already been filled. The ship was eventually sent back to Europe where the majority of its passengers were killed. (p. 88)

After WWII, the United States used a series of specific regulations for immigrants from war-torn countries, rather than through comprehensive immigration reform. For example, Congress passed the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which allowed for 205,000 persons displaced by WWII to enter the United States before 1953, the year the Act expired (Haines, 2007). Then the United States implemented the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, which defined refugees as those denied the essentials of life that could not enter under the immigration quota system (Zolberg, 2006). As a result of this Act, 214,000 immigrants from communist countries, and Italy, Greece, and the Netherlands entered before its expiration in 1956 (Zolberg, 2006). Regulations such as these showed the evolving recognition by the United States of the special case of those fleeing persecution,

[7] The quota system was lifted with the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (Hirschman, 2005).

but again, reforms were not comprehensive. Comprehensive policies did not emerge until later, during the Cold War period, particularly with the Immigration Act of 1965 and the Refugee Act of 1980.

The Cold War, marked by anti-communist sentiments and by the wars in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, had a major influence on the implementation of refugee policy. The Vietnam War (from 1955 to the 70s) was partially initiated by the U.S. desire to prevent the spread of communism. Anti-communist sentiments during the Cold War led to favoritism of those seeking refuge from communist countries (Haines, 2007). This favoritism was supported by the public, as described by Haines (2007):

> All of these people [refugees] had fled what Americans understood to be the intolerable conditions of life under communist governments. The admission of these refugees thus had support among people who viewed them as being of general humanitarian concern and also among those who viewed them as important witnesses to the virtues of democracy and capitalism—and the corresponding evils of totalitarianism and communism (p. 57).

The war in Vietnam led to an increased flow of refugees from the region. For example, the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 was passed when the Vietnam War ended. Consequently, 130,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were immediately admitted into the United States (Haines, 1996). The Indochinese Refugee Assistance Program was also passed to allow for Vietnamese access to governmental resources (Haines, 1996). By the late 90s, over one million refugees were admitted to the United States from these three countries (Gibney, 2010).

The favoritism towards migrants from communist countries was not absent from legislation, as policies were set in place to privilege refugees from communist states. One policy, which supported such refugees, was the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, discussed previously. This act admitted 200,000 non-quota refugees from the Iron Curtain (Gibney, 2010). Another policy, the Refugee Escapee Act of 1957, created a new category of refugees. It defined “refugee-escapees” as those fleeing communist states or the Middle East, and stayed in effect until 1980 (Gibney, 2010).

Another important legislation set forth during the Cold War was the Immigration Act of 1965, which had important consequences for refugees from communist nations. The Act eliminated the aforementioned quota system mandated by previous immigration law dating back to the 1920s (Hirschman, 2005). It also resulted in influxes of Hispanic, South and East Asian, and Middle Eastern immigrants (Reimers, 1983), while previous legislation had maintained the North and West European presence in the United States (Luibheid, 1997; Reimers, 1983). The part of the Act of 1965 most important for refugees was its effort to allegedly end the discriminatory nature of the previous law (Luibheid, 1997; Reimers, 1983) and include a permanent refugee admission policy, which differed from previous short term legislations (Salehyan, 2001). However, under this Act, refugee admittance was limited to individuals from communist countries, the Middle East, or those uprooted by natural catastrophe (Ferris, 1997; Legomsky, 2009).

The focus on refugees from communist countries, a standard largely maintained until 1980 (Gibney, 2010), was criticized because individuals from non-communist locations, such as the Caribbean and Central America, who were also experiencing war and turmoil, were not always able to seek refugee status in the United States (Martin &

Midgley, 2006; Zucker & Zucker, 1987). Such criticism compounded in 1980 when a boatlift brought 125,000 Cubans to the United States, all who needed to be resettled. The entrance of large numbers of these Cuban refugees was prioritized, evidencing the lack of equity in refugee policies because such entry was not afforded to other Caribbean and Central American migrants (Gibney, 2010).

Additionally, U.S. policy on refugees was also criticized for not establishing a congressional policy responsive to the standards set out by the 1951 U.N. Convention (Haines, 2007). Even though the United States signed the 1967 Protocol, which bound the country to the Convention, it was criticized for not adapting legislation to match the U.N. definition of refugee (Salehyan, 2001). This criticism motivated the instatement of the Refugee Act of 1980, which defines the current refugee policy. The Refugee Act of 1980 was an amendment to the Immigration Act of 1965 (Legomsky, 2009), which broadened the definition of refugees to more closely match the U. N. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Haines, 2007; Martin & Midgley, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Tress, 1998). Rose (1993) reports:

> Under the terms of the Refugee Act of 1980, refugees (i.e., political refugees) were finally defined according to a criteria nearly identical to that of the United Nations—that is, as those who have suffered discrimination because of their physical attributes, religious beliefs, or political affiliations and activities, or being out of their countries, have a well-grounded fear of persecution should they return or be sent back. This new definition—new, that is, to Americans—was a major step forward in bringing government policy into line with schoolroom oratory about America as a haven for those "yearning to be free." (p. 20)

Under this legislation, as under the Convention, refugees in the United States were individuals with a well-founded fear of persecution related to race, religion, nationality, or group membership. In some ways the U.S. definition was even more inclusive than the U.N. Convention definition (Rose, 1993). For instance, the Convention defines a refugee based on future claims of harm, but the United States allows for individuals seeking refugee status based on past persecution "because of physical attributes, religious beliefs, or political affiliations and activities" as an indication that future harm may occur (Gibney, 2010). Not only did the Refugee Act (1980) broaden the definition of refugee, but it also promoted the quick resettlement of refugees and the encouragement of refugee self-sufficiency. The Refugee Act aimed at generating refugee independence from government assistance.

Despite the broadened definition of refugee and acceptance of asylum-seekers in the United States, gaining legal status remained difficult for some. For example, despite existing wars in Guatemala and El Salvador during the 1980s, between 97% and 99% of refugee claims from this region were denied (Gibney, 2010). The United States argued that claims from these countries were related to economic, not political motivations (Ferris, 1987; Gibney, 2010), and these persons could not prove that they were individually impacted by the violence. It was essentially untenable for the United States to accept refugees from these regions (Ferris, 1987). As some analysts have argued, the political, economic, and military involvement of the United States and alliances with governments in the region (Haines, 2007; MacDonald, 2004) may have also interfered with permitting entry.

Because many Central Americans were not able to gain refugee status before entering, some entered the United States without documentation (Ferris, 1987) and sought asylum once they arrived. During this process, while undocumented, they were unable to benefit from the services available to legally recognized asylum-seekers and refugees (Ferris, 1987). It was not until the 1990s that Congress began to legalize the status of Central Americans without documentation who entered the United States during their civil wars in the 1980s (Martin & Midgley, 2006). This was done through the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Refugee Act of 1996, which granted legal asylee status to many people from this region. Those individuals were already in the United States but, under previous refugee legislation, had undefined status (Martin & Midgley, 2006).

Another example of the difficulty of seeking refuge in the United States is evidenced through the practice of interdiction, which involves the interception of ships that are suspected to carry entrants and then returning those individuals to their countries of origin (Legomsky, 2009). For example, Haitian and Cuban vessels may be intercepted, and individuals are returned home because they may be thought to be illegal immigrants rather than asylum seekers. This practice of interdiction has taken place since the 1960s (Legomsky, 2006). One famous example of this occurred in 1981, when Haitians traveling by boat were intercepted and returned despite their fear of returning home (Legomsky, 2009). Interdiction practiced by the United States has been criticized by the United Nations because it goes against an important principle of the Convention of 1951 and the United States Refugee Act of 1980, “non-refoulement.” Non-refoulement protects refugees from being sent home to environments that may be unsafe (Legomsky, 2009).

The U.S. Supreme Court took up the case of the constitutionality of interdiction, but national fear of illegal entrants may have influenced the U.S. Supreme Court decision, which found returning illegal entrants constitutional (Legomsky, 2009).

2.3.2 Post September 11

The final historical period, which is relevant to understanding refugee policy, occurred as a result of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on U.S. financial and governmental buildings. The terrorist attacks led to the development of increased security standards, which resulted in fewer refugees entering the United States from the Middle East (Gibney, 2010; Haines, 2007; Martin & Midgely, 2006; Legomsky, 2009).

When the United States invaded Iraq in 2003 to oust Saddam Hussein, over 2 million Iraqis were displaced, both internally and outside of the country (O'Donnell & Newland, 2008). Most Iraqi refugees sought refuge in neighboring countries like Jordan and Syria. However, the conflict taking place in Syria made entering it unsafe for Iraqi refugees (IRC, 2011; O'Donnell & Newland, 2008). Many Iraqi refugees remain in neighboring countries, but others have been resettled in third countries (O'Donnell & Newland, 2008).[8] Even when Iraqis seek refuge in third countries, they are not always permitted to have a long-term stay. Some European nations, such as Britain, Greece, and Germany, have sent refugees back to Iraq (IRC, 2011).

Initially the United States was not providing support for many Iraqi refugees, which drew much criticism because the U.S. had declared war in Iraq. Moreover, there was a noticeable decrease in the number of refugees from that part of the world entering

[8] "Third country" refers to the location of resettlement after a refugee has sought refuge in one location (their second country or first country of asylum) from their home. Many refugees resettled in the United States have lived in a second country before.

the United States. For example, although the United States admitted 22,000 Iraqi refugees in 2001, the number of admissions dropped to fewer than 1,000 during each year from 2002 – 2007 (ORR, 2007).

After mounting criticism for its limited support, the United States began to take an increased responsibility for Iraqi refugees (Appelbaum, 2010). In 2007, the United States passed the Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011). The Act gave refugee status to Iraqis who worked for the U.S. government, were employed by media or nongovernmental organizations, or were part of religious minority groups (Refugee Crisis Act, 2007). As a result of this Act, the United States created an organization called the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP), which, in the past five years, has approved entrance of 84,435 Iraqi refugees and resettled 58,810 of those refugees (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011).

The number of people needing refuge may continue to increase, as the United States pulls troops from Iraq and violence escalates. It is important to increase understanding of Iraqi refugee perspectives so the United States can provide better resettlement and integration services. Because Iraqi refugees tend to be resettled in locations with other Iraqi refugees, there are particular areas in the United States that are especially responsible for adequately rendering social services: housing, health care, jobs, and education. The research of this dissertation contributes to the discussion of how educators can help in this process, highlighting the most effective ways to care for young Iraqi refugees.

2.4 Refugee Integration

2.4.1 Becoming a Refugee and the Resettlement Process in the United States

Beyond a discussion of the demographic trends and the historical and political context of refugees, it is important to examine the processes involved in becoming a refugee and resettling in the United States. The discussion here is not exhaustive, as the complex and technical resettlement procedures go far beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, an overview of the process is necessary to frame an understanding of the services provided for refugees.

In order to begin the process of becoming a refugee, the United States has determined a set of three priorities for admittance. Individuals must fall into one of these three priorities (Refugee Council USA, 2012d). Priority One includes individual referrals made by UNHCR, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), voluntary organizations, or Embassies who identify people in need of protection from any nationality. Priority Two includes group referrals; these groups are of significant concern for the United States and include individuals from the former Soviet Union, Cuba, and Iraq. Those Iraqis are associated with the U.S. Government and protected under the previously discussed Refugee Crisis Act. Finally, Priority Three includes family reunification cases, which allow for spouses, parents, and children under 21 years old to file for refugee status if they come from a specific country and they have relatives living in the United States (Refugee Council USA, 2012).[9] Iraqis can come to the United States under any of these priorities (UNHCR, 2011).

[9] These locations include Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burma, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic

If an individual falls into one of the above categories, he or she can pursue several refugee admission options. For example, those who feel they fall into one of the priorities and fit the definition of refugee may address the UNHCR, an NGO, or an international voluntary organization to apply for refugee status (Van Selm, 2003). These organizations can refer individuals to receive an interview with the Department of Homeland Security/U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (DHS/USCIS) to determine their eligibility for refugee status. These interviews, as well as other administrative processing, can take place at Refugee Support Centers (RSCs) abroad set up by the United States (Refugee Council USA, 2012).[10] Once individuals have been accepted by the DHS/USCIS, the RSC requests sponsorship from voluntary agencies across the United States. These agencies have a Cooperative Agreement with the State Department, meaning they can manage the case and provide resettlement assistance for the refugees (Refugee Council USA, 2012).

Alternatively, if individuals travel to the United States prior to receiving legal status as a refugee, they can apply for asylum status. In order to receive asylum status, the individual must meet the definition of refugee and cannot be excluded by criminal and security laws (Legomsky, 2009). In the United States, asylum seekers complete a series of forms for a Request for Asylum and participate in an interview with a U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services representative (TRAC Immigration, 2006). If the individual is not granted asylum, he or she can appeal within one year of arrival. However, if asylum is not granted, there is the possibility the individual will be deported.

Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Republic of Congo, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Uzbekistan, and Zimbabwe (Refugee Council USA, 2012).

[10] The U.S. government ultimately decides whether the claim of having a well-founded fear is acceptable and whether refugee status can be granted.

Once their legal status is determined, refugees and asylum-seekers qualify for resettlement services. Many of the services are provided through private or non-profit voluntary organizations (volags) with the assistance of federal and state governments (Van Selm, 2003). Volags, like the Interenational Rescue Committee (IRC) or Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services (LIRS), may play a role in deciding where refugees will live (Brown, Mott, & Malecki, 2007; Van Selm, 2003), though ultimately, refugees are resettled through the Department of State's refugee allocation system (ORR, 2011). The United States will often resettle refugees in states where other family members have settled or in areas where volags have programming to support the refugees (United States Interests Section, Havana Cuba, n.d.). Volags will assist with placing refugees in housing and connecting refugees with financial assistance. Qualifications for government financial assistance include the financial means of the family, presence of children, and whether or not the adults are pursuing work.

Once they are resettled, refugees qualify for financial services. The exact qualifications for admittance into these programs, and the duration of financial support may differ by state (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2004). In Maryland, there are three main financial services that refugees may access to build self-sufficiency. Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)[11] provides financial assistance for refugee families with children for five to seven years (Maryland Department of Human Services, 2011). Another financial service that refugees may access is Refugee Cash

[11] TANF is reserved for any economically needy families who have dependent children, including refugees. This benefit comes in the form of payments for food and shelter. Earning below 300% of the federal poverty line qualifies families for TANF, and individuals required to work unless they have a child under one year old. There is a lifetime limit of 60 months (about five years) and can extend for another two years (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2004).

Assistance (RCA),[12] which is for refugees with no dependent children and includes cash assistance for eight months. Finally, the Matching Grant is another financial program that allows for assistance for refugees.[13] This program provides recipients with case management, and special assistance for employment services, for four to six months (ORR Matching Grant CY2010 Program Guidelines, 2010). Additionally, the Matching Grant program provides a housing allowance and 120-180 days of other assistance, such as cash and food provisions (ORR Matching Grant CY2010 Program Guidelines, 2010).

Financial services are not the only type of resources available to refugees; volags also provide additional resources and support for refugee adults and children. Besides providing access to public education like any U.S. resident, federal and state governments also often fund specific education programs for young refugees. For example, in the city in which this research took place, a partnership between a community college and the IRC assists with adult job placement, parenting classes, and case management/social work services for adults. It also provides mentoring, after school programs, summer school, tutoring, and support groups for young people. These services can help refugees with their integration process into the unfamiliar society.

[12] Refugees who are not eligible for TANF may be eligible for Refugee Cash Assistance. Refugees in Maryland must apply through the IRC for this program, which is also called Public, Private Partnership. This assistance is only available for up to eight months after arrival and it does not include rent assistance. All who apply must register for employment services through the IRC.

[13] Through the Matching Grant program, federal assistance matches the grantees' voluntary organizations financial support. In the city in which this research takes place, the Matching Grant is received by the IRC. Housing is provided for a minimum of one month up to 120 days, and agencies can opt to provide housing for an additional 60 days. Ineligible refugees are those who are elderly or disabled and expect to receive Social Security, are already economically self-sufficient, or are receiving other forms of cash assistance such as Refugee Cash Assistance or TANF (ORR Matching Grant CY2010 Program Guidelines, 2010).

2.4.2 Challenges Faced by Refugees during the Resettlement Process

The previous section shows that upon arrival, refugees often qualify for services that are advantageous to their resettlement. However, refugees still face many challenges during the resettlement process. In this section, the challenges related to the resettlement process faced by refugees are described, including familial challenges, financial troubles, limited access to resources, prejudice, discrimination, and lack of voice in their resettlement.

Refugees may face challenges during resettlement, which can impact the stability and wellbeing of the family (Lee, Jung, Su, Tran, & Bahrassa, 2009). These challenges include traumatic experiences, changing family roles, and adjustment to the new environment. First, families fleeing war zones may have experienced separation from or loss of family (Boyle & Ahmed, 2009). As a resultant, families may resettle as single-headed households and may have experienced trauma related to the loss. Second, family roles and values may shift once in the receiving country (McMichael, Gifford, & Correa-Velez, 2011; Weine et al., 2011). For example, immigrant children may learn English at a faster rate than their parents, making parents rely on children for language support and therefore experiencing shifts in power roles (Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007). Further, young people and their parents may differ in their acclimation and identification with the receiving culture (McMichael, Gifford, & Correa-Velez, 2011), which can sometimes create intergenerational conflict. Third, families may not feel they can effectively navigate the new society in order to ensure the success of each member (Atwell, Gifford, McDonald-Wilmsen, 2009). Such resettlement challenges can result in increased conflict within the family (Manderson, 1998), which is problematic because

supportive families can be very important for dealing with the challenges of resettlement (Weine, Ware, & Klebic, 2004).

Refugees usually face economic challenges. Economic difficulty may stem from the short duration of some cash assistance programs. As was mentioned, RCA is often only available for eight months. In 1980, refugees were able to receive cash assistance for 36 months, but about ten years later, changes in policy were implemented in the United States to push refugees off of assistance and to encourage them to become employed and self-sufficient sooner (Haines, 2007). Becoming self-sufficient in just eight months may be difficult amidst other challenges such as language differences and limited job opportunities, especially in an economic recession. Some programs, such as TANF, do provide long-term assistance, but these programs are not without challenges; the application processes may be difficult, employment is a requirement, and there is some stigma that comes along with participating in welfare programs (Van Helm, 2003).

The relative importance of cash assistance also depends on circumstances like the economic prosperity and job availability in the region/city where refugees are resettled (Smith, 2008). If refugees are not able to find jobs that fit their skills and abilities, they may not become self-sufficient. Even if jobs are available, they are not always open to individuals who have limited marketable skills and language ability. In some cases, despite having skills and certifications in their home countries, refugees' professional certifications do not transfer (Yako & Biswas, in press). Many refugees are left to pursue entry-level jobs, below their intellectual level, that generally pay low wages (Nawyn, 2010).

Another challenge faced by refugees, and also a problem for other immigrant groups, is prejudice and discrimination in the receiving countries (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh & Qasmiyeh, 2010; Skonhoft, 2000; Taylor, 2008; Young, Spigner, Farwell, & Stubblefield, 2006). Refugees enter societies with a cultural context and social skills that may not be understood within the dominant cultural norms of the receiving country. Refugees may feel prejudice and discrimination in certain situations. For example, refugees from the Middle East have indicated that since September 11, those feelings have increased (see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh & Qasmiyeh, 2010; Byng, 2008; Park, Malachi, Sternin, & Tevet, 2009; Wadud, 2011).

Another challenge faced by refugees during the resettlement process is the lack of voice and decision-making in their own resettlement. As indicated by McKinnon (2008), whose research described the experiences of Sudanese refugees, programming, policy, and national discourse often situate refugees as individuals who need services to fix their problems. Refugees do face challenges during their resettlement, which organizations and policies seek to address or "fix," but in the process of assisting, programming may render refugees voiceless. Policy is provided for them rather than negotiated with them; in so doing, the process could be disempowering for refugees.

Even the discourse used by supportive organizations, though it may be well-intentioned, sometimes diminishes the voices of refugees. For example, research on faith-based voluntary organizations suggests that refugees are constructed as "needy" and voluntary organizations are framed as "agents of change" (McKinnon, 2009, p.326). This type of language, although helpful when seeking funding, may also create or enhance stereotypes (McKinnon, 2009). A study conducted in Richmond, Virginia, found that

refugees were labeled, “ready to work,” “dependable,” and “willing to take entry level jobs” (Haines & Rosenblum, 2010, p. 396). Such rhetoric marked refugees as laudable, again stereotyping a very diverse population. Whether lauded or framed as needy, both perspectives render refugees voiceless. In summation, organizations can be quite helpful, or they may serve to subordinate those they try to assist (Rose, 1983; Nawyn, 2010).

Certain demographic groups, such as women, may be more likely rendered voiceless in the resettlement process. Women and their children make up the vast majority of displaced persons (Bermúdez Torres 2007), yet under the Convention of 1951, gender equity was not considered in refugee resettlement policy until the 1990s. Although, during the 1990s, the UNHCR named refugee women a policy priority, this commission has been criticized for its limited efforts in this regard (Freedman, 2010). For example, refugee policy has been scrutinized for lacking comprehensive efforts to protect women from gender-related abuse (2010). Also, gender roles and resultant family obligations impact whether or not women can access the best education and job opportunities for themselves (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010), which may go under recognized by resettlement agencies. Resettlement programs may, in fact, reproduce gender inequality, by tracking individuals into stereotypically gendered or menial roles, such as in child care or assembly line work (Nawyn, 2010). Therefore, research that explores refugee experiences should also consider the implications of gender.

As discussed, refugees face numerous challenges. They range from economic difficulty to prejudice and discrimination. These challenges may impact whether and how refugees are able to integrate into U.S. institutions. One major U.S. institution in which refugees, particularly young refugees, actively participate is the education system.

Because everyone is permitted to receive an education, and in fact, attendance in schools is required by law, nearly all refugee youths resettled in the United States will be exposed to schools during their integration process. In the following section, particular attention is given to the challenges that refugee youths face in schools.

2.4.3 Educational Outcomes and Experiences of Refugee Youth in Schools

Understanding refugee educational experiences is important to gaining a better sense of how refugee youth adapt and interact within U.S. educational systems. However, limited comprehensive research exists on the academic outcomes of refugees before coming to the United States and while in U.S. schools. One exception is a study of a random national sample of refugees, 16 years old and higher, who arrived in the United States between 2003 and 2008. This study, conducted by the Office of Refugee Resettlement, examined the refugees' years of school attended prior to entry into the United States (ORR, 2011). On average, refugees in this sample had completed 9.2 years of education before arrival in the country. Also, more than half (55%) had not graduated from high school and, only 10% had completed some college (ORR, 2011).[14] After desegregating findings by region/country of origin, the study also reported that refugees from Latin America (12.3 years), the former Soviet Union (10.3 years) and the Middle East (10.2 years) tended to have more years of education upon arrival than refugees from East Asia (7.4 years) and Africa (6.8 years). Most notably, Hmong refugees from Laos had the lowest levels of education, with about 2.1 years of primary school completed before arrival. The most valuable contribution of this report is that it sheds light on the

[14] About 27.4% completed a high school degree, and an additional 7.8% had a technical degree (ORR, 2011).

fact that the refugee population is not homogenous in terms of past educational experiences.

Other studies, focusing on specific populations of refugees in U.S. schools, also demonstrate the diversity in achievement across refugees' country of origin. For example, Trickett and Birman (2005), who conducted research with 110 Soviet refugees resettled in a Mid Atlantic city, explained that the refugees in the study who reported acculturation to and identification with American norms had higher GPAs and fewer behavior infractions than those who did not. Additionally, Ngo and Lee (2007) explored academic outcomes of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Hmong students and found that Vietnamese students had the highest academic achievement and the lowest dropout rate.

Researchers have explored different reasons as to why some populations do better than others in schools. Ngo and Lee (2007) linked the success of some Southeast Asian refugees to the educational and socioeconomic backgrounds of some refugees arriving before 1975. Additionally, Bankston and Zhou (1995), who conducted research on the academic achievement of 387 Vietnamese refugee high school students in New Orleans, showed that literacy in their first language was positively related to their reported grades and future academic aspirations. Beyond economic and educational backgrounds, previous exposure to violence may also be negatively related to the achievement of individuals from this region. In a study of 114 Khmer refugees enrolled in three U.S. schools, Berthold (2000) explained that increased exposure to violent events before or after arrival in the United States had a significant and negative impact on the refugee child's GPA.

Very few studies have examined the educational achievement for recent waves of refugees, such as the Bhutanese and Iraqis. Their more recent arrival may be the main reason limited research is currently available. Two small qualitative studies on Iraqi student experiences are an exception. Sarroub, Pernicek, and Sweeney (2007), after conducting a case study of one Iraqi high school student in Nebraska, found that this student had problems with truancy and dropped out twice. The researchers reported that the student saw limited educational and employment opportunities, making it difficult to connect school and work with his goals of helping to support his family. The second study conducted by Nykiel-Herbert (2010) examined the educational experiences of 12 students, in grades three to five, who attended a low income, racially mixed school. Of all English Learner groups, the Iraqi refugees in this sample were having the least success in English language development, such that after a year to a year and a half of being in the United States, they were still scoring as nonliterate on the Language Assessment Scales of Reading/Writing for their grade levels. The school decided to implement a course solely for Iraqi students (who tend to have similar cultural norms, beliefs, and values), permitting students to use Arabic as they wished. Pre and post-test results showed that the students in this program showed higher improvement over any other English Learners at the school. While this research assessed outcomes of students younger than the participants in this dissertation research, it offers some helpful insights to better understand the educational experiences of Iraqi refugees.

Collectively, the above mentioned research reveals that limited comprehensive research exists on the academic achievement of refugees in the United States, either as a collective group or separated by region/country of origin. The available research,

however, includes evidence that great diversity exists in the outcomes of different populations and even within ethnic groups. Outcomes are also contingent on other factors, such as student demographics and school context. It is therefore important to further describe the challenges and strengths of refugee youth in schools.

School is one of the main institutions socializing refugee youth to become members of the new society. Education systems and educators are part of the young people's ecocultural environment, and as Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986) postulated, individuals develop and adapt within their various environments through interactions with, for example, peers and educators. These interactions within schools are shaped by the social, cultural, and political context outside of the schools. For example, refugees' adaptation into schools is influenced by pre-migration experiences: "Refugee children carry their past experiences and expectations of their ecosystems, and their roles within those ecosystems with them" (Hamilton & Moore, 2004, p. 9). Therefore, pre-migration experiences such as trauma, fleeing their home country, and adapting to a very different setting (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Pumariega, Rothe, & Pumariega, 2005), most certainly impact refugees' adaptations to U.S. school systems. Nevertheless, it is arguably important that schools, and educators within schools, ensure positive adaptation.

One barrier for effective integration is previous experience of interrupted education. Young refugees may feel even less motivated to participate in school environments if they have experienced interrupted education; they may not be used to school environment expectations. Interrupted schooling is commonly experienced by some refugee groups. For example, even though education through fourth grade is mandatory in Burma, many children never attended school at all (Hickey, 2007). It may

be, therefore, difficult for these students to become accustomed to the U.S. education system, policy, and expectations. It is important for these youths to learn academic skills while they master the behavioral expectations of the school and classroom culture (Birman, 2005).

School may not identify the unique needs for young refugees, presenting another barrier to effective integration. Research has suggested that refugees and their educational and socioemotional needs may be invisible in schools (Arnot & Pinson, 2005; Taylor, 2008; Wallit, 2008). Some of this invisibility may be related to the fact that refugees are combined with other immigrant groups. For example, Wallit (2008) argued that Cambodian refugee achievement challenges are made invisible because Cambodian youth are considered "Asians" and Asian students, as a group, perform well on standardized tests.

Research also has suggested that teachers lack background information on refugee children, such as country of origin, previous schooling experience, or language ability (Szente, Hoot, & Taylor, 2006; Whiteman, 2005), which may be related to the fact that teachers are not permitted to ask about children's immigration status (Szente, Hoot, & Taylor, 2006). Furthermore, teachers may misinterpret the refugee experience. In an ethnography study of Laotian high school students, Ngo (2009) found that there was a mismatch between teachers' understanding of the youths and the youths' sense of their actual experiences. Teachers thought the youths' integration of their Lao and American cultures was a substantial challenge in their adaption process. Yet, this was not the case for Laotian youths who were not as concerned about their Laotian identity because of

their identification with U.S. hip-hop culture. Invisibility or lack of understanding of refugees could certainly make it difficult for schools to provide them adequate services.

Refugees may also feel isolated from the schools' mainstream culture. This isolation could result from bullying and harassment (UNHCR, 2009). In their study of fifty Iranian refugees in Sweden, Almqvist and Broberg (1997) found that bullying and prejudice had a negative impact on self-worth. In fact, refugees experienced great anxiety related to being stereotyped (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Young, Spigner, Farwell, & Stubblefield, 2006). Isolation may also occur when refugees are placed in classes with younger children, which can occur for several reasons. First, certifications may not transfer, and, as a result, students may not be placed in level-appropriate classes (World Bank, 2005). Also, older refugee children, who do not have age-appropriate performance (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000), may be placed in classes with younger students with similar performance, which may affect their sense of self-esteem. Issues, such as isolation, may frustrate refugee youth, and if they experience difficulty academically and socially, they may begin to see school as a place of failure (Ranard & Pfleger, 1995). Some refugee students may develop coping strategies for dealing with their academic or social difficulty in schools. Students may try to hide their abilities (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006), develop behavior problems (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006), opt not to speak up in class (Medvedeva, 2010) or become disengaged (Major & O'Brien, 2005). These coping strategies are not beneficial for their learning, especially when teachers are not aware of the root of these behaviors.

One root cause of issues in school could be previous experiences of trauma. Refugee children who enter schools in the United States may have had significant trauma

previous to arrival (Hickey, 2007), trauma that may cause refugee youth to suffer stress, anxiety, and alienation (Catroppa & Anderson, 2004; Kamya, 2009). Additionally, many resettled refugees have lost family members who may have been a major source of support to cope with trauma (Xu, 2007). The trauma of war and political violence can have a lasting impact (Almqvist & Broberg, 1997), potentially leading to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Allodi, 1986). Learning to cope with trauma is important because research has shown that emotional issues can have an impact on how children participate, behave, and perform in schools. For example, children who suffer PTSD may have poor grades (Arroyo & Eth, 1996; Suarez-Orozco, Gaytan, Bang, Pakes, O'Connor, & Rhodes, 2010) and lower attendance (Arroyo & Eth, 1996; DeSocio, VanCura, Nelson, Hewitt, Kitzman, & Cole, 2007).

Unfortunately, trauma may go undiagnosed and untreated. PTSD may cause inattention and lack of concentration (Davis & Siegel, 2000) and may wrongly be diagnosed as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) (Daud, al Klinteberg & Rydelius, 2008) or other learning disabilities (Westermeyer & Wahmanholm, 1996). Other research has shown that teachers may mislabel behaviors, like inconsistent attendance, as a lack of motivation (Isserlis, 2010). While understanding and appropriately diagnosing trauma is important in schools, too much focus on it may also be problematic. In some cases, programs place an over-emphasis on such trauma (Matthews, 2008), having students relive very painful experiences, not allowing children to grow beyond such experiences. Therefore, dealing with trauma must involve a school's accurate diagnosis and effective programming that does not infringe on the educational achievement for the student.

Refugee youth who arrive with a need for English language education may have difficulty obtaining appropriate language services in schools. Many refugees have limited language proficiency in the main language of the receiving country (Chiswick & Lee, 2006; Rah, Choi, & Nguyen, 2009; Garza, Reyes, & Trueba, 2004). These children are socialized into “new linguistic and cultural environments” (Garza, Reyes, Trueba, 2004, p.8) and language programs may not adequately train students to be part of this new linguistic environment. Some language programs are based on an English-only approach, which means that children are forced to solely speak English without support in the children’s native language. This may be problematic because home language literacy and maintenance may be beneficial for a child's academic success (Dufva & Voeten, 1999; Fox, Kitsantas, & Flowers, 2008; Garza, Reyes, Trueba, 2004; Greenberg, Macias, Rhodes & Chan, 2001; Robson, 1983; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Wright, 2004). Additionally, home language maintenance may contribute to psychological adaptation (Garza, Reyes, & Trueba, 2004). In a study of ten Cambodian refugees who had limited formal schooling and were placed in English-only classes with teachers that were not qualified to teach English as a Second Language (ESOL), the respondents reported that first language support would have been beneficial for learning a second language (Wright, 2004).

Language programs may present additional problems for youths because some English language instruction may utilize a one-size-fits-all approach. This may be problematic because learning the language does not happen at the same rate for all students (Walqui, 2000) and may be especially challenging for some individuals, particularly if they do not have proficiency in their first language (Geva & Genesee,

2006). The duration of the language program may also present challenges for young people. Children may stay in ESOL programs too long. In findings from a Southeast Asian Youth Summit including Hmong, Cambodian, Burmese, and Vietnamese students, students reported feeling unfairly kept in ESOL classes (Um, 2003). This may be problematic because ESOL programs themselves may be a source of segregation (Valdes, 2001), as ESOL students and general education students are kept separate from each other.

Despite the above-mentioned challenges, refugees have many strengths which may contribute to their adjustment in the school environment. Though not nearly as copious as research for refugee challenges, education-based research is also available on the strengths of refugee youths and their families. First, refugee families often value their children's education (Skonhoft, 2000). Research has suggested that refugee children also value education (Bigelow, 2007; Duncan, 2001), as they may regard their educational experiences positively (Earnest, 2005; Keddie, 2011) and seek to pursue higher education (Stevenson & Willott, 2007). These aspirations are important because they may be connected to achievement; for example, research on 738 students in California schools, with a high population of refugees, found that students' aspirations had a significant impact on student grade performance (Park, 2001).

Research also has suggested that refugee youths may be resilient, able to adjust quickly (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Duncan, 2001) by acclimating and excelling in schools and the workforce, despite the possibly traumatic experience of leaving their home country and resettling into the United States. This is particularly true when the refugee youths have adequate family and school support (Catroppa & Anderson, 2004;

Garza, Reyes, & Trueba, 2004; Manderson, 1998). Refugee children and their families' past experiences, even experiences of crisis, can be a source of learning, and their homes can produce cultural capital (Hones, 1999). Additionally, refugees may choose to focus on the present and future pursuits and regard each with hopefulness (Ramirez & Matthews, 2008), instead of dwelling on past experiences.

2.5 Conclusion

In this section, refugees' resettlement trends, historical and political context, and adaptations to schools were explained. This section is important for setting the stage for better understanding young refugees' caring relationships with educators. It is the history of policy that determines what services are available to refugees today. It was not until WWII that international organizations began to focus on migrants who were displaced by war and who have a well-founded fear of persecution. It is true, however, that since WWII, refugee policy has not been solely motivated by humanitarian concerns but also by political agendas. Therefore, not all individuals displaced because of a self-described fear of persecution will be considered "refugees" and, therefore, may not find themselves recipients of accommodations available to refugees and asylum-seekers.

The increasing number of individuals who have refugee or asylee status in the United States has influenced the development of U.S. policy for accommodating and supporting refugees. Refugees are able to work, access government assistance, enter institutions like higher education, and apply for permanent residency after one year of residence in the United States. Because of this support, some scholars have described refugees as having "distinct advantages" in comparison to other immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006, p. 33). It is true that other immigrants do not have nearly the same level

of government support, but that is not to say that refugee experiences are easy or entirely positive. As has been described, refugees face many challenges through the resettlement process, including financial, linguistic, social, and educational challenges. However, they also have strengths, which have also been considered. The next chapter seeks to describe the research around caring theory and social capital as they relate to refugee youth. This theoretical analysis framed this dissertation research addressing educational experiences and caring educational relationships of refugees.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, two different, but complementary, theoretical perspectives that frame this research are discussed. First, caring theory and the literature regarding caring across cultures is explained. Then, social capital theory is analyzed, including the importance of social capital for refugee youths, and the potential barriers to social capital. After explaining caring and social capital separately, the two are integrated, discussing their combined value for the study of young refugees' educational success. The benefits and challenges of relationships and the inequalities in educational systems that may be mitigated by such relationships are also described. These theoretical perspectives are useful for understanding the circumstances under which refugees may be successful in the U.S. educational system.

3.2 Caring Theory

Caring theory is grounded in different disciplines, such as psychology, feminism, and philosophy. This theory is applied in various fields, such as social work, nursing, and education (Barnes & Hugman, 2002; Carter et al., 2008; Caruso, Cisar, & Pipe, 2008; Corbin, 2008; Kirkevold, 1993; Lloyd, 2006; Noddings, 1989). This theory is historically grounded in the *ethic of care*, a philosophical concept that emphasizes the moral underpinnings of caring (Held, 2006). This ethic of care involves the following foci: the moral salience of meeting the needs of others, the value of emotion, and the recognition of people as relational, rather than solely autonomous (Held, 2006). This ethical theory emphasizes that the moral behavior of caring occurs within dynamic relationships and is affected by the context in which these relationships take place (Held, 2006). The focus of

this dissertation is on caring within the context of education. Nel Noddings, one of the founders of the ethic of care, applies the ethic in educational settings (Katz, Noddings, & Strike, 1999).

Caring in this research refers to the relationship between the care-provider and the care-recipient; where the care-provider invests in two dimensions of the care-recipient's wellbeing, considering the care-recipient as a learner and as a person. In other words, care can be both educational (such as holding high expectations or making curriculum relevant) and personal (empathizing with the recipient's experience, inquiring about the recipient's non-academic interests, etc.). This notion of care deviates from the more superficial understandings of caring only as warmth, gentle smiles, friendliness, or niceness. Instead, caring is a much more complex concept. The more evolved and complex version of care, where the care-provider invests in the care-recipient as a person and as a learner, may be particularly important for refugees as they transition into an unfamiliar school environment and attempt to learn the language and culture of the institution in a new society.

3.2.1 Caring as an Interactional Relationship

A caring relationship between the care-provider and recipient requires an *interactional view* of caring, where both actors are understood to be active participants contributing to the relationship (Noddings, 2001). Describing care in this interactional view is important because care or caring is sometimes seen solely as an attribute of a person, a feeling, a characteristic, or an action on the part of the care-provider, while not enough emphasis is put on the relationship (Irvine, 2003; Noddings, 1992, 2001). In fact, the caring relationship stands in contrast to *virtue caring* (Noddings, 2010), a concept

which means that the care-provider focuses on the acts that she believes are virtuous and rather than recognizing what care may mean to the recipients.

Caring as a relationship, as opposed to simply an attribute of the care-provider, has been described in previous literature (Noddings, 1992, 1999, 2005; Mayeroff, 1971; Wentzel, 1997, 2002, 2003). Simply put, a caring relationship involves a process where the care-provider initiates by providing care and the recipient responds (Gibson & Bejinez, 2002; Noddings, 1992). In order to initiate, the care-provider will be receptive to the care-recipient's needs and goals, an idea that is not new in the literature. Mayeroff (1971), for example, insisted that care-providers should understand the value and worth of the care-recipient. Listening and responding to students is part of the process of marking the value of students and caring for them. Noddings (1992) also suggests that the care-provider engages in "motivational displacement" which means the care-provider has a willingness to consider the needs of the recipient, empathizing with their goals and putting attention towards those goals and objectives. This does not mean that the care-provider will do whatever the care-recipient wants; rather the care-provider will try to understand the concerns and ideas of the care-recipient when deciding how to care for this individual (Noddings, 1992, 1996).

Motivational displacement, as part of the caring relationship, may be important because it offers the chance for the care-provider to gather information about the student rather than making hasty assumptions about what the student needs. For example, if a teacher sees that a student is distracted, wastes time, and gets herself or himself and others off task, the teacher may believe that the child should be disciplined. However, if the teacher engaged in motivational displacement and put her or his own perceptions

aside to consider what the student may be going through, the teacher might find that the student had experienced trauma which may contribute to the distractibility. In this situation, disciplining the student may not be the best approach to getting the student back on task. Motivational displacement, therefore, can help the teacher empathize with a student and develop a keener understanding of how to work with the student.

Second, motivational displacement may also be especially important in intercultural relationships, relationships which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. In such relationships, the behaviors and actions of the teacher and student will be motivated by contrasting cultural backgrounds that could lead to miscommunication of care. Consider, for example, the care-provider who believes she is caring for the student and does not consider the perspective of the student, who may see caring in a different way. When caring across racial and cultural differences, actions could be seen as ethnocentric rather than caring, as intended by the care-provider. Such ethnocentrism and racial bias may also be barriers to caring relationships (Gay, 2010).

To truly care for another, the care-provider must reflect on the above-mentioned goals of the care-recipient, on the motivations behind caring, and on the care-provider's privilege (Blizek, 1999; Katz, 1999). Caring should not be motivated by simply feeling pity or feeling sorry for the care-recipient; instead, the care-provider should focus on the agency of care recipients (Arnot, Pinson & Candappa, 2009; Katz, 1999; Nussbaum, 2001) and their ability to express their needs and goals as well as contribute to the caring relationship. Focusing on refugees' agency is important because refugees may be seen as lacking ability rather than as capable individuals deserving the opportunity to be successful in the educational system (McKinnon, 2008). For example, school personnel

may not see student agency but instead utilize deficit ideology (Matthews, 2008; Rah, Choi, & Nguyen, 2009), where children are served based on their perceived weaknesses. If instead the educator focused also on the agency and strengths of the young person, the educator may better empower the student to succeed. Sole focus on deficiencies can weaken teacher expectations, and be debilitating and frustrating for students (Ford & Grantham, 2003).

Within the interactional view, once caring has been initiated, the recipient must acknowledge the care. According to Noddings (2001), the caring relationship is complete when the care-recipient recognizes the care and the care-provider as the source of it. The care-recipient can acknowledge the care either by directly voicing it or through other non-verbal responses such as "the responsive grin, a spark in the student's eye, a spurt of growth, or a courteous gesture toward a fellow student—some sign that caring has been completed" (Noddings, 2001, p.100). It is important to note, however, that these non-verbal cues are interpreted by the care-provider and should therefore be closely scrutinized, as nonverbal cues do not have universal meaning. Based on Noddings' theoretical approach of caring, the recipient's acknowledgment of the caring relationship is a fundamental requisite for caring to have taken place. Therefore, much value must be placed on the care-recipient's notion of caring.[15]

One factor that may influence whether or not the care-recipient participates in or sees a relationship as a caring relationship is trust (Teven, 2007, Teven & Hanson, 2004). Trust will be addressed further in the social capital section, but it deserves mention here.

[15] Noddings (2001) described student acknowledgement of caring that occurs during their time with teachers. It is unclear in the research as to the impact of relationships which students did not initially perceive as caring but later in life recognize as caring.

Regarding the impact on student academic outcomes, researchers who conducted a meta-analysis of teachers' competence, caring, and trust, found that caring had the most significant impact on student outcomes. They also found that caring combined with trust had a greater impact than caring alone (Finn, Schrodt, Witt, Elledge, Jernberg, & Larson, 2009).

3.2.2 Caring and Cultural Differences

Caring is, in part, cultured (Noddings, 1992, 2001), which means that the definition of caring and what constitutes a caring practice may differ from one culture to the next. This idea is reminiscent of social construction theory. Social construction theory purports that a person's ideas, beliefs, and behaviors are grounded in social contexts that shape what meaning is created from interactions with others (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Blumer, 1969; Goffman, 1959). In other words, the meaning one ascribes to caring is likely shaped by one's cultural context, and the way one communicates caring is related to her previous interactions with those within her social context.

Educators may care in ways consistent with their own cultural norms and may believe they are showing care, while students from a different cultural context may not recognize the behavior as care. Noddings (1992) explained that sometimes if teachers behave in ways that are unfamiliar to students, they may send a different message to students who may not interpret their behavior as care. For example, in a study of teachers of middle school students of Mexican and Central American decent, Katz (1999b) found that teachers and students differently conceptualized their relationship. While teachers felt they were caring for the students' academics, students often felt teachers' discrimination. Another study, conducted by Gibson and Bejinez (2002), who engaged in

research with Mexican students' schooling experiences, found that students sometimes felt teachers' suggestions of taking sheltered courses (those for ESOL students), as well as correcting their English, reflected teachers' stereotypical perceptions and low expectations instead of their support for improving learning.

While research has discussed caring in diverse settings and across culture (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009; Irvine, 2003; McAllister and Irvine, 2002), there has been limited research on caring for refugees, particularly in the context of education.[16] Arnot, Pinson, and Candappa's (2009) study in the United Kingdom on teachers' perspectives of caring for refugee youths is one of the few studies that focuses on this topic. In this study, teachers explained that caring meant understanding the political and social situation of the home of the student, recognizing the trauma the student may have experienced, noting the student's agency, and empathizing and acting in the best interests of the student. Another qualitative study of refugees in Canada found that adults would maintain relationships with helping professionals, such as social workers or teachers, if they perceived the relationship to be caring (Behnia, 2001). Caring for refugee adults in this study meant talking, spending time, showing sensitivity, being truly helpful, and expressing interest in a student's life conditions. Nonverbal caring cues were also important: smiling, sitting next to the person, and respect.

[16] Caring research from other fields besides education (e.g., in the medical arena) may yield helpful insight as to how to care for a care-recipient who comes from a different cultural background than that of the carer. For example, medical professionals may practice what is called "relationship-centered care", where care behaviors are adjusted depending on patients' specific needs (Tresolini & Shugars, 1994). To do so, professionals might need to continually reflect on and adjust their care (Quirk, 2006), adapt their care behaviors to the needs of particular populations, such as immigrants, as well as consider the sociocultural history when deciding how to care (Hudelson, Perron, Perneger, 2010).

While research has shown the importance of caring for diverse populations, some teachers may not do it. It may be the case that teachers do not know whether, or how, to show culturally specific care. Some adults simply do not know the backgrounds and needs of students and therefore may not effectively care for them (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009). This may be particularly true in classes where students come from a number of different backgrounds. Others may think that their teaching practice should be the same for all students, regardless of cultural background. For example, in a study done with pre-service elementary school teachers who taught English Learners (ELs), most teachers indicated that they would not treat EL students differently than any other students (Pappamihiel, 2004).

While cross-cultural caring relationships may be difficult to cultivate, some scholars have offered ideas for how teachers with different cultural backgrounds from their students can be active participants in relationships that are perceived as caring. For example, care-providers may be able to better care for students if they educate themselves on the cultural, social, and political situations of their students. Research has suggested that non-mainstream students want teachers to empathize with their cultural backgrounds (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995), and teachers can do so by recognizing the importance of their family and their home language (Valenzuela, 1999). While developing a deeper understanding of students' cultural backgrounds might certainly be helpful for developing caring relationships, Noddings (1992) cautioned that simply learning textbook knowledge about students' culture is not enough to provide adequate care for students. Instead, educators can learn about students' cultures through building strong, trusting relationships to better understand their pupils' lives outside of school

(Lipsitz, 1995; Noddings, 1984) and the strengths and knowledge that each individual student brings to the classroom (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). By connecting with students and attempting to build a deeper understanding of each unique cultural background in their classroom, teachers may be able to show more adequate care for their students.

Another way that a care-provider can begin to care across cultures is through self-reflection on her position of privilege in the social structure, recognizing that she may have more institutional power than the care-recipient. This is clearly observed in the classroom setting between teachers and students because teachers give students grades (Katz, 1999) and teachers are often in positions to make instructional choices that impact children (Pennington, Brock, & Ndura, 2012). Mentor and mentee relationships may involve less power difference than teacher and student relationships because mentors do not provide grades for their mentees. However, mentors may still have power over the nature of the relationship, such as choosing the activities, the length of sessions, etc. Additionally, in comparison to refugee children, both mentors and teachers have access to societal privileges related to their race, language, or socioeconomic status (Keddie, 2011; Pennington, Brock, & Ndura, 2012). These privileges contrast with the position that refugees occupy in an unfamiliar social structure, so teachers and mentors should think about their own status and consider how refugees are viewed by society's policies, programs, and discourses (Keddie, 2011).

One particular area of privilege is called "white privilege." White privilege is defined as unearned assets and advantages that White people are often granted in society (McIntosh, 1988). Often people who have such privilege are unaware that they have it

because it is so ingrained in their daily experiences. Important research on teachers' acknowledging their privilege within caring relationships was conducted by Pennington, Brock, and Ndura (2012). In this study, they assessed changes in White teachers' perspectives while caring for students of color over the course of professional development. The authors noted that traditional patterns of caring between White teachers and their students of color involved White teachers believing that they were inevitably helping their students, therefore not reflecting an interactional view of caring but a unidirectional view. The authors described:

> Traditional White patterns of caring can involve Whites benevolently saving people of color by attempting to make them more like themselves without regard for their perspectives, providing them with assistance with things assumed to be needed, or providing silent sympathy as the teachers …White privilege combined with White teachers' positions of privilege in schools can encourage colorblind caring as teachers can be focused tightly on themselves as the ones caring, acting in socially determined ways. Teachers' positions afford them the power to construct caring relationships in ways they deem appropriate (Pennington, Brock, & Ndura, 2012, 767).

The authors explain that it is necessary for teachers to reflect on their privilege so that their care is not misguided or colorblind. Colorblindness means assuming that the effect of race is not significant anymore and/or attempting to treat everyone equally, regardless of skin color (Boutte & Lopex, 2011). Even though such approaches are likely well-intentioned, as they attempt to create a fair environment for all students, they may mask the reality that inequality still exists between races and maintain the power of the

dominant class (Delpit, 1988). Without recognizing and acknowledging the occurrence of inequality, educators may not be able to effectively care for diverse populations of people.

If educators' perspectives are colorblind, they may not be able to empathize with their students, a phenomenon that was also noted in Pennington, Brock and Ndura's (2012) research. The researchers saw noticeable changes in the teachers over the course of the year-long professional development exercise. At first, their notions of caring showed evidence of false empathy, which was defined by Delgado (1997) as being over-confident that they, as educators, knew exactly what the student needed (Delgado, 1997, as cited in Pennington, Brock, & Ndura, 2012). Over time, teachers repositioned their thinking. For example, one of the respondents reported:

> I had to come to terms with a lot of my own assumptions and stereotypes that I held. And things that I didn't even realize that I was doing. I think that was hard because I went into it not thinking there were any problems with how I thought or acted or talked, so for me, that was jolting, to hear that I could offend somebody without even meaning to. (p. 768)

This respondent shows that, originally, the teaching practice was motivated by ethnocentrism, perceiving nothing was wrong with the practice. However, such ethnocentric perspectives can lead to inadequate care, particularly when educators and students have different cultural backgrounds.

Once educators have reflected on their position of privilege and become educated on their students' experiences, they should take action. Geneva Gay, in the groundbreaking work, *Culturally Responsive Teaching* (2000, 2010) differentiated

between *caring about* and *caring for* individuals. While caring about someone involves being concerned for someone's wellbeing, caring for is an action taken to do something about the recipient's wellbeing (Gay, 2010). In order to adequately care for students in a culturally responsive way, carers must come away from generic notions of caring that may be grounded in stereotypical ideas or colorblind philosophies. As Gay (2000) pointed out, "rather than build on what the students have in order to make their learning easier and better, the teachers want to correct and compensate for their cultural deprivations. This means making students conform to middle-class, Eurocentric cultural norms" (p. 46). Alternatively, once teachers have developed a critical perspective, they may be able to provide better care for individuals in culturally diverse settings (for an example see Pennington, Brock, & Ndura, 2012). Carer behaviors, then, might include actions like "providing spaces and relationships where ethnically diverse students feel recognized, respected, valued, seen, and heard"; "acquiring knowledge of and accepting responsibility for culturally diverse students that go beyond the school day and its organizational parameters"; or "being academically demanding but personally supportive and encouraging" (Gay, 2010, pp. 53-54).

3.2.3 Context Matters

Research that explores caring is often micro in focus, particularly exploring the nuances of the relationship between the care-provider and care-recipient. Though not exhaustively dealt with in the research on caring, the caring relationship is indeed influenced by contextual factors, such as the context of resettlement, the nature of mentor programs, and the environment of the school.

First, the resettlement process itself may impact whether or not caring relationships can take place. Qingwen Xu (2007) explained in her article, "A Child-Centered Refugee Resettlement Program in the United States," that resettlement is often focused on adults becoming economically self-sufficient as quickly as possible. Resettlement does not focus enough on services, such as family counseling, cultural orientation, and bilingual education, among others. As she put it, "children cannot speak for themselves, and their symptoms of personal distress are often eclipsed by the more obvious distresses and needs that their parents face: the need for secure housing, employment, and social integration" (p. 50). This lack of focus on what she calls "softer" services for children, services which focus on their socioemotional wellbeing, limits the needed support and therefore limits the level of care that people can provide for them.

In the context of school settings, the climate of the school matters for caring relationships. Some school contexts develop a culture of care that may facilitate teacher-student caring. In a study of teachers' notions of caring for refugee youths, one teacher described her school as a "very caring school." She also indicated:

> I think there is a wider compassion in the school… I think that it's not about this is a refugee, we need to help—it's about this is what we would do for a member of our community… Which is quite nice because that's integration, really. (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009, p. 258)

While some environments are conducive to caring relationships, other environments unfortunately are not. For example, very large schools may not be conducive for the development of caring teacher-student relationships (Lee & Burkham, 2002), as teachers may have large classes, making it difficult to establish close

connections with students. Teachers and pre-service teachers have listed additional barriers to class size for developing caring relationships, including time constraints, and tension between caring, classroom management, and control (Lee & Ravizza, 2008), which restrict their ability to care for students. For example, if a teacher only sees her class for 45 minutes a day, this limited time may infringe on being able to communicate care.

3.2.4 Caring for the Learner and the Person

Within the educational context, caring is conceptualized focusing on two dimensions of students' wellbeing: caring for the care-recipient as a learner and as a person (e.g. Gay, 2010; Noddings, 1992). Characteristics of teachers who care for the learner, listed by teachers and pre-service instructors, include being responsible for the learning outcomes of students, providing feedback, and holding high expectations for students. Simultaneously, care-providers revealed that caring for the student as a person is important, as well as showing interest and respect for students as important elements of caring (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009; Katz, 1999; Lee & Ravizza, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999).

Specifically focusing on caring for learners, care-recipients explain that caring may be displayed by teachers in the choice of content, curriculum, and teaching style, as well as through their help with work, assessment of understanding, maintenance of order in the classroom, and use of relevant activities for learning (Cothran & Ennis, 2000; Ferreira & Bosworth, 2001). Research has also shown that students like to be treated fairly and that they see this treatment as an indicator of care (Adler & Moulton, 1998; Cothran & Ennis, 2000; Garrett, Barr, Rothman, 2009). These studies show that students

are not expecting simply friendliness and niceness as caring; instead, they look for high expectations, standards of achievement, effort, and fair standards for discipline (Irvine, 2003).

Other studies showed that, beyond educators caring for them as learners, adolescents also find caring for the person to be equally important. Caring characteristics in this category included treating students as individuals, showing interest in students on a personal level, and respecting and listening to students (Cothran, & Ennis, 2000; Garret, Barr, Rothman, 2009; Wentzel, 1997).

The literature described in this section revealed caring to be inclusive of acknowledging the learner and the person, respectively. One prominent study, which followed 248 adolescents in 6th through 8th grade, highlighted the importance of both dimensions of care together (Wentzel, 1997). With this research, Wentzel coined the construct: "pedagogical caring," which encompassed both caring for the student as a learner and as a person. From the students' perspectives, "pedagogical caring" took place when 1) teachers spent time with students when help was needed; 2) teachers made an effort to make lessons meaningful and interesting; and 3) teachers listened to and were interested in students.

This type of caring, acknowledging the student as both a learner and a person, is important in order for care-recipients to feel that the care is authentic. If the care-provider only cares for the care-recipient as a learner, she is engaging in, what Noddings (2003) called, *aesthetic care,* rather than *authentic caring.* Authentic care means that care-recipients are seen as individuals and cared for in a supportive, reciprocal environment.

When educators and students come from different cultural/ethnic backgrounds, authentic caring may be important in order to build trust and understanding within the relationship.

3.2.5 Benefits of Caring

While caring relationships may be difficult to develop, as shown in the previous sections, such relationships are worth the effort. Caring has important benefits for students, including positively impacting their sense of self and academic achievement, and their perceptions of their teachers and schools. Research has suggested that caring relationships with teachers can make students feel better about themselves and their abilities (Kim & Schallert, 2011; Teven & McCrowsky, 1997). Caring can contribute to improving youth academic abilities, school persistence, matriculation, adjustment, and resilience and motivation, among other positive indicators (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997; Behnia, 2007; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hao & Pong, 2008; Lee and Burkam, 2003; Muller, Katz, & Dance, 1999; Osterman, 2000; Philip, 2008; Wentzel, 1997, 2002, 2003).

Additionally, caring relationships within the school setting may impact how students feel about their teachers and how they interact with them. Research has suggested that students equate caring with good teaching (Adler & Moulton, 1998; Teven & McCroskey, 1997), and this can yield teacher-student engagement (Kim & Schallert, 2011). When teachers care about students' personal lives, students may become more engaged academically in school as was indicated in a study of mainly African American students in an urban high school (Cothran & Ennis, 2000) and a study of immigrant students (Gay, 2010). Alternatively, if adults do not provide care, and students do not feel cared for, students may not put forth effort, which may negatively influence teachers'

high expectations and encouragement. As Gibson and Bejinez (2002) pointed out, “It can easily become a vicious cycle” (p. 158). This is especially unfortunate if the reason for a lack of a caring relationship is simply a miscommunication due to cultural differences.

Not only do caring relationships within the schools impact what students feel about teachers, but they also impact what students feel about the school, as teachers are the intermediaries between the student and the institution. A student's perception of whether or not the relationship involves caring may influence whether the youth sees their school as a welcoming and supportive institution (Ferreira & Bosworth, 2001).

3.2.6 Conclusion Remarks on Caring Theory

In this section, caring theory was described. Specifically, caring is seen as an interactional relationship between a care-provider and a care-recipient where the care-provider initiates the caring, and the recipient acknowledges that caring has taken place. In the context of educational settings, caring involves the care-provider caring for the care-recipient as both a learner and a person. In other words, it is not only important for the carer to hold high academic expectations and make curriculum relevant for the care-recipient, but it is also important that she listens to and shows interest in the student beyond the students’ academic abilities.

Also this section showed that, within the educational context, teachers and students may not share the same cultural background, which may impact the communication of care. In other words, behaviors and attitudes which the educator feels are caring may not be seen as caring from the standpoint of someone who has different cultural notions of what it means to care. It can then be deduced that refugee children who have a different culture than most educators in the United States, may have different

care needs than teachers may suspect. Teachers may utilize a colorblind philosophy. Even though such approaches are likely well intentioned, as they attempt to create a fair environment for all students, they ignore the diversity of the student population. Research has not extensively explored caring relationships of refugee youths in the context of education, yet students' needs and challenges suggest that they may benefit from caring relationships with adults.

3.3 Social Capital

3.3.1 Three Different but Complementary Perspectives

Different from caring theory, social capital theory is both individual and structural in focus, making it a useful complementary theory to the more individually focused theory of caring. Social capital, as it is used in this research, explores the impact of structures such as family, community, and schools on the relationships that students have with their educators. It also assesses individuals, focusing on their agency in investing in relationships. In this section, different theoretical perspectives on social capital are discussed; then the definition and its use in this research is explained. Next the way social capital frames the research for this study is explained. Finally, research on social capital that specifically focuses on education, immigrants, and refugees is analyzed.

Social capital theory has been defined in different ways. Social capital can, in part, be defined metaphorically. "Capital" is generally understood to be wealth, inclusive of money and assets, which can be invested to produce more capital. Capital society can be viewed as a market in which goods and services are exchanged by people, and that some people have advantage within this system (Burt, 2001). For example, those with more capital to start may be able to invest in ways that ensure they continue to accrue

resources. The metaphoric understanding of social capital suggests that the relationships people have with others can be societally valuable, in a similar way that economic capital can be valuable.

This understanding of the value of social capital was accepted by three important social capital theorists, including, Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam, (Field, 2003; Lin, 2001). These theorists posited that relationships allow individuals to access resources that may not be otherwise accessible without such relationships (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). All three theorists pointed to the potential positive impact of social capital for the individual, society, or some groups in society. Regardless of the common understanding of some elements of social capital, there are important nuances in the theoretical notions of each of the theorists.

Pierre Bourdieu. Pierre Bourdieu defined social capital in the following fashion:

> … the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, "credential" which entitles them to credit…" (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 248-49).

Bourdieu (1983) indicated that the benefits of social capital depend on the size of the network and the amount of other capital, such as economic capital, cultural capital (social assets and behaviors that are associated with status in society), or symbolic capital (prestige and recognition within society) that individuals within the network possess. For example, if a student is connected with a teacher who is willing to share her knowledge

of how the school system works and what specific behaviors are expected in the school system (cultural capital), the student may benefit from this social network and learn how to navigate educational institutions. Exposure to particular networks can therefore give some individuals an advantage in society, benefits that those who do not have resource-yielding networks may not be able to access. Bourdieu (1977, 1983) purported that social capital can reproduce social class and inequality.

The idea of social class reproduction, which Bourdieu believed could occur in part through social relationships (Caderberg, 2012), has its roots in Marxist discussions of capital. Stemming from Marxian notions of class inequality, Lin (2011a) emphasizes that capital is "part of a surplus value that is generated and pocketed by capitalists" (p. 75). Neo-capital theories, such as social capital theory, show that individuals can invest in their acquisition of capital through their social ties (Lin, 2011a, 2011b). Resultantly, social class positions may be reproduced as some individuals are able to benefit economically from their relationships while others may not benefit to the same degree.

Bourdieu's notion of social capital acknowledged that social class reproduction occurs through investment in resource-bearing social ties (Caderberg, 2012). Social class, to Bourdieu, was not solely reproduced through the economic transmission from one generation to the next but also through other resources of language, skills, knowledge, and most relevant here, relationships (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu & Wacquant,1992; Caderberg, 2012). Bourdieu acknowledged that relationships that yield positive benefits for individuals are not equally accessible to all people and can contribute to a stratified social class system (1977, 1983). Bourdieu (1983) purported that inequality in the social capital meant that some groups have access to relationships that are beneficial for

securing a successful economic position in society, while other groups do not (Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008; Caderberg, 2012). In other words, relationships could yield (or not) the acquisition of resources (Lin, 2001; Bourdieu, 1983) and therefore could secure the upper class status of the elites (Philip, 2008).

To Bourdieu, however, the social class system is not only reproduced by individuals investing, or not, in resource-bearing relationships, but it is also reproduced by the institutions in which people take part. Institutions, such as education, may reinforce the privilege system by discounting or ignoring the inequality. As Jenkins (2002) explained, Bourdieu argues that "the system consecrates privilege by ignoring it, by treating everybody as if they were equal when, in fact, the competitors all begin with different handicaps based on cultural endowment. Privilege becomes translated into merit" (p. 60). Achievement in schools cannot only be merit-based when, according to Bourdieu (1977), school culture is most closely aligned with that of the middle and upper classes and is therefore most accessible to these groups. In other words, children of well-off White parents may be more likely to experience a seamless transition from the culture of their home to that of the school (Jenkins, 2002; Lareau, 2003) because the teachers and staff are more likely to share their cultural backgrounds than the cultural backgrounds of lower-income or racial/ethnic minority children. Simultaneously, schools may accept the middle and upper class values and use standards and routines recognizable to this status group, and therefore may consolidate their privilege (Galindo, 2005).

James Coleman. Coleman defined social capital by its function (Coleman, 1988). As Coleman described: "[Social capital] is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social

structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (Coleman, 1994, p. 302). Social structures include institutions like families and schools in which individuals may have relationships and interact. Coleman (1988) explained the function of social capital in the social structures in the following way: "The function identified by the concept of social capital is the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources that they can use to achieve their interests" (p. 101). Coleman, therefore, recognized social capital as a resource that is part of interactions between people which occur in social structures. It is through interactions that various forms of social capital may be observed.

The forms of social capital, to Coleman (1988) include 1) access to information; 2) norms; and 3) obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness. Social capital, in its first form, access to information, allows actors to gain information that they might not otherwise have access to without being in relationships with other people. For example, a teacher may know about an open student scholarship, but a student may not learn about this scholarship unless the teacher and student have established a relationship.

The second form of social capital, norms, ensures that individuals will remain committed to the goals of the relationship or group, and reinforce cohesive values and practices. For example, norms will help ensure commitment, such as the "the norm that one should forgo self-interest and act in the interest of collectivity" (Coleman, 1988, S104) ensures that individuals will maintain their commitment to each other. Or, for instance, the norm of academic achievement might inspire individuals to encourage each other to do well in school. Such norms could be motivated or sanctioned within the community in order to ensure that people adhere to them.

The final form of social capital--obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness--involves social capital functioning reciprocally; if one provides a resource, she will expect reciprocation of assistance when she is in need, assuming that she trusts the other person. Relationships or groups that are characterized as trustworthy may be more productive than a group without trust (Coleman, 1988) because individuals within a relationship believe that all persons will work towards mutual benefit. In other words, trusting relationships may facilitate individual or collective action. This final form of social capital, as was the case for the other forms of social capital, is functional in that it may lead to action on the part of the actors involved.

Coleman further elaborated on the notion of trust. To Coleman (1990), there are at least two parties in a "trust relation," the "trustee" and the "trustor" (p. 96). In this relationship, both people must make important choices: the trustor to trust and the trustee to be trustworthy. Coleman (1990) explained, "Also, the trustee may engage in actions explicitly designed to lead the potential trustor to trust" (p. 96). So in the case of a teacher-student relationship, teachers may invest time into interacting with students to build the likelihood that students will feel comfortable trusting their educators.

Besides proposing the three forms of social capital, Coleman (1990) also argued that social capital could exist both in the family and in the community. In both social structures, relationships occur where the opportunity to pass knowledge and skills from person-to-person exists. In other words, the trusting, reciprocal relationships that occur within the family and the community can facilitate the passage of knowledge and skills. Coleman (1990) also pointed out how social capital within the community can specifically benefit children:

> …social capital in the community exists in the interest, even the intrusiveness, of one adult in the activities of someone else's child. Sometimes that interest takes the form of enforcing norms imposed by parents or by the community; sometimes it takes the form of lending a sympathetic ear to problems not discussable with parents, sometimes volunteer youth group leadership, or participation in other youth-related activities… (Coleman, 1990:334).

As shown in this definition, adults in the community can serve an important function for youths to help them feel encouraged and reinforce positive norms. These adults may include neighbors, community group leaders, teachers, mentors, and others who are able to become involved in the lives of youths.

Robert Putman. Robert Putnam is most known for his groundbreaking work in, *Bowling Alone*. Putman (2000) explained that "…social capital refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19). Trust, norms, and networks are important because they are helpful in "…facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993:167), actions such as civic engagement of community members, which can be beneficial to the community at large.

Social capital can therefore have individual and collective entities and benefits. For example, social capital is individual in that a single person may invest in relationships that directly benefit him (Putnam, 2000). At the same time, social capital is collective, such that if this individual lives in a well-connected neighborhood which attempts to keep the street clean, even if he does not clean it himself, he may benefit from the investment of the collective community. It is for this reason that Putnam (2000)

explained that social capital can be at the same time a "private good" and a "public good" (p. 20).

Like Coleman, Putnam (2000) pointed to the importance of trust as part of social capital. Putnam (2000) differentiated between two types of trust: thick and thin. "Thick trust" is the trust in relationships that are strong and personal, while "thin trust" is for people that might not be known personally but that have "shared social networks and expectations of reciprocity" (Putnam, 2000, p. 137). This latter form of trust might exist for community members and may lead to individuals being more involved in their communities. Beyond trustworthiness, reciprocity is also important. Trust and reciprocity allow participants to continue to engage in relationships, recognizing that if one gives to a relationship that involves reciprocity, she is likely to receive in return. This shared understanding maintains relationships (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam (2000, 2001, 2002) also differentiated between two types of social capital: bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to exclusive ties between homogenous groups, such as family, neighbors, and friends (Putnam, 2000). These individuals may share similar circumstances and can benefit from their ties with one another in terms of building solidarity. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, involves ties between people that are not as similar as those experiencing bonding social capital. Instead these networks may connect people in different societal positions and may allow individuals to access skills and networks not accessible through bonding (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). Bonding and bridging social capital may be beneficial for different reasons. Putnam (2000) explained that bonding social capital is best for building solidarity among groups, while "[b]ridging networks, by contrast, are better for

linkage to external assets and for information diffusion” (p. 22). For example, bonding between individuals within immigrant communities may be important for building cohesive values, such as encouraging young people to value education. However, bridging social capital may allow for immigrants to connect with individuals outside of their same-ethnic communities, who may be more familiar with the U.S. educational systems.

Putnam’s bridging and bonding concepts can be positioned within a discussion of network theory because the two closely examine the ties among people. A social network is a social structure that involves a netting of relationships made up of individuals and their relations (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Networks can be strong or weak depending on, among other things, the amount of time spent with individuals (Granovetter, 1973). Strong ties often occur in tight knit groups such as families and small communities, which are reminiscent of bonding social capital. Weak ties, on the other hand, occur between people in different positions in society, such as between acquaintances that are not part of the same primary social groups, or those groups that are tight knit and long term. Therefore, weak ties are similar to bridging social capital. Both strong and weak ties can yield social capital, potentially either bonding or bridging social capital, respectively. In fact, Granovetter (1973, 1983) discussed the “strength of weak ties,” indicating that weak ties can be important for gaining access to resources not accessible within strong ties. Both Granovetter and Putnam, thus, recognized the importance of weak ties for advancing in society beyond the confines of one’s primary in-group. However, it is important to note that information may be most efficiently passed to members connected within strong tie groups (Burt, 2001). Therefore, if one is networked

in a strong tie group that has ready access to information, he may be more advantaged than those who are not.

In summary, this section on Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam has highlighted some of the important similarities and differences across theories. Each theorist recognized the importance of gaining resources through relationships. They also recognized the importance of social structures, such as education, in the transmission of social capital. These elements of social capital are observable in each of the theorists and were important for my research, as were some of the distinctions among the theories. Unlike Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam described the importance of trust and reciprocity in social capital. Additionally, Putnam's discussion of different types of social capital, bridging and bonding, was also important in this dissertation's assessment of refugee relationships with educators. Finally, Bourdieu's important discussion of social inequality and reproduction of social class through social capital was also essential to consider when conducting research with groups who experienced marginalization from the dominant social group.

3.3.2 Social Capital and the Educational Context

Several researchers have applied social capital theory in the educational context. In this section, the research of Grace Kao, who applied Coleman's social capital theory to a discussion of minorities and immigrants, is first discussed. Secondly, Ricardo Stanton-Salazar and his colleague's adaptation of social capital theory, in their work with Mexican adolescents in the educational context, is described. Both discussions, though not specifically focused on refugees, offer helpful insights into how social capital is

relevant for immigrant and minority communities in general, specifically regarding their educational experiences.

Grace Kao. Within the educational context, Kao (2004) applied Coleman's perspectives to minority and immigrant experiences. Her article, "Social Capital and Its Relevance to Minority and Immigrant Populations," described how each of Coleman's (1988) forms of social capital (access to information; norms; and obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness) was relevant to immigrant and minority students.

Kao (2004) described the importance of information channels for immigrant and minority youths in the following way:

> With respect to education, information about schools, information about effective teachers, information about how to apply to college, and information about how to obtain financial aid for higher education are all examples of the types of information that are crucial to student outcomes but are not easily obtained. (p. 173)

Kao (2004) pointed out that even highly educated immigrant parents who are not fluent in the language or social norms of the host country may not be able to transmit important educational information to their children because of their unfamiliarity with the educational system. Therefore, it is important that teachers and other individuals involved in the education of immigrant youth assist with channeling information.

Norms, another one of Coleman's (1988) forms of social capital, are also examined by Kao (2004) as they relate to minorities. For example, Kao (2004) explained that norms of social groups into which immigrants acclimate could work in favor of school achievement or against it. In other words, depending on the peer group with which

the immigrant aligns, she could see a different academic impact. For example, if an immigrant youth connected with high achieving peers, she might be more likely to experience higher academic achievement than if she connected with low-achieving peers.

Finally, Kao (2004) incorporated a discussion of obligations and expectations, the final form of social capital, to describe dynamics of immigrant and minority groups. Kao described that immigrants may have a set of obligations and expectations, such as expecting that if one loans money to someone, the recipient will pay it back. She pointed out that people without many associations will not have individuals with whom to share expectations and obligations and explained that: "Immigrant and minority groups are, by definition, more alienated from the majority who are native born and White and so may have fewer possible individuals with whom to exchange obligations and expectations" (p. 172). However, these individuals may be closely networked with their same-ethnic groups. Though she did not explicitly say it, she showed that immigrant and minority youths may have access to strong bonded networks but may not have as much access to weak, bridged networks.

Ricardo Stanton-Salazar. Stanton-Salazar and colleagues applied social capital theory to better understand the educational experience of high school students. Within this context, social capital can be defined as relationships from which an individual may gain *institutional resources* (Stanton-Salazar, 2011; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Institutional resources include information and opportunities about school programs, college, jobs, etc., which can benefit the individual academically and professionally. Institutional resources are passed from what Stanton-Salazar called *institutional agents* or those who have the ability to transmit institutional

information, resources, and opportunities because they often have relatively high levels of social, cultural, and/or human capital (Stanton-Salazar, 2001, 2011; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). These can be adults such as teachers, counselors, social workers, etc. Ultimately, these adults help youth to navigate and have agency in their environments, offering institutional support, or support that allows students to traverse institutions like school (Stanton-Salazar, 2011). For example, institutional agents could inform students of which classes to take to be more likely to get into college.

Stanton-Salazar and colleagues' research focused on Mexican-origin adolescents' relationships with adults in the school setting, such as teachers and counselors, exploring adolescents' understandings of these relationships. While the focus of this research was not on refugees but on Mexican-origin students, the theoretical framework proposed is relevant for my research given the parallels experienced between Mexican immigrants and refugees regarding their unfamiliarity with the U.S. educational system, their language minority status, and their challenges for integrating into a new society. As was the case with Mexican-origin adolescents, institutional resources garnered through relationships with institutional agents may be particularly important for refugees. Because of their own and their families' limited exposure to and knowledge of the educational systems, refugees may have less access to information and knowledge of U.S. educational systems (Uy, 2011).

3.3.3 Benefits of Social Capital

Research has highlighted the advantages of social capital, some of which are particularly beneficial to refugee communities. Such benefits range from positive

socioemotional outcomes to academic outcomes. The studies reviewed in this section do not solely focus on adolescent youths but on refugees at different stages of development, as the research on social capital in adolescence is thin. Understanding how social capital works in refugee communities, regardless of age, is useful for shedding light on the importance of relationships, networking, and social capital building for populations that have faced challenging migration and resettlement experiences. In this section, the benefits of social capital are organized in terms of those I interpreted to be derived from bonding social capital and those from bridging social capital.

Family is one space where refugees and immigrants may have social capital (Kao, 2004), particularly bonding social capital. Within the social structure of family, social capital of nurturing relationships serves to facilitate the passage of human capital from parents to children. Human capital, defined as knowledge and skills (Healy, 2004), is passed through relationships, such that important information and skills can be transmitted and taught through these interactions. Parents may have human capital, but in order to pass it to their children, they must share the same spaces and engage in relationship with their children. Therefore, social capital must exist in order for transmission of human capital to take place.

Bonding social capital, within the family, may also be important for socioemotional outcomes of young people. In an ethnographic study with 30 Bosnian teenage refugees, Weine, Ware, & Klebic (2004) discovered that being well-connected with their families helped teens to deal with trauma. The researchers described that when Bosnian refugee teens spent time with their families having conversations, making decisions, and helping each other, they received encouragement and support in dealing

with trauma and transitions in a new environment. Because experience of trauma may impact an individual's academic achievement and attendance in school (Arroyo & Eth, 1996, DeSocio, VanCura, Nelson, Hewitt, Kitzman, & Cole, 2007; Suarez-Orozco, Gaytan, Bang, Pakes, O'Connor, & Rhodes, 2010), this type of social capital may not only be important for the socioemotional health of the family, but it may also be important for the academic achievement of young people.

Social capital can also be developed between families. Hope (2011) conducted a study of two family learning programs in the United Kingdom. These programs were designed for refugee families to come together, at primary schools, and develop social relationships with other refugee families to help facilitate their children's learning. The researcher found that the refugee families had many useful skills and training that could be harnessed to lead to academic achievement for their children. Research has shown that minority homes encompass these useful skills and cultural resources (See Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Moll & Greenberg, 1990).

Research has also shown the benefits of social capital within same-ethnic communities for refugee and immigrant youths. Refugee youths, who are likely to live in communities with others from their background, establish strong and supportive networks within these communities (Detzner, Senyurekll, Yang & Sheikh, 2009; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters & Holdaway, 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). For example, Zhou and Bankston (1994; 1998), in their studies of Vietnamese communities, explained that those who were resettled in same-ethnic communities, compared to those who were dispersed throughout their resettlement city, felt less isolated and were better able to cope with previous trauma and current integration. In fact, with limited economic and human

capital within these Vietnamese communities, social capital of the family and Vietnamese community might be the main chance for children to become successful and build off of the skills and knowledge of their same-ethnic counterparts. Social capital within same-ethnic communities has also been examined in Iraqi communities. Caderberg (2012) reported that Iraqi relationships with other Iraqis provide emotional support, a sense of community, and information on how to access resources for Iraqi adults.

Unfortunately, bonding social capital with family and same-ethnic community members, resulting in strong networks with same-ethnic individuals, may have unintended negative consequences. Some may experience isolation from mainstream institutions and limited access to institutional information that may not be common knowledge in immigrant communities. Research has suggested that young people may find that this type of social capital may feel stifling (Barry, 2011).

Though youths may certainly benefit from bonds with adults in their community, they may also benefit from interactions with adults from outside their same-ethnic communities. Relationships with extra-ethnics may provide information regarding acclimation to institutions and gaining otherwise inaccessible information (Caderberg, 2012). Educators in the lives of refugees, beyond the same-ethnic community, may serve as mentors, teachers, or tutors, and these relationships are important for building social capital. For example, Coleman (1990) argued that mentoring could recreate social capital and build opportunities for mentees to learn the expectations of their surroundings. Mentors can serve as role models and may provide emotional and social support (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Mentor research has clear application to the study of

refugees, as refugees sometimes receive volunteer mentors to aid the adjustment to the surrounding environment (Griffiths, Sawrikar, Muir, 2009).

Relationships with extra ethnic adults may be especially important for refugees and other minorities who experience economic disadvantage. Many refugee families experience economic constraints (Rah, Choi, & Nguyen, 2009; UNHCR, 2009) which may adversely affect the ability of the family to acquire institutional resources, such as information and opportunities about school programs, college, jobs, etc. In fact, for poor, minority, and immigrant adolescents, networks which lead to academic success are often outside of the family and their community (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). In lower income, urban, and/or minority neighborhoods, parents may lack knowledge of academic resources available to students (Uy, 2011) because they may have not had the academic experiences themselves. Therefore, adults who play a role in the child's education can be especially helpful for the academic achievement of urban, low income, minority children (Phillip, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999) by helping connect youths to information including academic programs, internships, and scholarships, things that may help youths be successful.

While it is the case that relationships that build social capital may be most useful for ethnic and economic minorities, these relationships are not always easily accessible to these individuals. Whereas middle and upper class adolescents may already be grounded in networks which provide social, cultural, and human capital, the same may not be true for low-income young people (Stanton-Salazar, 2011). In high-income, often White communities, institutions and individuals assist children towards success (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, Vasquez, & Mehan, 2000; Woolley & Bowen,

2007). Conversely, in low-income, urban communities and in communities populated by minority individuals, youths may experience inadequate social institutions, such as schools, and lack social capital to be protected from alienation and risk factors (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). For one thing, many refugees are resettled in urban settings (Jacobson, 2006; UNHCR, 2011b), where many poor immigrant children also live (Wright, Thampi, Chau, 2011) and may be isolated from those who are neither refugees nor immigrants (Caderberg, 2012). In urban areas, educational services are generally overstretched (UNHCR, 2009) and may not be able to adequately provide for all students, and refugee children specifically.

3.3.4 Summarizing Social Capital and Cautionary Considerations for its Usage

As shown in this section, social capital is a mechanism that could positively influence young refugees' wellbeing; through the relationships that youths develop, they can better cope with previous experiences of trauma and better integrate into new environments. Social capital has also been shown to be beneficial for academic success (see Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999). However, research framed by social capital theory has also come under scrutiny. Ben Fine, who wrote, *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly*, among many other publications, critiqued the usage of social capital in the social sciences as well as the usage of social capital by institutions such as the World Bank. Fine (2010) particularly critiqued theorists, such as Coleman, who he explained are beholden to rational choice theories of social capital where individuals choose to invest in relationships as if balancing costs and benefits. Such theorists, as he argued, pay too little or no attention to the contextual factors that influence whether or not an individual can

engage in relationships and develop trust. Bhandari and Fine (2010) explained that Bourdieu is an exception proposing theory different from rational choice theorists, such as Coleman and Putnam. Bourdieu acknowledged important class and contextual dimensions. According to Bhandari and Fine (2010),

> The most recent literature has begun to bring Bourdieu and context back in and to stand aloof from rational choice. Yet this renders the concept different in every application so that transposability between case studies and analytical categories relies on a giant leap of faith. (p.228)

Fine (2008) further criticized the mutations and stretching of the theory, mentioning that expanding the scope of the theory to mean resources, norms, trust, and reciprocity, among other things, makes the definition "so amorphous that other conditioning variables tend to be incorporated as part of the definition of social capital itself" (p. 445). This is problematic because putting important variables of norms, trust, resources, etc. under the canopy of "social capital" may mask the specific importance of elements such as trust or communication. While Fine and his colleagues did not propose a specific alternative to this particular dilemma, their criticism suggests the need to clarify which elements of social capital are under study.

Combining the above mentioned problem of masking the importance of particular variables with the problem of the amorphousness of social capital, involving researchers making the concept "anything they like" (Bhandari & Fine, 2010, p. 226), calls for researchers who choose to use the theory to take necessary precautions. Just as researchers would do using any other theoretical framework, it is of fundamental importance to clearly operationalize social capital (Lin, 2001). It is also essential to take

note of the conceptual differences between theorists' notions of social capital. The differences between theorists' notions of social capital are such that Bourdieu's theory, for example, is something different from Putnam's theory. It is not necessarily a problem with the ideas of the theorists, but rather a problem with the fact that the ideas are lumped under one term, "social capital," making it especially important for researchers to parse out the pieces they are specifically addressing with their research. By carefully highlighting each element of each theory used in this research (shown in the Theoretical Framework presented at the end of this chapter) this research avoids the problem of masking important variables in my analysis. This method avoids making the theory, as Bhandari & Fine (2010) described, "definitionally chaotic as it is imbued with so many different variables, approaches, and applications" (p. 229).

3.4 The Connection of Caring and Social Capital

3.4.1 The Connection of Caring and Social Capital in Previous Research

Both caring theory and social capital theory were important in framing the focus of this dissertation: refugee relationships with educators. While no available research on Iraqi refugees has been framed using these two theoretical paradigms, it is useful to understand how the theories have been combined in studies of immigrants and their educational outcomes. To my knowledge, only two publications have done this explicitly: Angela Valenzuela's (1999) *U.S. Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring* and Margaret Gibson and Livier Bejinez's (2002) "Dropout Prevention: How Migrant Education Supports Mexican Youths." This brief section will explain how these researchers have combined these two theories.

Valenzuela (1999) integrated the two theories to frame her three-year ethnography with Mexican immigrant and Mexican American high school students, examining their achievement and schooling orientations. Briefly, Valenzuela's research showed that schooling can be subtractive, which involves a "systematic devaluation of everything Mexican" (p. 20). For example, those high schools that attempt to subtract languages other than English, by encouraging linguistic assimilation, would limit the role of native language in students' identity development. Additionally, youths are encouraged to culturally assimilate; however, in the process, students may lose values and practices, characteristic of their native cultural group, which might have been beneficial to academic success. Valenzuela pointed out that one significant problem leading to subtractive schooling is the omission of "caring" in school settings. She noticed that there was a lack of care between teachers and students, students and other students, and students and the school.

Valenzuela's notion of caring involved authentic caring relationships between teachers and students. As described previously, authentic care means that care-recipients are seen as individuals and cared for in a supportive environment where their strengths are recognized. Valenzuela (1999) argued that these relationships should involve social capital, or "exchange networks of trust and solidarity among actors wishing to attain goals that cannot be individually attained" (p. 21). Valenzuela indicated that both theories emphasize young people's success as a result of their relationships, but each theory has a slightly different scope. She explained that using social capital theory "covers the blind spot" in the caring and education literature that overlooks the connected issues of race, power, and culture" (p. 30). I too, noticed this blind spot, as caring theory focuses on

individuals, such that it is easy to miss the importance of the structural inequalities of race and class that may influence whether or not caring relationships can take place. Social capital theorists, such as Bourdieu, offer a clear discussion of the inequalities in accessing resources inherent in the social structure.

Gibson and Bejinex (2002) also described how caring and social capital enhanced one another. Their research examined how a federally funded migrant education program enhanced student engagement through building caring relationships with students, supporting their home culture, and providing institutional backing. The authors first defined social capital as students' access to relationships that result in gaining resources that allow them to be successful in school, a definition similar to the one used in the research of this dissertation. The authors defined caring in the following fashion:

> Consistent with recent scholarship, we view caring as a relational, reciprocal, and contextual process that is founded on and leads to trust and respect between teacher and learner. Caring is always teacher-initiated, and it requires reciprocity and response. (p. 159)

The researchers pointed out that both caring and social capital contribute to students' sense of belonging in school. In order for students to feel such belonging, they "need both the spaces and the relationships" (p. 159). Gibson and Bejinex (2002) pointed out that the institutional agents, advocates, and mentors of the study attempted to help students acquire social capital while simultaneously maintaining a caring relationship with the youths.

In both of the above studies, caring relationships and social capital resulted in positive academic outcomes for youths, while relationships that lacked authentic caring

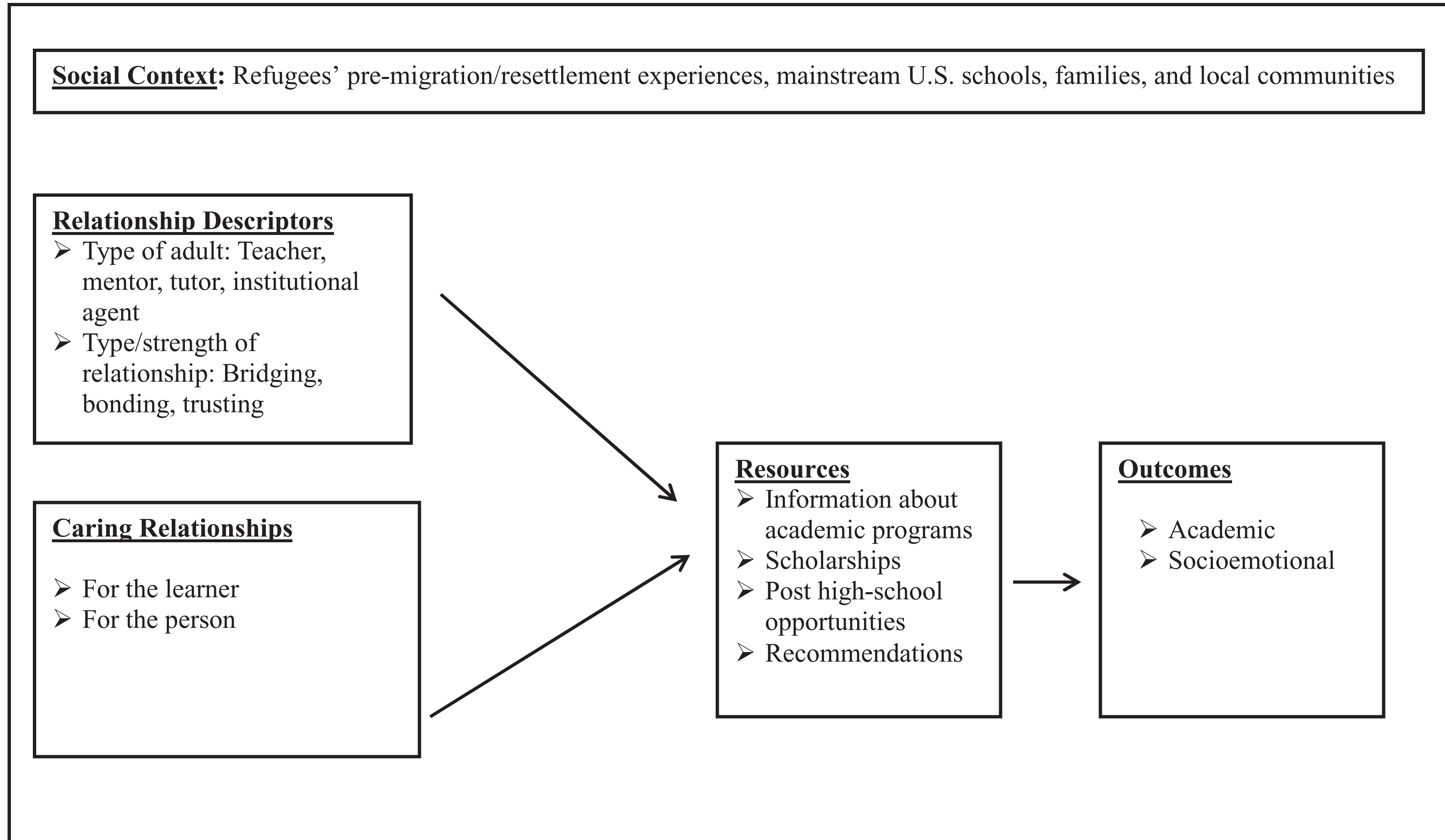
for acquiring social capital did not yield positive results. Though neither of the above pieces discussed refugees, they suggested that caring relationships that build social capital are positive for minority youths.

3.4.2 Caring and Social Capital in this Research

Social capital, combined with caring, framed my research on refugees' relationships with their educators. The combined theories were used in order to consider individuals' access to relationships, their resultant resources, and structural inequalities. As mentioned in previous chapters, caring theory focuses on individuals, pointing to the importance of the interactional relationship of educator and student to yield positive academic and socioemotional outcomes for youths. Social capital explores individuals' access to resources, but also highlights the social context and social structures of the family, community, school, etc., which influence whether or not students have access to important resources of information (i.e., scholarships, academic programs, colleges, etc.), which may lead to academic success. In addition, social capital and caring institutional agents are not equally accessible to all youths. Therefore, Bourdieu's focus on inequality gives us a lens through which to view educational inequities that exposes some privileged youths to more easily access institutional resources.

Figure 1 displays the conceptual framework, which visually shows the main elements of this research and the relationships between them. This framework provided structure for the research study, but its purpose was not to impose preconceived conclusions on the research. Instead, it was created as a guide, informed by the previous research on caring and social capital. However, it was created with the recognition that other themes could emerge from the research, as well.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework



First, Bourdieu’s notion of the importance of social context and social class was considered, as understanding the migration and resettlement experiences, school context, family and community experiences, and other contextual indicators are important for explaining the relationships that young refugees built with their educators. The framework then incorporated whether or not the young refugees reported the presence of caring within their relationships with educators, as well as the type of care experienced: care for the person or care for the learner. Next, because social capital and caring theory both describe relationships, the types of individuals with whom refugees were in relationships in educational relationships--such as teachers, mentors, tutors, etc.--were noted. Whether or not these individuals were what Stanton-Salazar called institutional agents was also included, looking at whether or not respondents have access to institutional resources. Like Putnam and Coleman, this framework acknowledges whether relationships were characteristic of bonding or bridging social capital. Finally, the strength of the relationship was included, considering, for example, the length of time that the youths were in relationships with their educators and whether or not trust was felt by youths.

Next, like Bourdieu, Stanton-Salazar, and Coleman, the resources acquired through relationships were acknowledged, including: information on academic programs, colleges, or scholarships. Outcomes of these relationships, such as academic and socioemotional outcomes, were also explored.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological procedures used to address the research questions of this study. First, the main research questions are discussed and an overview of the multi-methods approach taken is provided. Then, the qualitative and quantitative components of the research, respectively, are explained. For each component, information on participants, sampling techniques, research instruments, and analytical strategies is included. Finally, important ethical considerations and limitations of the research strategy are discussed.

4.2 Research Questions

The research was conducted using a multi-method approach with five research questions. Three questions guided the qualitative analysis, one question guided the quantitative analysis, and one question compared and contrasted the findings from both methods. Overall, the research questions sought to explore caring relationships and their impact on academic and socioemotional outcomes. The questions were as follows:

1) How do young Iraqi refugees (ages 14-20 years old) characterize their U.S. school experiences? In what ways are these experiences reported as positive or negative?
2) How do young Iraqi refugees conceptualize and describe their caring relationships with their educators?
    a. Which educators are perceived as sources of caring relationships?

    b. What are the characteristics that young Iraqi refugees attribute to care-providers and in what ways do care-providers care for refugees as persons and learners?
    c. To what extent are caring relationships conceptualized differently depending on the educational role of the care-provider and setting of the relationship (formal v. informal; teacher v. mentor, home setting v. school setting)?

3) How do young Iraqi refugees describe the benefits of their caring relationships, if any, with their educators in terms of their academic success and how they feel about themselves?
4) To what extent does having caring relationships with teachers contribute to the school success (GPA and educational attainment) of young people whose families are in the United States for political reasons? Also, how do these relationships impact student self-esteem?
5) To what extent do the characteristics of caring relationships found in the qualitative sample reflect broader patterns of caring relationships between young people and teachers, found in a larger data sample of those whose families are in the United States for political reasons?

The first three questions are addressed using a sample of young Iraqi refugees from a city in Maryland. The fourth question sought to explore the impact of caring relationships, with teachers, on academic outcomes and self-esteem for a large sample of immigrant high school students whose families came to the United States for political reasons. It is often the case the refugees come to the United States for

political reasons. This fourth question was important because no other research has explored large data sources for the impact of caring educational relationships on refugee outcomes. For this research, it was important to extend this inquiry beyond the qualitative portion and begin an analysis of caring on a larger scale. Finally, the fifth question explored similarities between the qualitative and quantitative findings of the study.

4.3 Overview of the Research Design

In order to address the research questions outlined above, a multi-method approach, or triangulation, was used. In other words, multiple data sources were used to address a research topic (Roulston, 2010), which is appropriate when multiple research questions require different methods of analysis (Silverman, 2005). The multi-method approach of this research reflected a dual interest in, both the in-depth experiences (rich description) of caring relationships for young Iraqi refugees, and the potential influences of caring relationships on educational outcomes (e.g., GPA and educational attainment) and self-esteem on a larger group of young people whose families came to the United States for political reasons. In the following sections, an overview of the two studies is provided, including the qualitative and quantitative studies, respectively.

4.4 Qualitative Research

The qualitative research was conducted in a city in Maryland where close to 100 young Iraqi refugees were resettled by the Resettlement Center between 2006 and 2011 and participated in refugee programming (personal communication, Anonymous informant, November 30, 2011). In-depth interviews were conducted during the

summer through winter of 2013. The 17 young Iraqi refugees who participated in the research had been in U.S. schools for at least three years at the time of my study. The age bracket (ages 14-20) encompassed young people who were still in high school or who had graduated within the last year.

Participants in this study experienced both formal educational relationships with teachers as well as relationships with other adult educators (e.g., tutors and mentors) who were not necessarily affiliated with the school system. Those educators did, however, assist the young refugees in their educational paths. The interviews focused on the relationships that respondents had with these educators, the extent to which these relationships involved caring, and the advantages that respondents saw from these relationships. In this section, the setting, sampling, instruments, and analytical strategy of the qualitative portion is described.

4.4.1 Setting

When considering the setting for collecting data, it is important to consider issues of trust, safety, and self-disclosure (Borbasi, Gassner, Dunn, Chapman, & Read, 2002). The interviews for this research were conducted in the participants' homes, so they would feel safe when talking about their schooling and personal experiences. The home setting stands in contrast to the school setting, a location where participants may have felt less comfortable sharing their true feelings about their educators. Also, by not having interviews at the school, I hoped not to be seen as a school representative. Because I was a mentor for a family in the Iraqi community, I knew several of the Iraqi families, and I felt confident that families were comfortable

allowing me into their homes. (This topic is discussed, in depth, in the "Reflexivity and Positionality" section.)

Here I will briefly describe what it was like to interview respondents in their homes. I scheduled interviews in the homes of respondents at times convenient for the family. During the summertime, most interviews took place in the evening, and during the school year, most interviews took place shortly after the end of the school day. All respondents lived in row homes or apartments. All interviews were conducted in living rooms while sitting on couches.

When conducting the interviews, I felt very welcomed and the families seemed comfortable with my presence as reflected in the following description. Families welcomed me by providing food and drink and invited me to be part of their traditions and celebrations. I also felt welcomed by family members' greetings and conversations. Family members often kissed me on each cheek and thanked me for conducting interviews. Several parents wished to talk with me after the interviews were completed. In one case, the mother and father thanked me for conducting such important research and wanted to share their thoughts on the difficulty of resettlement.

Family members were in the home during the time of the interview. In some cases, this was purposeful; if the respondent was under 18, I ensured that a parent was also at home so that he/she could sign the consent form. In few instances, family members would temporarily enter the living room while the interview was taking place, but no major interruptions were experienced. When interruptions would

happen, we would organically stop the interview for the brief time necessary to address the situation. In this way, I was careful to be respectful of the space.

Conducting interviews in the home setting, therefore, had many advantages, in that families were welcoming. Also, these spaces were comfortable and safe for respondents. The main disadvantage was interruptions, but these did not seem to heavily interfere with the content of the interview.

4.4.2 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The choice to interview 17 people was motivated by both practical and analytical reasons, considerations which are recommended in qualitative research (Baker & Edwards, 2012). Seventeen individuals represented about 20% of the population of Iraqi refugees, those who were resettled through the Resettlement Center and who participated in mentoring or after school programming during the data collection period. Practically speaking, a larger sample was not feasible for the interview because many of the refugees moved to other geographical areas, away from the city where the interviews took place. Additionally, 17 interviews were enough to provide breadth to the research, ultimately gaining an in-depth understanding of a variety of caring experiences.

In order to access this sample, snowball sampling was used, which is a non-random convenience sampling approach. With this method, the researcher identifies individuals who fit selection criteria, and then those participants suggest additional respondents (O'Leary, 2005). This sampling method was chosen for several reasons. First, non-random sampling tactics are useful for researching small populations who may be marginalized or difficult to access (Babbie, 2004; Cohen & Arieli, 2011;

O'Leary, 2005; Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2010), which is the case of the Iraqi refugee population who participated in this study. Snowball sampling can also help access participants when there are "multiple eligibility requirements" (Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2010, p. 370), as was the case for this research because the respondent eligibility requirements included age, refugee status, and Iraqi nationality. Snowball sampling proved useful in this research, as the first few interviewees were able to suggest others who might be interested in participating.

Additionally, snowball sampling was chosen to build trust and empower research participants. Research suggests that respondents' trust may be more likely if they are aware that someone from their community has recommended their participation (Cohen & Arieli, 2011). This method also can empower respondents because they play a role in the sampling procedures, driving the continuation of the study (Noy, 2008). As Noy (2008) described, because of snowball sampling tactics, "The interview is not a sterile or virgin encounter; rather, earlier dialogues permeate it, *even before* the researcher has met the interviewees" (p. 339). In context, by talking to one young Iraqi refugee respondent, I gained a deeper understanding of the phenomena, ultimately informing how I approached subsequent interviews. Therefore, the interview process, as well as the respondents themselves, shaped the course of the research.

4.4.3 Description of Participants

The 17 respondents shown in Table 2, each chose their own pseudonym. Most interviewees were males (62.5%) and all of the respondents had been living in the United States for three to five years. Most of the respondents (75.0%) were 17 or

older. About half of the sample had graduated from high school, and 12.5% were attending colleges. These respondents had attended or were attending one of five high schools, three city schools and two county schools. The city schools had higher populations of students of color and higher poverty rates than the county schools. For confidentiality issues, I am not including precise information about schools' racial/ethnic and poverty composition.

Table 2

Interview Participant Characteristics

Name	Sex	Age	Arrival Year	Educational Attainment	School	Grades	Second Country	City
Akram	Male	18	2010	H.S. Graduate	Jackson	Cs/Ds	Jordan (7 years)	Baghdad
Ashley	Female	17	2009	H.S. Graduate	Emerson	Bs	Syria (3 months)	Baghdad
Chis	Male	19	2009	H.S. Graduate	Madison	Bs/Cs	Syria (4 years)	Baghdad
Dena	Female	17	2010	11th grade	Lincoln	Bs	Jordan (11 years)	Basra
Eric	Male	17	2010	12th grade	Emerson	As/Bs	Jordan (2 years)	Baghdad
Hussain	Male	14	2010	9th grade	Lincoln	Bs/Cs	Jordan (11 years)	Baghdad
Iraq	Male	17	2010	11th grade	Lincoln	Bs	Jordan (11 years)	Baghdad
Linda	Female	20	2009	College	Emerson	As	Syria (3 months)	Baghdad
Mike	Male	17	2008	12th grade	Emerson	Ds	Jordan (birth)	Baghdad
Mimi	Female	19	2010	H.S. Graduate	Jackson	Bs/Cs	Jordan (7 years)	Baghdad
Reg	Male	17	2010	11th grade	Lincoln	Cs/Ds	Jordan (4 years)	Musol
Ronaldo	Male	20	2010	College	Lincoln	As/Bs	Syria (4 years)	Anbar al qaem
Shann	Male	16	2009	11th grade	Lincoln	As/Bs	Syria (4 years)	Anbar al qaem
Sara	Female	19	2010	H.S. Graduate	Madison	As	Egypt (4 years)	Baghdad
Ted	Male	15	2008	10th grade	Addams	Bs/Cs	Jordan (birth)	Baghdad
Warda	Female	17	2010	H.S. Graduate	Madison	As	Egypt (4 years)	Baghdad
Zozo	Male	16	2010	11th grade	Madison	C’s	Syria (4 years)	Baghdad

Note. Arrival year was the year respondents arrived to Maryland. There were several sibling pairs including, Akram and Mimi, Ashley and Linda, Chris and Zozo, Hussain and Iraq, Mike and Ted, Ronaldo and Shann, and Sara and Warda. Ted and Mike were born in Jordan once their family fled Iraq.

The school profiles, for the institutions attended by the respondents, are presented below. These data were accessible from the city and county school website as of 2012:

- Lincoln High: Lincoln was a city school, with 1,200 students, about 80% or whom were eligible for Free and Reduced Priced Meals (FARM), and 80% students of color. Only 4% were English Learners (ELs).
- Jackson High: Jackson was another city school, with over 1,000 students enrolled. Close to 80% of the students participated in FARM programs, about 90% were people of color, and 20% were ELs. This school had a large ESOL program, which included a newcomers program.
- Madison High: Madison was the smallest city school, with approximately 700 students enrolled. Over 90% were students of color, and 80% participated in FARM. Only 5% of the population were ELs.
- Emerson High: Emerson had close to 1,500 students, a little less than half participated in FARM, 10% were ELs, and 60% were students of color.
- Addams High: Addams had close to 1,500 students. There were less than 20% FARM participants, 35% people of color. Only 1% was ELs.

While a detailed analysis of these schools goes beyond the scope of this research, it is useful to offer some background on the school performance, as well. Not only were the majority of these schools populated by low-income, high minority students, but they also had lower assessment scores and fewer Advanced Placement (AP) courses than the average for the state of Maryland. With the exception of Addams High, all other schools of Iraqi refugees had lower passing rate on the

Maryland High School Assessment (HSA) and lower enrollment in advanced placement (AP) classes than Maryland's average (Maryland State Department of Education, 2014). Jackson's HSA passage rate was half of the state average, Madison's was two-thirds, and Lincoln's was three-fourths. On AP class enrollment, Jackson had a quarter of the state average, while Lincoln, Madison, and Emerson each had half as many students as the state average. Ted, who attended Addams, was the only student in the sample who attended a high-performing school that also had a majority of students who were not on FARM programs. All other respondents attended lower-income, lower-performing schools.

4.4.4 The In-Depth, Semi-Structured Interview

The first three questions of this research were addressed using in-depth, semi-structured interviews, each 45 minutes to an hour in length. The in-depth interview was a suitable choice for this research because it is an effective way to invoke rich data (O'Leary, 2005) through open-ended questions and comments. Also, interview research facilitates the development of trusting relations with participants (O'Leary, 2005; Singleton & Straits, 2005). As in any qualitative research, building trust was important. Many participants came from difficult circumstances, having experienced war, displacement, and other traumas. In order for these youths to share ideas and experiences, trusting the interviewer was very important.

These semi-structured interviews encouraged deep conversation and sharing of experiences and perspectives. Semi-structured interviews maintain a consistency of topics across interviews, but they are also flexible to enable the researchers and participant freedom to direct the conversation (O'Leary, 2005; Roulston, 2010). Even

though each interview with the Iraqi refugees had a common starting point, each discussion was uniquely based on what the respondent said, which is typical of semi-structured research (Roulston, 2010). In this way, the interviews allowed respondents to share the experiences they felt were most important, which is paramount for interview research.

The rich data sought in this research was best acquired through in-depth interviews. Because the first three questions sought to uncover Iraqi refugees' perceptions and experiences of caring, and how such experiences shaped their understandings of relationships, in-depth interviews offered the most useful approach. It was not important to have an objective onlooker decide whether caring was present in the relationships that refugees had with their educators; instead value was placed on what caring meant to the refugee.

Also, these interviews did not start with a set hypothesis initiated by the researcher, thereby emphasizing the value of participants' perspectives (Husserl, 1970a, 1970b; Lester, 1999). Because the goal of this research was to understand refugees' notions of caring, rather than impose a definition of caring, an in-depth, semi-structured approach was appropriate.

4.4.5 The Development of a Semi-Structured Interview Guide

A semi-structured interview guide was created, taking into consideration the importance of building comfort and ensuring effective communication (Appendix A). The sequence of questions in the guide aimed to build comfort for respondents. The interviews began with non-sensitive questions (O'Leary, 2005) so respondents could get warmed up before they were asked deeper questions, building trust in the process.

The technique, “questioning by comment,” was also used to make participants feel comfortable during the interview. Snow, Zurcher, and Sjoberg (1982) described that standard interview questions may be threatening for interviewees because it may put respondents on the spot to answer “why?” questions. “Why?” questions may create clear divisions between the interviewer and the respondent. Snow, Zurcher, and Sjoberg (1982) suggested that using comments instead of questions may make the interview more like a conversation and potentially less threatening. For example, instead of saying “What do you mean?” or “Why do you say that?” an interviewer could say, “I don’t quite understand” or “I thought you said _______________,” giving the respondent a chance to share ideas without being directly questioned.

Several topics to be addressed during the interview were chosen before the interview: caring and uncaring relationships with educators and the types of advantages and resources acquired through relationships with these educators. A few of the interview questions, for this study, were adapted from questionnaires developed by others who recently engaged in caring research with young people (Banks, 2009; Cha, 2008). For example, Banks’ (2009) interview guide included the question, “If I asked you to talk about ‘caring’ teachers, what does that mean to you?” which was used on the interview guide for this research (p. 111).

Also, several probing questions were included. During the interview, respondents were encouraged to feel free to discuss the issues in a fashion that they wished rather than provided with a strict question and answer format. Finally, at the end of the interview, to provide contextual background for the research, respondents were asked a list of demographic questions. This portion of the interview was

structured to document data regarding gender, family structure, time in the United States, previous settlements, and educational experiences for all young refugees who participated in the study. These questions were placed last because they were the most personal, and initiating the interview with these questions might have made participants feel uncomfortable.

4.4.6 The Development of Consent Forms

Several strategies were used for ensuring consent. Because some participants were under 18, assent and consent forms were developed for participants and their parents (Appendix B). The consent and assent forms included an overview of the research, a discussion of procedures, risks, and benefits, an acknowledgement of confidentiality and voluntary participation, and my contact information. Though this information was included in both the parent/youth consent and assent forms, it was tailored to the respective groups. In all cases, where refugees were under 18, their parents signed consent forms, and participants signed assent forms. Because these participants were old enough to understand the details of the study, they had the right to also offer their assent. Refugees who were 18 years old or older signed consent forms.

In addition to written consent, participants also provided oral confirmation of understanding. Research suggests that if written consent is the only form of consent, and the forms are not verbally described, participants may sign consent documents without fully understanding (Granero-Molina, Fernandez-Sola, & Aguilera-Manrique, 2009). Respondents were also given the opportunity to read over the consent form as many times as necessary, which aids in ensuring respondent understanding of the

document (Sudore et al., 2006). Simplified language was used to make sure respondents understood risk and privacy issues (Cortes, Drainoni, Henault, & Paasche-Orlow, 2010). Simplified language also helps to ensure correct translation, as research suggests that translations could be less accurate when language is technical (Simon, Zyzanski, Durand, Jimenez, Kodish, 2006). This further ensured that respondents were aware of the risks and benefits before they agreed to participate. Language style was also considered in order to ensure information was presented as honest, accurate, and non-threatening. For example, research suggests that parents were more willing to enroll children in research described as a "study" rather than "experiment" (Cico, Vogeley, & Doyle, 2011) because the word "experiment" may be more threatening. While this research was non-threatening in nature, ensuring sensitivity in the word-choice was important.

Because some participants, and their parents, might prefer reading the document in their native language, consent and assent forms were translated into Arabic. Back translation was used to ensure accuracy of translation: one translator translated the document into Arabic and another translated it back into English, which I evaluated for accuracy. Finally, because cultural differences may mediate understanding of consent procedures, a native-Arabic speaker reviewed the documents to ensure clarity and cultural sensitivity. When seeking consent across cultures, conceptual challenges and language barriers may interfere with effective communication (Molyneux, Peshu, Marsh, 2004). Thus, researchers must ensure that the consent process is appropriate for the group being studied; otherwise, the consent process could be unfamiliar, confusing and embarrassing (Barata, Gucciardi, Ahmad,

& Stewart, 2006; McCabe, Morgan, Curley, Begay, & Gohdes, 2005; Sudore et al., 2006). When members of the target community are involved in designing the consent forms, the created documents are more likely to be culturally sensitive and understandable (Camp et al., 2009).

4.4.7 Interview Procedures: Timing, Recording, and Compensation

Interview length, note-taking, audio recording, and compensation were considered when determining interview procedures. Because these interviews were in-depth, and lasted up to an hour, compensation was offered. As a show of gratitude, respondents received $15.00 for their participation. This monetary compensation was not meant to coerce individuals into participation, but it was a sign of appreciation for their involvement in the project. Participants received no other reward and were informed that their participation had no bearing on their academic grades or their involvement in the refugee program or other school-related activities.

Additionally, with the consent of the participant, interviews were audio-recorded. Audio-recording is advantageous, as it means the researcher does not have to take word-for-word notes; instead, the interviewer can more readily attend to the interview itself. Notes were taken during the interview to capture elements that could not be captured by the audio recording, such as body language and face expressions.

4.4.8 Translation

The opportunity to conduct the interviews in Arabic was presented to respondents. If participants had strongly preferred to have the interview in Arabic, an Arabic/English speaker would have been hired to conduct and transcribe the interviews. However, all of the participants spoke, read, and wrote in English, and

fortunately, all respondents opted to have the interviews conducted in English. As mentioned, consent and assent forms were translated from English to Arabic so participants could receive both English and Arabic copies of the consent form.

4.4.9 Transcription

Several strategies were used to ensure effective transcription of the interview. First, interviews were quickly transcribed within two days after the live interviews, to ensure better chances of remembering events and conversations. In addition to *when* to transcribe, *how* to transcribe was considered. During transcription, it is important to try to understand what is not said (Jacobs-Huey, 2002). As Kaprow (1992) showed in her research on Gypsies, studying what is not there is just as important as what is there, referring to such instances as "pregnant pauses." For example, it was just as important to take note when respondents could not think of caring teachers as it was to note when they could.

Also important to note is that the respondents, in all but two cases, were still taking ESOL classes, which meant that they were still English Learners (ELs). Therefore, their English conversations have grammatical errors. I opted to translate word-for-word in order to not impose my understanding of their ideas on the transcription. As a result, when quotes were included from respondents, they were not always in grammatically correct formal English, reflecting the fact that these young people were still learning the language.

4.4.10 Analyses of Data

After transcription was completed, interviews were coded. A list of codes is included in Appendix C. Pre-conceived codes were not imposed on the interviews;

rather, “open coding” was used by initially reading through the data and highlighting any important words or explanations (Neuman, 2003). Open coding allows the researcher to be aware of the revelatory potential of the data (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). After reading the transcription several times, “selective coding” was conducted where codes derived from previous readings were re-assessed and revised. This process is called the constant comparative method, where codes and analysis are compared each time the researcher combs through the transcription (Glasser and Strauss, 1967; Roulston, 2010). In essence, using the constant comparative method ensured that steps were adequately retraced.

While pre-conceived codes were not used, it should be noted that the presence of several themes, in this study, were expected because of previous research. For example, respondents mentioned adults who cared for them as learners and as persons, which was expected because of previous research suggesting this theme. Also, institutional resources were gained as a result of respondent relationships with educators, a theme that was expected prior to the research and ultimately coded. However, with each code used, particularly the ones that related to previous research, I questioned the usage of the code and asked myself if there could be an alternative code. In this way, I attempted to cross-check myself so that I would not see themes simply because previous literature had suggested the themes.

4.4.11 Issues of Validity, Reliability, and Goodness

As Silverman (2005) explained, “Validity is another word for truth” (p. 210). It is important not to consider the positivist notion of “truth;” given that ultimate truth is not there to be found. The validity of this research did not hinge on finding the

exact definition of caring. Rather, validity involved ensuring a close description and analysis of happenings in the interview as it related to the research questions. In other words, validity was measured by the way the research studied what it proposed to study.

Also, the refutability principle was used when analyzing interview responses (Silverman, 2005). While analyzing findings, as the researcher, I sought to challenge my own assumptions and refute my own claims and interpretations. I attempted to do this by challenging each one of my conclusions, seeking alternative explanations. In other words, with each conclusion I drew, I sought to explore whether anything might refute that conclusion.

Using the "constant comparative method" was another way to build the project's validity (Classer and Strauss, 1967; Roulston, 2010Silverman, 2005), as the transcriptions were reviewed on a number of occasions to ensure accurate and consistent coding. Because this method retraced steps, it assisted in ensuring that the project conclusions were of high quality.

The constant comparative method can also help ensure reliability. Reliability refers to the consistency in analysis between different occasions of analysis (Silverman, 2005). Resultantly, coding consistency between the occasions when the same transcriptions were analyzed was noted. However, as mentioned previously, the reason researchers do constant comparative analysis is because with multiple readings through the data, researchers seek to have a higher chance of uncovering all that has emerged. In other words, the consecutive analyses were not identical, but it was

important to see that themes derived on previous readings were checked in subsequent reads.

On top of issues of validity, “goodness” was important to consider. “Goodness” is assessed by looking at the quality of the research. As Arminio and Hultgren (2002) proposed: “What we know about the goodness of research does not come from an authoritative objective truth waiting to be discovered, but rather the understanding we gain when engaging in our work” (p. 447). Goodness is partly achieved through having a theoretical justification of research (Arminio & Hultgren, 2002). This research was driven by theory on caring and social capital, which contributed to its goodness. Goodness was also achieved through uncovering repeated themes and taking into account how my personal perspective and experiences, as a researcher, may have influenced my thinking.

4.4.12 Reflexivity and Positionality

Finally, reflexivity and positionality were important considerations in my research. Reflexivity means that the researcher assesses her assumptions, beliefs, and emotions related to the research and how these may impact the research process (Hsiung, 2008). Reflexivity also allows a researcher to consider her positionality. Madison (2005) described positionality in the following fashion:

> Positionality is vital because it forces us to acknowledge our own power, privilege, and biases just as we denounce the power structures that surround our subjects. A concern for positionality is a reflexive ethnography; it is a turning back on ourselves. When we turn back on ourselves, we examine our intentions, our methods, and our possible effects. We are accountable for our

research paradigms, our authority, and our moral responsibility relative to representation and interpretation. (p. 14)

Because I, as the researcher, engaged in the construction and interpretation of the interviews, I had bearing on the findings, and my beliefs most likely influenced my interpretations. I was therefore responsible to turn the lens from participants to myself and assess how I impacted the findings and affected the communities where the research took place (Hsiung, 2008; Madison, 2005).

I acknowledged my previous and current involvement with the Iraqi refugee community. I volunteered with an Iraqi refugee family for three years, beginning in 2009, visiting their home once per week to "mentor" and tutor their children. Throughout this time, I became highly fond of the family and "cared" deeply about them. Additionally, I met several other Iraqi families. I was committed to the families and wanted to ensure their fair representation, which is why it was important to describe my involvement. I also volunteered with the Resettlement Center, conducting statistical analysis on the previous educational experiences of refugee youth. Therefore, I developed a surface-level understanding of how educational programming worked for refugee families. As a result of my work with both families and the formal organization, I have developed a commitment to respecting both entities.

I recognized that my involvement in the community presented advantages and challenges for my research. One advantage was that I was able to access several participants to interview and have them assist me in finding others to participate. Also, I had developed an understanding of the intercultural dynamics of the

relationships between me and those I met in the Iraqi community. This understanding informed the development of my research tools and aided my rapport with the respondents.

I also considered the challenges related to my involvement in the community. First, I shifted my role from mentor and advocate to researcher. I was initially concerned about the power dynamic within the relationship of researcher and respondent, and how families would feel about being potential objects of research when they may already feel "othered" in the United States. However, families seemed very welcoming when I visited their homes, demonstrating their appreciation by offering food and beverages and thanking me for doing the research.

I am also aware that I was likely not able to be entirely objective in my analysis of the themes found throughout my interviews because I have been part of the community for three years. However, objectivity is not essential, nor do I believe it is actually possible. Ultimately research suggests it is not necessary to totally take one's self out of the research; however, it is important to be aware of my role in the creation of meaning and the production of knowledge (Schwalbe, 1996; Jacobs-Huey, 2002).

4.5 Quantitative Methods

The second method utilized for the mixed-methods research was secondary data analysis of a large data source called the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2012). Specifically, I used secondary-data analysis to answer the following research question: "To what extent does having caring relationships with teachers contribute to the school success (GPA and educational

attainment) of young people whose families are in the United States for political reasons? Also, how do these relationships impact their self-esteem?"

4.5.1 Data and Sample

The CILS was designed to provide information on second-generation youth (U.S.-born children whose parents were born outside of the United States) or first-generation youth (children born abroad from foreign-born parents) who were brought to this country at a young age living in Ft. Lauderdale Florida and San Diego, California (Portes & Rumbaut, 2012). CILS gathered information about language, identity, self-esteem, and academic outcomes, among other things. The dataset also included data on school, teacher, and parent/family characteristics. Data were collected through self-administered questionnaires for students, parent interviews, and observation of school records.

CILS was useful for this research for several reasons. First, and most importantly, the data included high school-age young people whose families had come to the United States for political reasons. No database, to the best of my knowledge, gathered data on individuals who had refugee status when coming to the United States, and therefore, this data source offered the closest access to populations who were likely refugees. The fact that most of the individuals included in the sample analyzed in this dissertation (selected because they came to the United States for political reasons), came from Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia suggests a high likelihood that these individuals were refugees, as the United States has historically

given individuals from these locations refugee status.[17] Secondly, the CILS data provided a large sample of youth, and a rich a set of variables, to examine patterns of caring, specifically contextualized in schools. CILS is a longitudinal study where data were collected at three different times points in 1992, 1995, and in 2002, when individuals were, on average, 14, 17 and 24 years old (Portes & Rumbaut, 2012). The first wave of data included 5,262 8th and 9th graders; the second included 4,288 11th and 12th graders; and the third wave included 3,564 individuals who had been out of high school for several years.

Only respondents who had completed the second wave were included in the quantitative sample of this study because these students were close in age to the majority of respondents from the qualitative sample. The sample in this study included only students who indicated that at least one of their parents came to the United States for political reasons, which, as discussed, is typical of refugees. Respondents were asked, "If your father/mother was born in another country, why did he/she come to the United States?" Respondents in the sample reported one of the following three options: 1) political reasons, 2) economic/political reasons; or 3) political, reunite/family reasons.

Of the sample in the second wave (4,288 students), about a quarter (1,055) had at least one parent who came to the United States for political reasons. As Table 3 indicates, the majority (53.5%) of students included in this study were male, and the average age at the first wave was 14.17. Close to half (46.5%) of students in the

[17] Even if individuals did not come to the United States designated as "refugees," their experiences may be similar to the refugee population, given that refugees' flight is often politically driven.

sample were born in the United States, about a third (32.8%) were from Latin America or the Caribbean and a fifth (20.1%) were from Asian countries. Most of the respondents had lived in the United States for at least 10 years (75.3%). Approximately four-fifths (81.1%) of students lived in two-parent households with 1.71 siblings on average. The sample included 66.4% students attending suburban schools and 33.6% attending inner city schools, where on average whites were the minority at 18.18%.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Sample (N = 1,055 students)

Variable	% or Mean (SD)	% Missing
Age	14.17(.87)	.1
Sex		
Male	53.5	
Female	46.5	
SES (-1.66 to 2.09)	.03(.79)	
Speak English (1-4)	3.78(.46)	.1
Birth Country		
United States	46.5	.8
Cuba	13.8	
Nicaragua	14.2	
Other Latin/Caribbean	4.8	
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	15.4	
Other Asian	4.5	
Other	.8	
Number of siblings	1.71(1.53)	1.6
Parent Type		
Two-Parent	81.1	.7
Single-Parent	17.0	
Other-Parent	1.9	
School Type		
Suburban	701(66.4)	
Urban	354(33.6)	
School composition: percentage White	18.18(18.76)	.4
GPA (0-5)	2.52(.95)	1.8
Educational Attainment		
10 years	2.6	29.9
12 years	13.6	
13 years	18.4	
14 years	10.9	
15 years	19.6	
16 years	26.2	
19 years	8.6	

Note. SD = standard deviation in parentheses

As shown in Table 3, each variable has fewer than 5% missing, except for educational attainment. This is because educational attainment was collected at the third wave and there was attrition. However, because educational attainment was an outcome variable, a subsample of those who completed the third wave was used for running regressions with this variable.

4.5.2 Variables and Measures

Most of the variables analyzed came from both the first and second waves. Most of the demographic variables came from the first wave of data, and most other variables came from the second wave.

School success, one of the two key outcome variables, was measured using two indicators: GPA at the second wave, and highest level of education attained at the third wave. GPA was a continuous variable, which ranges from 0 to 5 (where 5 is the highest score). The distribution was approximately symmetrical (skewness = -.069; SE = .076) and flatter than a normal distribution (kurtosis = -.477).

Educational attainment, or the highest degree of education attained by the age of 24, was collected as an ordinal variable in the CILS utilizing the following categories: some high school, no degree; high school degree; 1-2 years of post-high school vocational training or college; graduation from 2-year college or vocational training; 3 years of college, no degree; graduation from 4-year college; some graduate school; master's degree; professional/doctorate degree. For the regression analyses, I recoded this variable into a continuous one, based on number of years of schooling. The recoded version included: 10 years, 12 years, 13 years, 14 years, 15 years, 16

years, 19 years[18] respectively to correspond to the average number of schooling associated to each initial category.

Self-esteem, the second outcome variable, was measured using ten indicators of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979) collected at the second wave. Students reported their level of agreement (1 = agrees a lot, 4 = disagrees a lot) with the following statements: I am a person of worth; I have a number of good qualities; I'm inclined to feel like a failure; I do things as well as other people; I do not have much to be proud of; I take a positive attitude toward myself; I am satisfied with myself; I wish I had more respect for myself; I certainly feel useless at times; At times I think I am no good at all. The self-esteem composite was calculated by averaging responses to the 10 items after reversed coding all items so higher scores indicated positive tendencies. The Cronbach's Alpha for this composite variable was .855, indicating high levels of internal consistency.

Caring, the main independent variable, was measured using four indicators collected at the second wave. Students reported perceptions of discrimination, whether or not they felt discriminated against by teachers (1 = yes, 0 = no). Students also shared their level of agreement utilizing a 4-point scale (1 = agree a lot, 2 = agree a little, 3 = disagree a little, and 4 = disagree a lot) with the following statements: "How much do you agree with each of the following statements about your current school and teachers?": "Teachers are interested in students"; "The teaching is good"; and "The grading is fair." These three indicators were ordinal and were recoded, so

[18] When the variable was recoded, some graduate school, master's degree, and professional or doctorate degree were combined, and 19 years was the recoded value to correspond with the average number of years of schooling.

higher scores indicate positive tendencies (1 = disagree a lot, 4 = agree a lot) before including them in the regression analyses. Responses to perceptions of teachers' interest, goodness, and grading fairness were combined by averaging the three scores to create a composite variable. The Cronbach's alpha, a measure of internal consistency, was .722, which is an acceptable level of reliability, especially when only three indicators are included.

The caring indicators were all significantly correlated. Teachers' interest, goodness, and grading fairness were negatively correlated with teachers' discrimination (Pearson Correlation Coefficient = -.186, -.146, and -.182, respectively). The correlations between teacher goodness and interest and teacher goodness and fairness equaled 0.600 and 0.411, respectively. The correlation between teachers' interest and grading fairness equaled 0.399.

Additional control variables were included in the statistical models to estimate unbiased relations between caring and indicators of school success, including demographics, family structure and school characteristics. Control variables came from the first wave, with the exception of several language variable indicators, which were only measured during the second wave.

Young refugee demographics included language, sex, country of birth, SES, age, and GPA.[19] To measure language, I used an ordinal variable. Utilizing a 4-point question (1 = not at all, 2 = not well, 3 = well, and 4 = very well), students' responded

[19] GPA was an outcome variable but was also included as a control variable when assessing the association of caring and self-esteem. GPA was not included as a control variable when examining the association between caring and educational attainment because GPA and educational attainment were significantly correlated (Pearson Correlation = 0.53). Given the high correlation between the variables, both could not be included in the regression.

to the question, “How well do you speak English?” Country of birth, a categorical variable, was created from the CILS question; “In what country were you born?” Because 109 countries were initially listed, responses were combined into seven countries or regions: United States, Cuba, Nicaragua, other Latin American/Caribbean, Vietnam/Laos/Cambodia, other Asian countries, and other. Country of birth was included in the model, as dummy variables, with the United States as the reference group.

Socioeconomic status was also included as a demographic variable. CILS measures SES as a composite of a father and/or mother’s education, home ownership, income, and occupational prestige. The composite was standardized to a mean of 0 and a standard deviation (SD) of 1, with higher scores indicating higher SES (Portes & Rumbaut, 2012). The SES mean for this sample was.03 (SD = .79).[20] Two additional variables were also included: sex (male = 0, female = 1) and age in years.

Family structure was measured utilizing family type and the number of siblings living at home. Parent type was measured using three dummies: two-parent family (including two biological or one biological and one step parent), single-parent family, and other adult guardian. Two-parent families were used as the reference group. Number of siblings was a continuous variable.

School characteristics were measured by the school's racial/ethnic composition, (percent of white students in the school), and school type (suburban or inner city school). The percent of white students in the school was a continuous

[20] The average SES of the refugee sample is similar to the average SES of the entire sample of students in CILS. In other words, the sample selected of students whose parents' came because of political reasons were not more economically disadvantaged than the average student in the CILS sample.

variable. School type was a dummy variable, where 1 = suburban school and 0 = inner city school.

4.5.3 Data Analysis Procedures

First, during data cleaning, missing values were considered, an important step in ensuring that findings are not misleading (Allison, 2001; Warner, 2008). Frequencies were run to identify patterns of non-response and examine the distribution of variables (Warner, 2008). Because there was not a systematic pattern of missing data, it was assumed that data were missing at random. For this research, those respondents with missing values were deleted, using listwise deletion. This procedure is adequate for managing missing data if missing patterns are random because deleting entire respondents from the data will not impact the validity in this case (Warner, 2008).

To begin the analysis of the impact of caring on GPA and self-esteem, the sample was limited to only those students who had completed second wave items. To conduct the analysis of the impact of caring on educational attainment, all respondents who did not participate in the third data collection were omitted. To examine whether changing the sample would have biased the results, GPA and self-esteem models were estimated with two samples (one based on second wave cases and the other one based on third wave cases). Given that all patterns of results were similar across the two samples, biased estimates were not expected in the educational model. As a result, the sample size for the models of self-esteem and GPA was 1,055, but the sample size of the model for highest education was 756.

Once data were cleaned and sample was defined, regular OLS regression was used to assess the impact of caring on GPA, educational attainment, and self-esteem. For each academic outcome, six regression models were estimated. First, outcome variables were regressed on each caring indicator (teachers' interest, grading fairness, goodness, and discrimination) independently. Therefore the first four models encompassed solely one caring variable. Then, for Model 5, the outcome variables were regressed on all caring variables. Finally, Model 6 included the composite caring variable to estimate an overall caring effect. Because the patterns of the responses in Models 5 and 6 were the same, Model 6 is not included in the text but in Appendix D. Therefore, for each outcome variable, the following five models were included: model 1 was teachers' interest; Model 2 was teachers' grading fairness; Model 3 was teachers' goodness; Model 4 was teachers' discrimination against the student; and Model 5 combined all independent variables. Control variables were included in each of these models. The following equations represent the statistical models estimated:

Model 1: $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{caring1}) + \beta_2 \Sigma(\text{controls}) + e$

Model 2: $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{caring2}) + \beta_2 \Sigma(\text{controls}) + e$

Model 3: $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{caring3}) + \beta_2 \Sigma(\text{controls}) + e$

Model 4: $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{caring4}) + \beta_2 \Sigma(\text{controls}) + e$

Model 5: $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{caring4}) + \beta_2 (\text{caring4}) + \beta_3 (\text{caring4}) + \beta_4 (\text{caring4}) + \beta_5 \Sigma(\text{controls}) + e$

Model 6: $Y = \beta_0 + \Sigma \beta_1 (\text{composite caring}) + \beta_2 \Sigma(\text{controls}) + e$

The unstandardized coefficients are included in the table and the standardized coefficients are included in text. Standardized coefficients are indicators of effect sizes. As Slavin (1980) argued, effect sizes of .25 and larger are educationally meaningful.

Chapter 5: Results

5.1 Qualitative Results

The qualitative portion of this study examined the educational experiences of Iraqi refugee youths in U.S. public schools. Specifically, this research explored how young Iraqi refugees defined and described caring, which educators they identified as caring, and the resources they garnered from relationships with their educators. After conducting 17 in-depth interviews with Iraqi refugees, transcribing, and coding their responses, the first three research questions of this study were answered. The answers to these questions are detailed in this section.

5.1.1 Perceptions of School Experiences in the United States

As discussed previously, all respondents had been in the United States for at least three years. During that time, they were enrolled, at least part of the time, in U.S. high schools. As discussed, respondents went to the following five schools: Akram and Mimi attended Jackson; Ashley, Linda, Mike, and Eric went to Emerson; Dena, Hussain, Iraq, Reg, Ronaldo, and Shann went to Lincoln; Ted went to Addams; and Warda, Sara, Zozo, and Chris went to Madison.

All participants were able to think of both positive and negative aspects of their schooling experiences. The interviews revealed that positive experiences in U.S. schools included inspiring ESOL classes, helpful interactions with teachers and students outside of ESOL, and unique academic programming (e.g., college preparatory classes). Participants also revealed negative experiences at some point in their schooling, which were characterized by encounters with violence (fights), prejudice, and discrimination in their schools. Nevertheless, most participants

reported an overall positive experience within their schools. In this section, the positive and negative experiences of Iraqi respondents in U.S. schools are discussed.

5.1.2 Positive Experiences

Despite attending schools with very different ESOL programs, there were overwhelmingly positive perceptions of the ESOL classes and teachers. While a detailed discussion of the school structure and programming is beyond the scope of this research, a brief overview of the variety of ESOL classes is useful to provide context to the findings.

Jackson High had the largest ESOL program. As Akram explained, he recalled six ESOL teachers and about 25 students per ESOL class. In contrast, Warda and Sara explained that Madison High had only one ESOL teacher who taught freshmen through senior years, and had fewer than 10 students in the class. At Lincoln, there were two ESOL teachers and larger classes. Linda, Ashley, and Eric shared that Emerson had one ESOL teacher in a class of about 15-20 people.[21] Certainly, attending a school with six different ESOL instructors, with classes of 25 students, might be an entirely different experience than attending a school with one ESOL teacher and 10 students per class. Yet, regardless of the structure of the ESOL classes across schools, most refugee youths had positive reports.

Respondents experienced positive relationships with teachers and students in their ESOL classes. The discussion of ESOL teachers is included at length in the next two sections of this research, but it is important to iterate that most respondents

[21] I do not have information about the ESOL program at Addams. By the time Ted reached high school at Addams, he was not in ESOL any longer, so information was not sought on the ESOL program.

described their ESOL teachers as helpful, supportive, and understanding. As was simply and effectively summarized by Mike, the ESOL teachers "helped him with everything," which was a common sentiment shared by respondents.

Respondents also described positive interactions with ESOL students. Eric and Mimi explained that most of their interactions were with other refugees and ESOL students. Those relationships were most comfortable for the students, in contrast to their interactions with American students. Warda also shared this sentiment; she did not connect often with American students but felt comfortable with other ESOL students: "I had a friend but she wasn't a U.S. citizen. She was like from China. And she didn't really speak English that well, so we were together always." The comfort with ESOL students described by participants may be related to their limited exposure to American students. For example, Linda described,

> At school they have so many clubs, so many activities. But it's not for ESOL students. I mean they were all American students. They know each other and they talk. ESOL students like to stay together. They don't want to get involved with the American students. And the other students they don't want to get involved with us. They are sorta like, OK, 'hi and bye.'

Sara mentioned that not having opportunities to interact with American students resulted in her not talking to Americans and spending most of her time with ESOL students:

> I can't say anything about them [American students] because I didn't talk to

> them at all the first three years, I mean a little bit, but this year was the most that I talked to them. But I like them; they are nice. But maybe it was the language. Or maybe because they are different. But I needed more time to know how they are.

Though respondents had limited opportunities for interacting with mainstream students, most were able to share at least a few positive experiences with non-ESOL school personnel and students. When asked if they felt comfortable with students who were not in ESOL, Ronaldo, Iraq, Hussain, Reg, and Dena said they did. Mimi also felt that some non-ESOL students were kind: “Like some when they see me, they say Hi, Salam. I feel happy for that when they say Salam Alaikum.” Additionally, Akram, explained, while describing his experience with students in general in his school,

> We’re friends. And I just saw a lot of people from a lot of different cultures. I friends with Spanish, American, Black, White, all that. They cool with me. Everyone know me and say ‘what’s up?’ ‘what’s up?’

Respondents who were comfortable interacting with American students shared differing reasons for their comfort. Chris explained his school was small, which made him feel more comfortable interacting with American students. However, the large size at Lincoln High did not seem to infringe on comfort, as all participants who attended Lincoln had positive experiences with students outside of the ESOL program. When I asked why the school environment and interactions were so positive there, Ronaldo explained, “[Lincoln] is different than any other high school. They really take care of their students.”

Beyond positive interpersonal relationships, participants also favorably described the content of their academic programming. All of the respondents reported that once they learned English and adjusted to the school environment, schools in the United States were much easier than schools in their previous countries of residence (e.g., Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Iraq). Ted, Sara, Linda, Akram, and Zozo mentioned that unlike the U.S. schools, in their previous schools (outside the United States), they were required to memorize large amounts of material, which they did not feel was helpful for their learning. Akram, for example, who dropped out of his school in Jordan, felt he could learn better in U.S. schools.

Respondents also shared details about some of the academic benefits they saw in their U.S. schools, beyond the ease of instruction. Several respondents reported experiences in specific academic courses and programs that were beneficial to their educational advancement. Akram reported that he tested into a program that exposed him to the medical field via internships and fieldtrips. He spent his last semester in high school participating in this program and felt it was useful, as it inspired him to pursue the medical field beyond the high school courses. Linda, Sara, and Warda participated in specific courses geared to help them get into college. Warda found her school programming so helpful, she described,

> Like there are other kids from Iraq, and they don't go to college. If they had the chance to go to my school, they would have a chance to go to college. Like my counselor for college, they come after you to do it, and they mention like our principal have plan that if you don't apply to 2 years college you don't go to prom. If you didn't take SAT you don't go to Prom.

Warda felt that the programming was challenging, but it encouraged her in a way that was different from what she heard from her Iraqi peers' educational experiences.

5.1.3 Negative Experiences

While participants shared positive school experiences, all respondents also shared negative experiences. For example, respondents mentioned feeling unsafe when they encountered bullying and associated fighting. Most male respondents, and three female respondents, mentioned participating in, avoiding, or witnessing a fight. Mike got into fights, although he did not feel he was the initiator. Eric had to transfer to a new school because he did not feel safe at Jackson High. When asked what was wrong with Jackson, he said, "It just got crazy up there…especially like there is people and somebody come and hit you, like they want to fight and stuff." This happened "more than 10 times" in the last year that he was at Jackson. Akram, who graduated from Jackson High, described it as "one of the badest schools." He even got suspended because of participating in fights. According to him, any student involved in a fight, regardless of the scenario, was suspended. This absolute was displeasing to him:

> And actually, I don't want to be suspended. But I don't want to be scared in front of the other guy. So, I don't want to show him I'm scared because I don't want him to take everything from me. So I decided I get suspended, I don't care… And they not bully anymore. You know? That's the good thing about it. Because if they fight me, I fight them.

It seemed that Akram felt that, in order to avoid more fights, he had to ultimately decide that being suspended was worth gaining respect from his peers. Although

males in the study mentioned fights more than females, three females also described exposure to fights. For example, Sara explained that when she first moved to the United States, she and her sister, Warda, were waiting at the bus, and five girls threatened to fight them. They decided to walk away and wait for another bus. After this incident, her parents drove them to school. According to Sara, they feared that their daughters would not be safe.

Another negative experience most respondents endured was prejudice or discrimination directed at their Iraqi nationality or Islamic faith. Perpetrators were often non-refugee students or school personnel. These experiences bothered respondents, causing them to have to figure out how best to handle situations where discrimination took place. Eric, like Mike, got involved in many fights at school. He reported that "racism" was the main reason for the conflict. "[Several students] treat us way different than they treat other people." Ashley shared similar experiences of racism; when people found out she was from Iraq, they treated her differently:

> Like some of the people when I am talking to them, when I say to them like I am from Iraq and stuff like that, they are just saying, 'Oh my God! You're from Iraq? Oh my God' and they just walking away from me. They really mean with me. I don't know what I do with them because they are like that. And the other people are just like go, they don't talk with me.

Reg, Shann, and Ronaldo were called "terrorist" or "Osama bin Laden." Reg said that after he would tell people where he was from, "They say, 'Go back to your country, Osama bin Laden.'"

Mimi also had experienced discrimination. As she mentioned, a staff person at the school asked her to remove her head covering: "A man told me 'You can't wear' it and to take it off. And I wasn't speak that good English, and I was crying. But I took it off." After that incident, she said she did not wear a head covering for a long time because she was afraid of being punished. Shann also described a very troublesome experience, which took place on the anniversary of September 11:

> My worst one was 9/11. That was my worst day. Every 9/11 people will look at me and ask if I have a bomb with me. I just smile because it's just so stupid. It is not me. We were here after it [September 11]. I mean and how many people die in it [September 11]? A lot right, but one bomb in Iraq kill more people, and nobody think about that. There it happened every day and here it happened once. I am not saying it's the right thing. When I tell people, they like, 'If you feel like that, why don't you just go back.' I say, 'I would go back if you all leave our country.' I mean it wasn't a choice. I always tell them if I had a choice I wouldn't leave.

Respondents gave various reasons explaining the prejudice and discrimination they endured: they described that perpetrators were young, immature, misinformed and/or ignorant. Shann and Dena attributed the prejudice and discrimination they felt to the young age and immaturity of the perpetrators. Shann described, "In middle school, people thought of you quite different because you are from another country, but in high school it was different. They older. They open up their mind."

Other respondents felt the prejudice was related to misinformation or ignorance. For example, Reg, Shann, and Ronaldo, explained that American

respondents received inaccurate and negative information about Iraq from the media. Shann explained:

> I think that they see the picture on the TV and that's what they think. It's not everybody. I had a lot of good friends, like Americans, but some of them were bad. Everywhere there is good and bad people. I think the way Americans picture the world is on TV and they the best and everyone else don't have nothing. They live in the desert. It makes me sad because in my country, we study about America and the whole world, but here, they only study themselves.

Linda, Chris, Shann, and Hussain felt the poor treatment from American students was the result of ignorance. Linda shared the following story:

> Well, I was sitting in biology class, and there was a girl sitting next to me and she was like, 'Where are you from?' And she was like, 'Do you know how to make a bomb?' I was like, 'Really?' I started laughing and said, 'If you don't know how, I don't know how. Really, you think I know how to make bombs?'

When Linda was asked if she felt the questions to be prejudicial, she said that she didn't think so. She thought this student simply did not know.

Participants had various reactions to dealing with prejudice and discrimination. These included a passive approach, humor, or educating the other person. Mimi, Ashley, Hussain, and Iraq shared experiences in which they chose a passive approach. For example, Mimi acquiesced by removing her head covering when she was asked by school personnel to do so. Ashley walked away. Iraq and Hussain said they would sometimes choose to "ignore" people's discriminatory

comments. Alternatively, Chris said he would just laugh in response to these interactions, saying, “They weren’t serious. They joke with me. When the US caught Osama bin Laden, they used to say, ‘We caught your leader.’ I used to say, ‘I don’t care. He doesn’t represent me.’”

Otherwise, some respondents confronted their peers or sought to educate them. For example, Reg’s response to being called a terrorist was the following:

> I told them, like, not everybody is the same in every way. So when I came here, there was a lot of black people in my class, so I told them that a lot of people told me that black people are dangerous and gangsters but when I came here, I found it differently. Not everybody is the same.

Ronaldo also confronted his classmates when they described his country as a terrorist one:

> That’s what I said when they started telling me. ‘Hold on a second. Like the army, when they came to Iraq, and killed my uncle and killed my best friend. And they killed this and that person. Were you included in that?’ and so he looked at me like this [surprised face]. He was like, ‘No, I don’t have anything to do with that.’ I was like, ‘me too.’

A few students seemed especially hurt by the prejudice and discrimination, including Mimi, Ashley, Iraq, and Mike. Their facial expressions, during the conversations, revealed their sadness and distaste for those negative encounters. Interestingly, these students did not list a reason (such as misinformation or immaturity) for the mistreatment and were typically the ones to respond passively. In contrast, those participants who attributed prejudice and discrimination to young age,

immaturity, misinformation, or ignorance felt compelled to educate the offenders or use humor as a response. They also seemed less bothered by the experience.

5.1.4 Defining Caring

As is shown in this section, most Iraqi refugees were able to recall at least one caring educator. Most often these caring educators were their ESOL teachers; but mentors were also seen as caring. Iraqi refugee respondents described caring educators as those who had a reciprocally caring relationship with them, as both learners and people. Respondents also recognized specific ways in which their teachers cared for them as immigrants/refugees. Participants noted that, depending on the role of the educator and setting, each caring relationship had unique advantages.

5.1.5 Identifying Educators Who Care

Since arriving in the United States, respondents encountered many educators. All respondents interacted with public school teachers, as respondents were either in high school or recent graduates. Additionally, most respondents had mentors because of their participation in the refugee program, or an affiliated program, engaging in afterschool activities, summer programs, or support groups. For example, Shann and Ronaldo did not have mentors through the refugee program, but they participated in a partnering soccer program that provided mentors and tutors for members of the soccer team.

When students were asked to describe caring relationships with their educators, all respondents focused mostly on their relationships with teachers. All participants, but one, mentioned having a caring teacher. In most cases, respondents referred to their ESOL teachers as caring, providing myriad examples where caring

took place. For instance, when describing what a caring teacher would do, Ronaldo explained,

> Like care for their students I guess. Give them their attention whenever they need them and not just let it go and maybe help... They are the teacher and they have to help. I would give [my ESOL teacher] as an example. Without [her] I would be something else. I will say that. She really help me a lot. She really did.

In this case, he was not even being asked to talk about specific teachers. He chose to use his ESOL teacher as an example when defining caring. Hussain also described, "Most teachers that I been with, they really good. They teach me a lot of stuff that I don't know. Especially my ESOL teachers. They really, really try hard." Warda and Sara mentioned, when they arrived to the United States, their ESOL teachers were immediately helpful. For example, Warda described,

> We came at the end of the year, like in April. It was a little bit different because I didn't get used to it. And everyone has a different culture that was different from me. So in the begin I was get used to it. But the teacher helped me. And one teacher, the ESOL teacher, she helped me a lot. So now I was really fine with them talking to them and all that.

Perhaps these ESOL teachers seemed to be so salient in student responses because they became involved with students immediately after they arrived to the States and often taught respondents for more than one year. It was not only important that these teachers were source of support at a critical moment (i.e, when they first arrive to the United States), but they have been sources of support over time.

After students first identified their ESOL teacher as caring, most respondents were also able to think of at least one non-ESOL teacher who was caring. Ted, who had already completed the ESOL program at the time of the interview, mentioned his math teacher was a caring teacher. Zozo and Chris listed their English teachers; Iraq, Hussain, and Mimi described their science teachers; Shann discussed his Spanish teacher; and Linda, Sara, and Warda mentioned teachers from their college preparation classes as caring educators. These teachers were often listed by students for their efforts that went above and beyond the immediate demands of the classroom. For example, Mimi’s teacher helped her attend the City Science Fair, and Hussain’s teacher helped him develop his own blog about his experience as a refugee.

Here, it’s important to point out that while students did have access to caring educators, not all had access to many caring teachers. During the interview, students were asked to identify their caring educators. In response to this question, as is described above, most listed their ESOL teacher first. When asked if any other educators cared about them, most chose one other teacher, which are listed in the previous paragraph. However, when asked if there were any others, seven were not able to think of a third caring teacher. Also, regarding this same interview question, most respondents did not spontaneously mention their mentors as caring educators without being probed. Once probed, all respondents who had mentors described those mentors as caring. Respondents who did have long term mentorships with representatives of the Refugee Center and affiliated organizations, were exceptions; Shann, Ronaldo, and Iraq, all spontaneously described their mentors as caring, and they readily discussed those mentorships. For example, when Iraq was asked to name

educators who cared about him, he listed two teachers. Then he described his coach from the soccer program, someone who served as a mentor for him:

> And I have a person, but she is not a teacher, but she is like a teacher …She care about everything. She helped everyone on the team. One time she came here [his house] and we were having fun and she bring me a volunteer, and the volunteer tutored me.

Other respondents did not as readily discuss their mentorships when first asked about caring relations with educators. When probed, however, most described their mentorships in a positive light. In fact, all of the respondents who had mentors, including Sara, Warda, Akram, Mimi, Linda, Ashley, Chris, Ted, Mike, and Dena described their mentors as caring. It was not clear why these mentorships did not arise in conversation without probing. A potential explanation is that respondents spent much more time with teachers than with mentors.

5.1.6 Characteristics and Actions of Caring Educators

In describing what caring meant and how their educators cared for them, respondents described many different attributes and actions. While respondents' discussions, at first, focused on emotional attributes, such as "niceness" and "friendliness" as evidence of caring, their depictions deepened throughout the interviews. Over time, they began sharing stories of their experiences with educators, revealing other important aspects of caring. In this section, the respondents' stories of caring relationships are broken into the following parts: respondents' initial descriptions of caring relationships; experiences of being cared for as learners,

persons, and immigrant/refugees; descriptions of caring as reciprocal; and discussions of the advantages and challenges of different types of caring relationships.

5.1.7 The First Word on Caring Relationships

At the beginning of the interviews, most respondents depicted caring educators simply as "nice" or "supportive." For example, when Mike was asked how he would know that a teacher cares, he said, "They would be nice." To the same question, Chris said, "She takes care of you. She is nice to you." Chris also explained, "She treats you right. She encourages you. Supports you." Such pleasantness, to some respondents, was a necessary quality in order for an educator to be described as caring. For example, Eric explained, "And like you know when you go to class, teachers should be smiling, happy to be there."

While "caring" and "nice" or "friendly" were initially used synonymously in most of the interviews, through continued conversation on these "nice" educators, four respondents began to qualify their characterizations, and they made distinctions: 1) some nice educators were not always caring and 2) some caring educators were not always nice. Linda found her teacher to be nice but not educationally caring: "She was supportive. She was nice to me but she wasn't supportive in like an academic way… Um, she didn't really care about students passing or failing. I wasn't the only one that didn't understand." Ted had an opposite experience with one of his teachers, and explained that she was not nice, that she was often yelling at students but that he could still tell that sometimes she cared about him because she helped him with his work. These two perspectives reflect the complexity of caring, and how important caring for the learner was to refugee respondents.

5.1.8 Caring for the Learner

Beyond the depiction of “nice,” respondents described characteristics that were in line with caring for the learner. As was elaborated in the literature review, caring for the learner includes helping with student work, choosing appropriate curriculum, adapting the curriculum and instruction to diverse needs, remaining fair, checking for understanding, keeping an orderly classroom, holding high expectations, taking responsibility of outcomes of students, etc. (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009; Cothran & Ennis, 2000; Ferreira & Bosworth, 2001; Katz, 1999; Lee & Ravizza, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999). For those respondents who were able to recall educators who were caring, all described these educators as ones who cared about their education. This was observable by the educators' academic helpfulness, high expectations, fairness, teacher quality, student behavior management, and interest in the learner.

Helpfulness. All respondents described their educators as caring for the learner by depicting educator helpfulness. While helpfulness can come in many forms, most described teachers helping with academics, explaining course material or helping with classwork, homework, or other academic pursuits. For example, Zozo explained that he was put in an English class before knowing the language. His teacher was helpful:

> She helped me with English. I didn’t know any English, so every time I come to her class and every time I go to her class she gives me cards to match pictures and words. I didn’t do nothing in English except the things she gave me. And then this helped me learn.

In this circumstance, the educator helped him by adapting her original plan to meet his specific needs. Warda also described her ESOL teacher as helpful with many academic things beyond simply the curriculum: “She helps us in our college application. Scholarships. My essay. And other classes.”

In fact, helpfulness was so important to the respondents that for participants who were able to think of teachers who did not care, a lack of helpfulness was the listed reason for care’s absence. For example, Mike, who said the only teacher who cared was his ESOL teacher, and Reg, who could not think of a single caring teacher, explained that their teachers did not care because they would not help them. It is important to note, they mentioned that the teachers did ask them to come after school for help. These respondents were unable or unwilling to do so and believed that a caring teacher would accommodate their schedules better and offer help during school hours.

Respondents also mentioned that their teachers were helpful because they kept them out of trouble so that they could focus on school. Most of the male participants explained that their teachers cared for them by advocating for them if a fight occurred or by preventing them from getting in fights in the first place. In fact, in response to the question, “How do your teachers care for you?” Mike, Ted, and Chris directly answered that their teachers helped them “stay out of trouble.” Other respondents described their teachers helping them remain on a constructive track. Shann, who transferred to Lincoln from Madison, explained that his ESOL teacher at Lincoln helped to steer him in a positive direction by encouraging him not to follow the crowd. His changed behavior helped to sharpen his performance in school:

> She always wants you to do better and not follow other people. That's what I did before at [Madison], I followed other people. But she knows we smart and is like don't want us to look at what other people do, but look at yourself. Do what you got to do.

These examples show that educators were caring for students as learners by helping them focus on their studies and avoid distractions that might infringe on their academic success. Teachers' beliefs that the students could stay focused as well as their continual reinforcement of student positive behavior and discouragement of negative behavior proved their commitment to enhancing students' academic achievement.

High Expectations. Respondents also found educators with high expectations of students to be caring. For example, Warda described her ESOL teacher: "She's very serious like she wants us to do better and teach us from her heart. She really wants us to speak English." Doing better came in the form of challenging students to meet their academic potential. Recognizing Ted's math abilities, his math teacher gave him more challenging work than she gave to other students. Ted explained, "Like, she gave me harder work than other students. And she sometimes let me help the other students more." Such academic encouragement was also mentioned by Ronaldo, who shared a story of his ESOL teacher pushing him to meet a challenging task:

> She was talking to me and it was my first semester in the US and I didn't get the sentence, and there were Iraqi students and they wanted to tell me what it was, and she said, 'No I want him to get it' and so she was explaining,

> explaining, over and over until I really get the word and I never forget it until now. It was 'successful.' She was explaining what the word is.

Ronaldo's story reveals that he appreciated that the teacher expected him to learn but also believed that he would be successful in learning.

Not only did caring teachers hold high expectations for their students' abilities within their own classrooms, but they also would expect high academic performance overall. For example, when asked to share what a caring teacher would do, Dena said, "They follow the student. Not just in their class. Like in the other classes. They participate with other teachers. They really care about different classes and different grade." She described that teachers put in an effort to keep up with students' general academic outcomes, which was also described by Ronaldo and Shann.

Fairness. Additionally, fairness, a quality the research suggests students attribute to caring teachers (Adler & Moulton, 1998; Cothran & Ennis, 2000; Garret, Barr, Rothman, 2009), was also mentioned or alluded to by respondents. Sara shared a story where her teacher showed respect and fairness for her students, despite student misbehavior:

> The good thing here is that if a student fight, not fight, but talk with in a rude way with the teacher, the teacher doesn't do things to their grades to affect how they would feel like they just they respect them. They don't love them like they love the good students but still respect them and help them like the other students. That's what I liked.

She thinks that teachers who are able to suspend their feelings towards student disrespect, offering respect equally among all pupils, are displaying fairness. This

may show motivational displacement (Noddings, 1992) on the teachers' part, where they focus on the needs of the cared-for first rather than their own feelings of the situation.

Mike, Linda, and Akram also described that caring teachers care for everyone, not just select students. For example, when I asked Mike if his ESOL teacher cared about him, he said, "Yea, not only me, though she cared about everybody." This suggested an important dimension of caring where teachers show equity by not choosing favorites among the students. If teachers were to only care for some students and were inconsistently caring, they might not be characterized as "caring" by respondents.

That said, believing that caring teachers cared for everyone did not mean that respondents perceived that all students should be treated equally. When I asked respondents what they might need from their caring teachers, specifically as Iraqi refugees, most offered specific ideas of what Iraqi students need in the classroom. Because of their unique and diverse needs, refugee students found special treatment to be fair. Respondents' discussion of their beliefs in the importance of targeted treatment was quite important for understanding the needs of refugees from this study, which is why the discussion of this is expanded in a separate section, "Caring for the Immigrant/Refugee."

Teacher Quality. Respondents also seemed to equate caring with teacher quality, intelligence, and aptitude. For instance, when Hussain was asked if his teachers cared for him, he said, "Most teachers that I been with, they really good. They teach me a lot of stuff that I don't know." His response to the question on caring

focused entirely on teachers' goodness in teaching material, seamlessly equating caring with good teaching practice. Similarly, when I asked Mike to describe teachers who care, he said, "They would be nice… well, her knowledge… she would be smart." Here, he seemed to consider knowledge as an important element for caring within a classroom.

Linda equated goodness with teachers' being able to engage teaching and learning practices that met student needs. She felt that some of her teachers were really not good:

> And also the teachers they were really, really bad at first, like a couple of them not all of them, but lots. It got better, but at first it was bad. The teachers I got at Jackson were good but the teachers that I got on Emerson, you can say it was like 50-50. Half of them were really, really good and the others were not really.

When asked what was wrong with the teachers who were bad, she said, "The teachers of other [not ESOL] classes, they don't even know what an international student is. It's not that they don't care, but they don't know what to do. They don't know how to help you." Here, she showed that, in order to care, a teacher must be "good," which means understanding of the students' needs and being savvy to develop appropriate curriculum for her/his students.

Time Devoted to Students' Academics. Respondents described that teachers who cared would also show interest by devoting time and paying attention to them in the classroom; uncaring teachers would not. Hussain explained that teachers caring for new students needed to devote extra time to them:

> If you a new student, you [the teacher] should spend more time with that kid, and he needs to know what is good for him and what is bad for him. I was lucky enough to know, but some people just came and saw what American kids do, and how they act, they cuss at teachers. And when some kids see that, they kind of like it, and they say, 'let me do that.' So you need to spend time with kids that are new and show them what is good what is bad.

Linda, Mimi, Chris, and Eric also described that their ESOL teachers put in extra time with them; this was sometimes characterized as "sitting with" students in order to support their learning. When describing how he knew his ESOL teacher cared for him, Chris said, "Cause she always helped me. I didn't know. She came when I was a sophomore, so I couldn't read that good. She sat next to me every day. Always helping me when I go to her first class." Eric mentioned the same thing about his ESOL teacher:

> She sometimes when you need help, she sat right next to you, and she would help you say words and stuff. She really helped. But some other teachers I had, they don't do that. They just yell like we their kids and stuff.

He said he appreciated the same thing about his history teacher who also would sit down next to him to help.

When they described uncaring educators, Mike, Akram, and Chris said that their teachers did not commit enough time to support their learning. For example, Mike explained that if he misplaced a paper and asked for a second copy, his teacher would not make time to help: "She always says come after school. I can't stay after

school because my father is doing stuff. He can't pick me up until after 5. I'm not staying from 3 all the way until 5."

Interest in Academics. Teacher interest was also considered an important dimension of caring. When respondents described incidents of teachers ignoring them or not taking interest in the subject, students felt this behavior showed that teachers did not care. Mimi, Ted, and Eric described teachers ignoring them when they needed help. For example, Ted said, "Like, they wouldn't pay attention to me. Like I'd raise my hand and they wouldn't answer." Eric's story was almost identical to Ted's as he shared,

> I mean like when you raise your hand and ask for help, she says wait five minutes. Then you wait five minutes and she doing something else. You raise your hand again and ask for help and she still don't come. She be like, sit down, sit down. This and that.

Ashley, Linda, and Zozo explained that teachers that did not care were those who did not show interest in their subject or in teaching the subject to students. Zozo described a teacher who did not care about the material: "I mean he care about people, but he don't care about his subject. All we do sit. He says, 'Open your books and look busy.'" Zozo explained that he did not, then, take the class seriously. Alternatively, Ashley, who took learning quite seriously, shared a story about her chemistry teacher not caring to either make the subject interesting or see that the students were interested in the subject. She explained that he only wrote on the board, not explaining the material. As she described him, she had a straight face and mimicked writing on the board slowly and silently. When she got a C on a paper,

even with hard work, she asked him what happened. Her narrative stated, "He said to me 'You didn't do anything.'" This bothered her because she felt she had dedicated a lot of time to the class but that he was not able to teach it effectively. His assumption that she did not do anything may have made her feel he did not understand or care about her.

5.1.9 Caring for the Person

"[Teachers] will care about you. Care about your grade. Care about your life. Care what's going on in your house. That's the caring teacher. Care about you. Care about everything." ~Iraq

Iraq's quote alludes to the second dimension of caring, which is caring for the person. Previous research has suggested that showing interest in students on a personal level, respecting, and listening to students are important elements of caring for the person (Cothran, & Ennis, 2000; Garret, Barr, Rothman, 2009; Wentzel, 1997). In such caring relationships, educators care for the student beyond the classroom and school. Respondents shared stories which suggested that educators cared for them on a personal level, became involved in their activities outside of the classroom, and listened to and respected them.

Personal Relationships. One way that educators cared for respondents as persons, was by establishing personal relationships with them. In fact, participants described their relationships with educators using family or other friendly relationship metaphors. For instance, Ronaldo and Dena described their ESOL teacher as a "second mom." Linda also compared her teacher to a mother, describing,

> I mean, I have a lot of caring teachers. My [program] teacher in high school, she was like, I always tell her she is like my mother. She cares about every and each student in the class. I mean, like, she ask, 'Did you get your applications? Did you apply for college? Did you do that yet?' And she helped everyone.

Similarly, Iraq and Zozo mentioned that some teachers care for them as parents would, while some do not, and Zozo preferred those that were most like parents.

Interestingly, while teachers were often described in parental terms, mentors and tutors were compared to siblings or friends. For example, Akram described that over time, his refugee program mentor became like a "sister." Linda, Akram, Ted, and Ronaldo also described their mentors as friends. Ted, in fact, distinguished his interactions with his mentor as ones that were more like interactions with a friend than with a teacher. Ronaldo also shared that his coach, who was also his mentor, was his "best friend."[22]

Because respondents used these metaphors to describe their relationships with educators, it was not surprising, then, that they also characterized these relationships as loving. "Love," like "nice," was a word that arose in interviews when describing caring student-educator relationships. Akram described that caring and love were interchangeable: "Caring is about love, you know? Love is about caring." Ashley, Mike, Mimi, Akram, and Sara explained that they felt like their teachers loved them. For example, Mimi explained her caring ESOL teacher: "All of the students feel that

[22] That students recognized mentors as friends could be another reason that some respondents did not spontaneously mention their mentors when asked about caring educators.

she is friendly and she love them.” The “love” was not one-sided, as Mike, Chris, Akram, Eric and Ashley described. They also loved those teachers who cared about them:

- I have a teacher at [Jackson] and I love her. And she’s teaching math. And she was like, she really loved me too. Like when she see me she was like, “Oh my gosh” and doing this [Puts her hands to her face]. Like oh my gosh. And she’s really, really good with me. ~Ashley
- If someone helps me, I will love them. ~Mike
- Actually, there was a paper that the teacher wrote me. It was about how I was doing in class. I mean I really showed him that I really loved him as a teacher after that, you know? As a teacher. He really cared about me. ~Eric

Beyond love, participants discussed the importance of humor, a quality that suggested the educator-respondent relationships were personal. Ashley, Mimi, Asam, Eric, Ronaldo, and Iraq shared stories of their teachers using humor in a way that made them feel care. Eric and Ronaldo shared that their teachers would “joke” with them, and Akram and Mimi said their educators would “laugh” with them. Ashley shared stories of her ESOL teacher doing dances and dressing in Arab clothes, which she found to be funny and fun. Such experiences seemed to build rapport with the respondents, potentially allowing students to feel safe, to be themselves in a new, unfamiliar location. Respondents also explained that caring teachers were involved in important personal events. Shann, Ronaldo, and Chris said that some of their teachers even came to their soccer games. Shann, for example, was very happy that his teacher took a picture of him at one of his games. Also, Ronaldo and Shann shared stories

about their teachers helping them with decisions about whether or not to play soccer and on which teams they should play. For these participants, soccer was of major importance, so much so that each talked about playing soccer in college. Becoming involved in soccer meant that teachers prioritized learning about students' most important interests.

Listening to and Respecting Students. Respondents also explained that educators listened to and respected them. In describing her ESOL teacher, Linda said, "She cares about every and each class and our schedule. Even about our personal life. I mean we know everything about her personal life and she knows everything about ours." Linda also explained that when she talked with her ESOL teacher, she was sure it would remain a "secret," evidencing that she could trust her teacher. Such trust may have allowed her to feel safe and resulted in sharing parts of her personal story with her teacher. Trustful relations existed between participants and caring teachers, as Ronaldo and Shann explained. These respondents felt they could talk with their caring teachers about their personal lives including discussions about family, girlfriends, and sports.

5.1.10 Caring for the Immigrant/Refugee

During Ronaldo's interview, he shared a story about two teachers, suggesting a type of care that went beyond just caring for the learner and person. His story revealed that some educators cared for immigrant and refugee students in ways that were specifically important to them as a unique student group. When asked if any teachers did not care about him, Ronaldo could not recall any teachers who were uncaring; however, he described in detail, two teachers, who cared more than others.

When asked to explain why the two teachers stood out from the other teachers, he explained,

> I guess because they mostly understand about international students. And they really understand what international means to students. And that is why I always talk to them. Like whenever I have a problem against international students I would never go to security or the office, I would just go to [ESOL teacher] and she would talk to them. She is going to deal with it. Last time I remember I went to her and she took me to the security. Maybe they [security] wouldn't understand what I would talk about but she would.

This example showed that more than the other teachers who cared for Ronaldo, as a person and a learner, these teachers understood the particularities associated with being an immigrant/refugee student. Ronaldo's story brought a third type of caring to the research: respondents revealed the importance of educators who care for their specific needs as immigrants and refugees, specifically as Iraqi refugees. The characteristics and actions of teachers who care for the immigrant/refugee included: accommodating and supporting language and culture; respecting, enjoying and supporting respondent culture; helping with academic work without being asked; and adequately dealing with respondent trauma.

Academic Accommodations and Institutional Assistance. One characteristic associated with caring for the immigrant/refugee is making academic accommodations for Iraqi students to address language and cultural barriers. For example, respondents appreciated teachers adjusting academic work to meet the needs of ELs. Ted and Zozo explained that they liked teachers to accommodate their

different English abilities by giving them extra time for assignments. Linda also perceived that teachers at her school, which had the largest ESOL program in the area, effectively accommodated ESOL students:

> At [Jackson] we took ESOL classes and other classes, but they had some consideration that you're an ESOL student. When you're an ESOL student, you can't really understand all the problems in other classes. Let's say I'm taking physics in English, but I am learning English, so you have to learn English and physics to pass the class, so they were very supportive. They are used to seeing a lot of international students, so that's why they're very supportive.

On the contrary, Akram perceived that while he initially felt that teachers at his school cared by adjusting curriculum to the needs of the ESOL students, over time, he changed his mind about it. Akram expressed that teachers who did not make appropriate accommodations did not adequately care for ESOL students.

> Right now they just give [homework] to you throw it on your desk and bring it tomorrow. And they don't know [ESOL students] very well. They can't read. They ESOL, you know? They can read but can't understand everything.

He felt that this decline in care was not positive for students. Like Akram, Chris felt that accommodations must be made for non-native English speakers. He also explained that cultural differences should also be accommodated. Chris said he thought it was necessary for teachers to help recently arrived Iraqi refugees more than American students, "because they don't know the language or the culture so it's hard for them." Eric echoed this idea, stating that, "Like, they [teachers] should tell us

more than they tell them [American students] because, you know, it's like when you take government classes, they know the law and we don't. So she should tell us more about it."

Participants mentioned that caring teachers should offer specific assistance with student needs like learning about the classroom, school policies, etc. When Shann was asked what an Iraqi student would specifically need to learn from a caring teacher, he answered:

> I think learning about the school system and how people think. Like if I go to school and not feel comfortable, I wouldn't learn a lot of stuff. So maybe a teacher could talk to that student tell him what he should do.

Hussain echoed this sentiment explaining, "Because when you first come here and you from a different culture and how people speak, when you come to a different country. You don't know where you are…you don't know what your position is." He elaborated that he didn't really know how to fit in at school or how the school day worked. He shared that teachers can help students with this process.

Assisting students with learning the school policies and practices required a range of efforts. Dena mentioned that she was completely confused with some classroom practices, like multiple choice tests:

> It was ESOL class, and the teacher just give me the test, I was like, 'What is going on here?' It was like ABCD. I never saw multiple choice before. In my country you have to read and write it. There is no multiple choice.

It may be easy to take for granted that students do not know these basic differences when they arrive, but caring teachers will figure this out and accommodate. Not only

were respondents confused about classroom practices, but they were also unaware of U.S. laws about education, such as being legally required to regularly attend school.

Understanding and Involvement in Iraqi Culture. Respondents also mentioned educators could care for them by understanding, enjoying, and supporting Iraqi culture. Linda and Sara felt their teachers respected their culture. Linda went as far as to say that her ESOL teacher "loves" Iraqi culture. Sara appreciated her ESOL teacher learning about Iraq and its culture: "She knows a lot about culture things because she studied abroad in lots of countries." She felt that her teacher took time to educate herself about, not only Iraqi culture, but also the cultures of other ESOL students. Other respondents, including Mimi, Ashley, and Warda were happy when educators learned Arabic words.

Other respondents spoke about caring educators who organized celebrations and support groups to reinforce the value of Iraqi culture. Ronaldo and Hussain explained that their ESOL teacher had planned celebrations and events where students could showcase their culture. Ronaldo described,

> And if we didn't have it, she would go crazy and say, 'Why my students don't have this and American students get that?' This is traditional we have to do it. And that makes me really trust her. And she really care.

Because the teacher participated in the students' cultural practices and advocated for the importance of such celebrations, she effectively built a trusting relationship with her students. Additionally, Reg shared an experience where an educator organized a group of Iraqis to come together, share stories about their culture, and learn about the U.S. culture:

> We had a group with all the Iraqis and talked about our cultures at [Jackson High]. Last year there was a teacher. Her parents were Arabic. We did the same thing, we gathered about our culture and how are we and what to do here.

Reg explained that he liked this group because "I was really trying to get my culture, and as much as I can to get people to know my culture." As Reg's example shows, beyond just making classroom accommodations for language and cultural differences, respondents also wanted to feel their cultures supported.

Initiating Assistance. Another way that educators cared for the immigrant/refugee was by providing help without being asked. This is important, particularly for Iraqis, since they expressed that it was not typical that they initiate discussion with their teachers in their previous countries, and they were hindered by shyness upon entering the United States. For example, Hussain felt that when educators came to him and offered unsolicited assistance, it showed caring. When asked if he thought people at the refugee program cared about him, he explained, "Yeah. Because I didn't call them, they call me. They tell me to come. They thought I could get a lot of information. They ask about me all the time." In the classroom, when teachers approached students and offered assistance without being asked, this behavior was seen as an indicator of caring. Mike explained further: "Even if they [students] don't ask you the question, you [teacher] have to come over." Approaching students may be especially important for students who are new to the United States because seven of the respondents described being shy or nervous, at least when they initially entered U.S. schools. Those feelings may make them less likely to approach

teachers with questions and concerns. Warda and Mimi shared that they had difficulty initially approaching one of their teachers. Warda said,

> I was like I don't like to be alone, but I don't like to go talk to them [teachers]. I like for them to come and talk to me. Uh, so maybe like, um, how do I describe it, like maybe I am shy and maybe want them to come talk to me or something like that.

It makes sense that some students would be shy or nervous in a new country, learning a different language and culture. However, there may be mismatches between what teachers and students see as appropriate in terms of who approaches whom when assistance is needed. For example, a teacher may perceive that the student would ask for help if needed, while the student wishes the teacher would initiated the assistance.

Addressing Trauma. Respondents also revealed that caring educators should better understand and respond to the experiences of trauma endured in their home country. Participants narrated a variety of traumatic circumstances: Eric had been kidnapped; Reg's home had been raided during the night; and Hussain, Iraq, and Linda had witnessed explosions.

Respondents shared different ways for teachers to handle their traumatic past experiences. For example, Reg explained, "Teachers need to know that refugees have more stress from war than immigrants. Immigrants just came here. Refugees are forced to come here." Hussain revealed that the stressful experiences of war could impact student learning. He believed that teachers should not give up on Iraqi students who are not doing well in school. When I asked him what advice he would give to teachers to help them care for Iraqi refugees, he said,

> I would tell them not to think their [Iraqi] background is bad, and if you think that person does badly, it's not because of their attitude, it's because of how they lived before. And how they had a hard time living because of the war. And just keep working with them, and see if they get any better. If they don't get better, then see what's happening. Just keep going.

In other words, Hussain wished that teachers would be patient with their Iraqi students who may have experienced trauma. However, different from Hussain, Linda explained that she did not feel that trauma impacted her schooling, and she did not want people to assume that it negatively impacted her. She shared,

> I've seen an explosion before. But, it's not that we have something going on with our minds. It's just that we got used to it overtime… So if you get used to something over the years, we don't have something psychologically bad with ourselves. We're just used to it.

Therefore, respondents had distinct ideas of how they wished their trauma were handled by educators.

Potentially, respondents' desire for educators to understand their traumatic experiences was evidence of their broader wish for educators to be overall empathetic. When asked to describe how he thought educators should care for Iraqi refugees, Ronaldo described wishing for his teachers to be empathetic:

> I would say, um, I don't know. Put yourself [educator] in a state of mind and put yourself as me right now. Let's pretend you're an Iraqi guy and you had nothing to do with terrorism and you have a teacher, what would you want from them? Just put yourself in my spot. Also, ask me questions about my life

> and what my life was like back there. That would make me open in class and trust you better.

Ronaldo felt that teachers should not stop at empathy, but also take action by educating non-Iraqi students about the Iraqi culture. He suggested,

> Maybe they [teachers] should like tell the students if there are any Iraqi students in the class they have to explain the experience for the rest of the students. They maybe show a video of Iraq what it is, what is traditional, what is the history, not just the war. We have a life there; it's not all wars. We have a life there. I think that would help maybe the Iraqi student but also for the other students.

Hussain had actually experienced his teacher taking action in the form of empowering students to change stereotypes of Iraqis. He said, regarding his science teacher, "He [The science teacher] saw on the Internet that people posted that Middle Eastern and African refugees are not good, and he doesn't agree." The teacher then suggested his academically advanced international students do something to change people's perceptions. Hussain reported:

> My teacher, now he is a science teacher, told me to put my life on the Internet because people go there. I was thinking about that, and I thought, why not? I started like a week ago, and I started my own website and blog. I feel pretty cool because my other friend does too. I need to finish it all the way. I'm telling how a refugee feels.

Hussain perceived this teacher to be caring and he expressed gratitude for his teacher's suggestion; he was glad to share his story in order to help change the public's negative impression of Iraqis.

Negative impressions of Iraqis can lead to prejudice and discrimination, which makes Iraqis feel unsafe, and even causes fights. As described in the previous section, Ashley, Mimi, Hussain, and Eric suggested that teachers should advocate and provide a safe environment for students as a way of caring for the student as a refugee/immigrant. Ashley shared that Iraqis needed a safer environment "Because the Iraqi student and U.S. students they don't have, I don't think they have, safety between them." As Ronaldo described, some teachers effectively provided safe spaces. He indicated that he would first talk to his ESOL teacher before talking to security personnel, as he felt safer with her and that she would be better able to help him. It is interesting that the people hired to ensure safety, the security officers, were not the first ones he would go to when seeking assistance with safety. However, not all respondents perceived that their teachers ensured a safe space. For example, Hussain felt that when he asked a "not-caring" teacher to stop students from harassing him, the teacher was not responsive as he did not redirect or punish them. Respondents, therefore, were able to articulate that teachers' caring was associated with teachers providing safe environments.

5.1.11 Caring as an Interactional Relation

Respondents also showed that their caring relationships with educators were interactional. As Noddings (2001) described, the interactional view of caring involves understanding that both care-provider and care-recipient are involved in the process

of care. In other words, a care-provider will show care, and the care-recipient will respond in a way that clarifies that caring has taken place. Participants explained how they might acknowledge that caring had taken place. This was important because, as was described in the literature review, the caring relation is complete when the cared-for recognizes that caring has taken place, and the educator will know that the students think they care because students will show signs such as a "responsive grin" or "spurt of growth" (Noddings, 2001, p.100). In this research, the signs of acknowledgment included reacting positively, being grateful, and volunteering to assist the educator.

Respondents reacted positively to the care, which was the case for Mike, Ted, Zozo, Iraq, and Eric. For example, Mike said simply, "If they help me, I will love them." Similarly, Iraq shared how he would offer a positive response to a caring teacher: "I will do some type of funny or silly thing with them because I trying to show them how I love that teacher, and I respect him." When asked if he behaved better in classes where the teacher cared about them, Zozo answered, "Yes because she [the teacher] cares about me so I want to give the same back." A similar sentiment was described by Eric: "Like if somebody do good for you, you have to do good for him". Akram described one way of positively responding to teachers who care. He was motivated to work hard when he felt teachers cared:

> And even I was suspended and doing dumb stuff, I was still doing her work. I love you teacher, you know? And this is why she love me. And guess what? I will do your [the teacher's assigned] homework. Get suspended? I will still do it. I will get it from other friends. And I will come back to you [teacher]

before school or I will stay after school. That is why she like me, that's why she care about me. She's really great.

Respondents also showed that caring was an interactional process by volunteering to help their teachers. Linda and Ashley described helping out in school programs: Linda, who had participated in a program to get into college, offered to conduct presentations on her experience, after having graduated. Ashley, who participated in the refugee program, decided to later tutor for the program. Warda volunteered in the beginner ESOL class. Even within the daily classroom, respondents found ways to help their teachers. For example, Hussain described, "I treat them fairly. Sometimes I make them surprised. Or I help them quiet down the classroom and stuff, and they kind of like that so I keep doing that."

While the literature mainly focused on the teacher caring and the student responding, the respondents also shared stories that suggested that their behaviors elicited a caring response from the teacher. These stories suggested that students took an active approach to nurturing caring relations with their educators. In other words, respondents shared that they thought their teachers cared for them as a response to positive student behaviors, rather than the other way around. Warda explained that she felt her teachers cared for her and her sister, and she articulated the reason that she felt this way:

> Uh, the way we act. How maybe we, the way we talk. We never cuss or say stuff like that or fight. They [teachers] just respect us because we are like that maybe because the way we are raised. Like how our family teach us and make us learn how what to do and not to do.

She seemed to suggest that her teachers offered respect in return for the respect she shared first. Other participants mentioned that once they proved their academic ability and effort, teachers cared. Ted, referring to his math teacher as caring, explained, “She really liked me because I participated. So she kept asking me to participate.” In this scenario, he revealed that he participated first; the teacher appreciated it; and she encouraged him to keep participating. Hussain shared a similar experience when he was asked why he thinks his teachers care for him: “My ESOL teachers saw that I really worked hard, so they helped me a lot, too.”

5.1.12 Impact of Educator Role, Formality, and Setting on Relationships

The interviews showed that, in some ways, respondents experienced the relationships differently depending on the role of the educator as mentor/tutor or teacher, the level of formality of the relationship, and the setting in which the relationship took place. First, the relationships differed in terms of their level of formality, casualness, and authority. Mentor and tutor relationships were considered more casual and flexible (i.e., exposed respondents to interesting activities and opportunities, not just academic ones) than the relationships with teachers. Mentor/tutor relationships were scheduled at times convenient for the respondent and family. Often, students shared that these relationships involved fun activities. For example, respondents mentioned that their mentors took them to places that they could enjoy together: the movies, Six Flags, or around the city. Some respondents also mentioned that mentors participated in activities that were important to the student's families, including attending the local Mosque. Being able to engage in activities that were enjoyable and important to the respondent seemed to matter in

shaping the mentorship. One compelling example was shared by Shann, who described the role of a teacher, versus the role of a mentor:

> It's the same role, [soccer program mentors] and teachers. Be respectful, respect people around you. The difference is with [soccer program mentors], you doing something you love. You doing something for yourself that you have dreamed about. Like I never had a team before. And especially, I am the Captain, so you doing something you really like. And like [study hall], if you don't go, you not playing in the game. They have some of the same in school, like you have to have good grades, but after you finish the season, you know I see all the football players in the hallways. The [soccer program] goes all year, not two months. But the difference is you doing something you love, and that motivates. If you want to play the game you should do this and you do it.

In other words, it seemed that tutors and mentors were able to be with participants doing things that these participants wanted to do. In these spaces, respondents were still able to learn English and work on schoolwork, but they expressed that these experiences were fun.

On the other hand, teacher-respondent relationships were formal, which was to be expected as teachers held professional positions, while mentorships were often volunteer positions. The formality of the teacher-student relationships had some advantages, as these relationships were often more enduring and consistent. The ongoing and daily nature of these relationships offered more opportunity for long-term connections. It is important to note, however, that this type of relationship was

mostly experienced with ESOL teachers, not regular education teachers, as in most cases respondents had the same ESOL teacher for more than one year.

Some students described that their mentorships did not last long, and they recognized this to be a limitation of their mentor experiences. For example, Iraq and Hussain described only having a mentor for two weeks. Dena's refugee program mentor came weekly for only three months before leaving the mentoring position. Dena described, “She was such a nice woman. But let me tell you the truth, you not going to learn anything for a volunteer for just three months.” The short duration of some of the mentorships may be part of the reason that respondents did not readily mention their mentors without being probed.

Related to the level of formality was the level of authority: another important difference between the relationships that participants established with educators. While in teacher-student relationships teachers held more authority, mentor-student relationships were perceived as more horizontal in nature, such that respondents saw themselves on more equal footing with mentors. As was mentioned earlier, when metaphors were used, teachers were described as parents, while mentors were considered siblings or friends. While, in both cases, these references depicted educators favorably, they reflected different levels of authority.

Finally, these relationships differed according to the setting. Mentorships allowed for respondents to host in their own home. Respondents seemed to enjoy when their educators met them at home. For example, Iraq felt educators could learn about him by coming to his house: “They will learn a lot of things at my house. Who I am, what I do in my house, how I learn, how I study, how I help people. Yea, they

learn a lot of things. They know about me." Presumably, respondents could feel that educators could get a deeper sense of who they were. Also, having educators visit their homes made respondents feel more comfortable. Dena described,

> It is really good for people [to have teachers visit their homes] because people get scared to practice with people to speak [English]. So they feel more comfortable. Even if they think they are wrong, they not going to be scared to say it. So they feel comfortable with her [the mentor].

These differences in role of educator, formality, and setting are important to consider as each aspect may provide different strengths and challenges for providing caring relationships to young refugees. The mentor and teacher-respondent relationships, informal and formal, vertical and horizontal, proved to be important in contrasting and complimentary ways. Nonetheless, each dynamic proved uniquely important for the adjustment of the respondents.

5.1.13 Advantages of Caring Relationships

As was discussed in Chapter 3, caring relationships can have many benefits for students. They can help students adjust to new environments, believe in themselves and excel academically (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997; Behnia, 2007; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hao & Pong, 2008; Lee and Burkam, 2003; Muller, Katz, & Dance, 1999; Osterman, 2000; Philip, 2008; Wentzel, 1997, 2002, 2003). Additionally, such relationships may help students access social capital, giving them the opportunity to gain institutional resources and learn about tools and skills for adapting to a new environment (Griffiths, Sawrikar, Muir, 2009; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). This exploration of whether or not young Iraqi refugees also

found advantages to caring relationships was driven by the third research question: “How do young Iraqi refugees describe the benefits of their caring relationships, if any, with teachers, mentors, and tutors, in terms of their academic success and how they feel about themselves?” Caring relationships described by respondents resulted in both academic success and positive feelings of self.

Of the 17 students interviewed, nine reported A/B averages, and another five reported B/C averages while in high school. All students who were in high school planned to graduate and most planned to attend college. Of the four students who recently graduated from high school, all were enrolled in college. In short, this group of respondents was academically successful. It cannot be assumed that these successes were solely attributed to caring educators; however, students revealed ways in which educators did contribute to their academic success.

First, respondents gained resources (e.g., information), and were taught to value academic success, where success meant having positive academic experiences, doing well in school and eventually perusing a college degree. Respondents reported learning about the school system and the importance of schooling from their caring educators. This was important because respondents came to the United States with limited knowledge about the U.S. school system. Eric felt that one of the advantages he gained from his teacher was the value of his high school diploma,

> People just don’t know what to do to get to their goals. Some people leave school to do something they want to do, but you can’t do that. You got to get your high school diploma to do something like that. The teachers told me you can’t leave school and get a better job.

Chris also explained that his soccer program coach and mentor pushed him to graduate: “We even hugged and cried when I graduated. He wanted me to finish school, become a better person, always help me with anything.” Respondents also learned the importance of going to college, which often encouraged them to apply to college or work harder on their high school education. For example, Ashley said,

> Well, a lot of people tell me about college, students and teachers, too. And they say the college is good, the college is like this and that. I am like oh my gosh! I just want to go to college and see what it is like.

Zozo also said his caring teacher told him the importance of effort and college: “She said if you work hard you will go to college.”

Beyond simply learning the importance of school and colleges, respondents also gained institutional resources from their caring educators, such as information about academic programs. For example, Hussain's teachers told him about the summer refugee program: “Yea, they encouraged me to go to [the refugee program] because you don’t want to sit around and play video games and things.” Mimi was also encouraged by a teacher to submit her science project to the state science fair, and as a result, she took part in the state science program. Other participants were exposed to information about college. Dena explained that, “Last year, I was in [the ESOL teacher’s] room, and she had someone come in to talk about college. They came to talk about college.” Her ESOL teacher found it important enough to expose the students to college. Iraq’s teacher went one step farther and took Iraq on a college visit: “[Teacher] cares about me for going to college. Because for one week, he take me from the school. We had a half day, and he take me to [Community College].”

Hussain also said his educators took him to colleges: “They teach me about college. They take me to colleges. Now, I know a lot about the college.” Hussain planned to go to college and shared that exposure to one college resulted in his desire to attend. Here, it is clear that the efforts made by the educator had an impact on the students’ academic goals and success.

Not only did educators provide students with information about programs and colleges, but they also helped them with the college application process. Four students had teachers write letters of recommendation for them. For example, Dena was able to get her ESOL teacher to write a recommendation to get into the National Honors Society, which she felt would later help her get college scholarships. Letters of recommendation, coupled with other college preparatory assistance, helped Sara and Warda get accepted into a prestigious four-year college. Warda, describing her ESOL teacher, said, “She always help us. Not just in English but in other things. She helps us in our college application. Scholarships. My essay. And other classes.” Warda further explained how deeply her ESOL teacher became involved in the outcome of her and her sister's matriculation. Sara described her college applications to one prestigious school:

> Maybe when we told her that we got accepted to [college 1], she told us she really wanted us to go there. And so she was really proud. Then one day something went wrong with the applications and we didn’t know with the money and financial aid, so, like we wouldn’t go to [college 1], and that day we had to send our application out. So then we had to choose another school since we couldn’t go there anymore. And we choose [college 2]. We sent our

applications saying we would go there. And my teacher said that if we go to [college 1] and ask them, maybe this would help. The next day, my mother and my sister go to [college 1] and they fine, I mean, the counselor was very nice and explained everything well. And everything went OK and we send our email, I mean application paper back to [college 1] and said sorry to [college 2]. And so my counselor and teacher were very happy about that.

That ESOL teachers' involvement was very important and suggests that she may be an institutional source of support and, therefore, what Stanton-Salazar and colleagues called, an institutional agent (Stanton-Salazar, 2011; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Because Warda's family recently arrived in the United States and did not know the procedures for getting into college, they did not know they could make appointments and ask questions to be reconsidered. The teacher's institutional knowledge, which she passed to the family, was therefore very important in Warda's and Sara's matriculation.

Respondents also seemed to reveal that educators encouraged them to think more highly of themselves. For example, Linda explained, "I mean, some of them really taught me to not give up. Just go through everything. The bad stuff will go away and the good stuff will stay." Also, Warda and Sara were encouraged not to be afraid of challenging themselves by taking Advanced Placement classes: "They taught me that you shouldn't be afraid of doing something, and if you want to do something, you should try it instead of waiting for someone to tell you to do it." Some of this encouragement came in the form of tough-love. Reg explained that his counselor pushed him to think about college, "She just tell me about what it will be

like in college. She asked me, 'Are you ready for it because it don't look like you're ready because you're failing.'" Beyond just helping students believe in academic abilities, Zozo revealed that caring educators made him feel "good" and "smart." Relationships with caring educators, therefore, proved to be affirming for respondents.

5.2 Quantitative Results

The quantitative portion of the research assessed the impact of caring on academic and self-esteem outcomes, on a larger scale. The research addressed the following question: "To what extent does having caring relationships with teachers contribute to the school success, judged by GPA and graduation from high school, for young people whose families are in the United States for political reasons? Also, how do these relationships impact student self-esteem?" To answer these questions, regression analyses were conducted utilizing the CILS data to look at how teachers' caring impacted outcomes of GPA, educational attainment, and self-esteem.

Caring was measured using four indicators: teachers' interest, goodness, grading fairness, and discrimination. As shown in Table 4, the majority of students felt their teachers had caring characteristics, so students had positive perceptions about their teachers. On average, participants reported that teachers were interested in them (M = 3.00, SD = 0.75). Most (78%) agreed or strongly agreed that their "teachers are interested in the students." The same was true for perceptions of grading fairness (M = 2.92, SD = 0.83) and goodness (M = 3.08, SD = .74). About 72% of students agreed or strongly agreed that "the grading is fair," and 83.1% agreed or strongly agreed that "The teaching is good." Additionally, the majority of students

(76.5%) reported that their teachers did not discriminate against them. In other words, the majority of students did feel cared for by teachers.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of Outcome and Caring Variables (N = 1,055)

Variable	Mean(SD)/ Percent	% Missing
Teachers' Discrimination		
Yes	248(23.5)	
No	807(76.5)	
Teachers' Interest (1-4)	3.00(.75)	1.0
Disagree a lot	3.3	
Disagree a little	18.8	
Agree a little	53.1	
Agree a lot	24.9	
Teachers' Grading Fairness (1-4)	2.92(.83)	0.6
Disagree a lot	5.6	
Disagree a little	22.0	
Agree a little	47.4	
Agree a lot	25.0	
Teaching Goodness (1-4)	3.08(.74)	0.5
Disagree a lot	3.4	
Disagree a little	13.5	
Agree a little	54.5	
Agree a lot	28.6	
Caring Composite (1-4)	3.00(.62)	1.5

5.2.1 Teacher Caring and GPA

First, the associations between GPA and caring were explored. Where scores ranged from 1 to 5, students in the sample had an average GPA of 2.52 points (SD = 0.95). As Table 5 shows, all four indicators of caring were statistically significant. Other things being equal, students who thought their teachers were good, graded fairly, and interested in them, had higher GPAs than those with less elevated perceptions (see Model 1, 2, and 3). The adjusted standardized coefficients for these indicators were SD = 0.16, 0.14, and 0.07, respectively, which are small influences.

Additionally, all other things being equal, students who perceived that their teachers discriminated against them had lower average GPAs (see Model 4). The adjusted standardized coefficient was 0.09 SD.

When all caring indicators were included together (Model 5), only teacher interest stayed significant.[23] For a one-unit increase in teachers' interest, there was a 0.14 point increase in GPA. The adjusted standardized coefficient was 0.11 SD. Teacher interest captured the effect of the other caring indicators, which was expected given the correlations among these indicators.[24] This Model explained 19.0% of the variance in GPA.

Given the correlations among teachers' interest, grading fairness, and goodness, I estimated a composite caring score to examine the combined influence of these three indicators, a model was estimated with this composite score and teacher discrimination.[25] After controlling for covariates, a one-unit increase in overall caring yielded a 0.21 increase in GPA, with an adjusted standardized coefficient of 0.14 SD, which was a moderate influence. The model with the composite variable explained 21.0% of the variance in GPA.

Several control variables were associated with students' GPA. There were significant associations with English ability, age, socio-economic status (SES), and sex. Students with a higher reported English language ability and SES obtained

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[23] Teachers' goodness and discrimination were marginally significant.
[24] Correlations between teacher goodness and interest and teacher goodness and fairness were significant and 0.600 and 0.411, respectively. The correlation between teachers' interest and grading fairness was 0.399. Teacher goodness, fairness and interest were all significantly and negatively correlated with teachers' discrimination (Pearson Correlation Coefficient = -0.146, -0.182, and -0.186 respectively.
[25] This model is included in Appendix D and not in the main text to facilitate the organization of the text.

higher GPAs. Females and younger students had higher GPAs than males and older students, respectively. Also, students born in Asian countries had higher GPAs than U.S.-born students.

Table 5

The Relationship of Caring and GPA (N = 1,055)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Teachers' Interest	0.20*** (0.04)				0.14** (0.05)
Teachers' Grading Fairness		0.09** (0.03)			-0.01 (0.04)
Teachers' Goodness			0.17*** (0.04)		0.09+ (0.05)
Teachers' Discrimination				-0.19** (0.07)	-0.12+ (0.07)
Control Variables					
Age	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.08* (0.03)
English Ability	0.19** (0.07)	0.20** (0.07)	0.20** (0.07)	0.21** (0.07)	0.21** (0.07)
Number of Siblings	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
SES	0.21*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.04)	0.21*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)
Female	0.28*** (.06)	0.29*** (0.06)	0.27*** (0.06)	0.29*** (0.06)	0.28*** (0.06)
Single Parent	-0.11 (.08)	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.14+ (0.07)	-0.14* (0.07)	-0.11 (0.07)
Other Parent	-0.30 (0.20)	-0.2* (0.20)	-0.30 (0.20)	-0.32 (0.20)	-0.25 (0.20)
Cuba	-0.13 (.09)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.09)
Nicaragua	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)
Other Latin/Caribbean	0.16 (0.13)	0.19 (0.13)	0.17 (0.31)	0.18 (0.13)	0.18 (0.13)
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	0.67*** (0.11)	0.75*** (0.11)	0.70*** (0.11)	0.77*** (0.11)	0.67*** (0.11)
Other Asia	0.42*** (0.14)	0.51*** (0.15)	0.47*** (0.14)	0.55*** (0.14)	0.47*** (0.14)
Other	-0.32 (0.31)	-0.34 (0.31)	-0.22 (0.31)	-0.28 (0.31)	-0.25 (0.31)

% White Students	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
School type	-0.00***	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Constant	2.005	2.284	2.044	2.448	1.882
R2	.184	.168	.181	.227	.190

Note. Standard Errors are in parentheses beneath the mean. When comparing means, "whites" are the reference group, as are U.S.-born, and two-parent. SES and GPA are correlated with moderate significance (Pearson Correlation =0.09*). This did not warrant taking SES out of the model. Alpha<0.05 = *, alpha<0.01 = **, and alpha<0.001 = ***.

5.2.2 Teacher Caring and Educational Attainment

Next, I examined the relationship between educational attainment and caring. By the age of 24, the vast majority of respondents had completed high school, or 12 years of schooling. About one-third (34.8%) completed a bachelor's degree or higher, or 16-19 years of schooling. Another 30.5% completed two or three years of college or vocational/technical education , or about 15 years of schooling. Notably, close to 2/3 of the sample had at least completed some college.

As Table 6 indicates, 3 of the 4 caring variables were significantly related to educational attainment. Other things being equal, students who thought their teachers were good and interested in them completed more years of schooling than those who did not. The adjusted standardized coefficients for these indicators were SD = 0.09 and .11, respectively, which are small influences. Additionally, individuals who indicated that teachers discriminated against them was significantly and negatively associated with educational attainment (SD=0.08). When all caring variables were included together in Model 5, only teacher interest remained moderately significant, such that, all other things being equal, a one unit increase in teacher interest yielded a .22 year increase in education attainment. The adjusted standardized coefficient was

.08, which is small. This model explained 15.3% of the variance in educational attainment. Regarding student demographics, younger students, students who reported better English ability, and students with higher SES obtained more years of education.

Important to note is that GPA was left out of the model because GPA and educational attainment are significantly correlated (Pearson Correlation = 0.53). To explore the relationship, models were run which included GPA, and the model which included all caring variables is displayed in Appendix E. When GPA was included, no caring variables were significant. This suggests that GPA entirely mediates the relationship between caring and educational attainment.

Table 6

The Relationship of Caring and Educational Attainment (N = 756)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Teachers' Interest	0.29** (0.10)				0.22+ (0.12)
Teachers' Grading Fairness		0.05 (0.09)			-0.11 (0.10)
Teachers' Goodness			0.23* (0.10)		0.13 (0.13)
Teachers' Discrimination				-0.39* (0.17)	-0.29 (0.18)
Control Variables					
Age	-0.16+ (0.09)	-0.19* (0.09)	-0.19* (0.09)	-0.18* (0.09)	-0.16+ (0.09)
English skills	0.42* (0.20)	0.49* (0.19)	0.46* (0.19)	0.50** (0.19)	0.42* (0.20)
Number of siblings	0.03 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)
Parent SES	0.76*** (0.12)	0.77*** (0.12)	0.75*** (0.12)	0.76*** (0.12)	0.74*** (0.12)
Female	0.29+ (0.15)	-0.30* (0.15)	0.26+ (0.15)	0.31* (0.15)	-0.28+ (0.15)
Single Parent	-0.06 (0.20)	-0.11 (0.20)	-0.11 (0.20)	-0.12 (0.20)	-0.07 (0.20)
Other Parent	-0.61 (0.51)	-0.64 (0.51)	-0.64 (0.51)	-0.65 (0.51)	-0.63 (0.51)
Cuba	-0.22 (0.23)	-0.20 (0.23)	-0.22 (0.23)	-0.20** (0.23)	0.23** (0.23)
Nicaragua	0.24 (0.23)	0.23 (0.23)	0.25 (0.23)	0.25 (0.23)	0.26 (0.23)
Other Latin/Caribbean	0.55 (0.36)	-0.64+ (0.36)	0.60+ (0.36)	0.64+ (0.35)	0.55 (0.36)
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	0.34 (0.29)	-0.45 (0.29)	0.36 (0.29)	0.45 (0.29)	0.35 (0.29)
Other Asian	-0.06 (0.41)	0.04 (0.42)	-0.06 (0.42)	0.04 (0.41)	-0.08 (0.42)
Other	-0.67 (0.97)	-0.55 (0.98)	-0.56 (0.97)	-0.60 (0.97)	-0.65 (0.97)
% White Students	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
School Type	-0.26 (0.19)	-0.26 (0.19)	-0.23 (0.19)	-0.25 (0.19)	-0.25 (0.19)
Constant	14.231	15.031	14.543	15.128	14.400
R2	.149	.142	.146	.147	.153

Note. Standard Errors are in parentheses beneath the mean. When comparing means, "whites" are the reference group, as are U.S.-born, and two-parent. Alpha<0.05 = *, alpha<0.01 = **, and alpha<0.001 = ***. Correlations were run between SES and Educational Attainment, and resulted in a significant and moderate (Pearson Correlation =0 .33). The correlation between GPA and Educational Attainment was significant and high (Pearson correlation =0.53). Therefore GPA was taken out of the model. Because their correlation was not large, they were both left in the model.

5.2.3 Teacher Caring and Self-Esteem Outcomes

Finally, the relationship between caring and self-esteem was explored. On average, the sample used for the study yielded high levels of self-esteem. Where responses ranged from 1 to 4, with 4 representing higher self-esteem, the mean score was 3.46 (SD = 0.50). This signifies that, on average, respondents reported high perceived levels of self-esteem. In fact, looking at percentages, three-fourths of the sample (75.3%) had an average score of 3 or higher.

Table 7 shows that all four indicators of caring were significantly associated with self-esteem when included separately in the models. Other things being equal, students who thought their teachers were good, graded fairly, or interested in them had higher levels of self-esteem than those with less positive perception of their teachers (see Models 1, 2, and 3). The adjusted standardized coefficients for these indicators were 0.22, 0.13, 0.17 SDs, respectively, which reflected between small to moderate influences. Also, all other things being equal, students who reported their teachers' discrimination against them had lower levels of self-esteem. The adjusted standardized coefficient was 0.06 SD, as Model 4 shows.

When all caring indicators were included in the model (Model 5), only teacher goodness remained significant. For a one-unit increase in teacher goodness, there was a 0.12 point increase in self-esteem. The adjusted standardized coefficient was 0.18 SD, which reflect a moderate effect sizes. This result suggested that teacher goodness may have captured the influences of teachers' grading fairness and interest, as the correlations between these variables are somewhat

strong. Model 5 explains 12.8% of the variance in self-esteem.

When including the composite variable (Model 6, shown in Appendix D), after controlling for covariates, a one unit increase in overall caring yielded a 0.21 point increase in self-esteem, with an adjusted standardized coefficient of 0.24 SD. Teacher discrimination was not significant in this model either. This model explained 17.0% of the variance in self-esteem.

Most of the control variables did not have statistically significant associations with students' self-esteem except for GPA, English skills, school type, and gender. Students with higher perceived English language skills had higher self-esteem. Overall, those with higher GPAs had higher self-esteems, females had lower self-esteem than males, and inner city school students had lower self-esteem than suburban school students. Cuban students were the only subgroup with higher self-esteem than U.S.-born students, and Vietnamese, Laos, and Cambodian students had lower self-esteem than U.S.-born students.

Table 7

The Relationship of Caring and Self-Esteem (N = 1,055)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Teachers' Interest	0.11*** (0.02)				0.03 (0.03)
Teachers' Grading Fairness		0.08*** (0.02)			0.03 (0.02)
Teachers' Goodness			0.15*** (0.02)		0.12*** (0.03)
Teachers' Discrimination				-0.07* (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
Control Variables					
GPA	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Age	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
English skills	0.13*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
Number of siblings	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Parent SES	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Female	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09* (0.03)	-0.10** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)+	-0.09** (0.03)
Single Parent	-0.00 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Other Parent	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.11)
Cuba	0.15** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
Nicaragua	0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)
Other Latin/Caribbean	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	-0.16** (0.06)	-0.15* (0.06)	-0.17** (0.06)	-0.13* (0.06)	-0.17** (0.06)
Other Asian	-0.18* (0.08)	-0.17* (0.08)	-0.20* (0.08)	-0.15+ (0.08)	-0.20* (0.08)
Other	-0.13 (0.46)	-0.15 (0.18)	-0.03 (0.18)	-0.12 (0.18)	-0.05 (0.18)
% White Students	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
School Type	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.08* (0.04)

Constant	2.449	2.456	2.456	2.638	2.304
R2	.147	.141	.169	.128	.170

Note. Standard Errors are in parentheses beneath the means, "whites" are the reference group, as are U.S.-born, and two-parent. Alpha<.05 = *, alpha<.01 = **, and alpha<.001 = ***.

5.3 Comparing Findings across Quantitative and Qualitative Components

The final research question asked, "To what extent do the characteristics of caring relationships found in the qualitative sample reflect broader patterns of caring relationships between young refugees and teachers, found in a larger data sample of those young people whose families are in the United States for political reasons?" Both qualitative and quantitative methods sought to explore caring and its impact on young people's academic and socioemotional outcomes. The in-depth nature of the qualitative study allowed for rich exploration of the nuances of caring relationships. Yet, in order to get a broader understanding of how caring impacted a larger sample, this research took one step further, exploring the impact of caring teacher qualities on 1,000 young people who had several demographics in common with the qualitative Iraqi sample. Both the qualitative and quantitative sample included mid to late high school age young people. Additionally, both samples included youth whose families came to the United States for political reasons. Iraqis were refugees as a result of the U.S. initiated war which followed the civil war already taking place in Iraq. In this section, the instances when overlap was found between the qualitative and quantitative components are discussed.

First, there were similarities across findings in the characteristics defined as caring. For the quantitative research, caring variables were chosen to align with previous research on caring. As was described in the literature review, teachers' fairness (Adler & Moulton, 1998; Cothran & Ennis, 2000; Garret, Barr, Rothman,

2009), goodness (Adler & Moulton, 1998; Teven & McCroskey, 1997), and interest (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009; Katz, 1999; Lee & Ravizza, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999) are associated with caring for the learner and person. Therefore, similar indicators of caring were utilized from the CILS data, including teachers' grading fairness, goodness, and interest in students. In the quantitative sample, over 70% of respondents agreed that teacher grading was fair, teachers were good, and teachers were interested in their students.

As was shown in the "Qualitative Results" section, similar caring constructs emerged from interviews with young Iraqi refugees, where respondents wanted their teachers to be fair, good and interested. Close to half (47.1%) of the respondents described wanting their teachers to be fair, which meant caring for students equally, providing fair punishment, giving fair assignments based on ability, and/or grading fairly. For example, when describing his caring teacher, Ronaldo said his teacher was fair, noting, "He wouldn't give me a grade I didn't deserve," and Sara specifically mentioned that her caring teacher graded fairly despite students not behaving well. Additionally, twelve of respondents (70.5%) also equated caring with teacher goodness or quality or uncaring with being ineffective teachers. As was described, Ashley shared the story of her science teacher slowly writing on the chalkboard and not effectively describing concepts. She noted that this teacher's poor teaching was connected with him not caring. All respondents described that caring teachers would be interested in students either academically or personally. Particularly, respondents highlighted that caring educators showed interest in students' athletics, relationships, and culture.

Second, both quantitative and qualitative components showed that caring educators impacted academic and socioemotional outcomes. The quantitative research showed that caring indicators were related to higher GPAs and educational attainment. The relationship between caring and educational attainment was mediated by GPA. While addressing this type of association was beyond the scope of the qualitative portion of my research, respondents with the lowest GPAs did not as frequently perceive their teachers as caring as higher achieving respondents. Additionally, of the four students who were enrolled in college, all reported having A averages in high school. These cannot be assumed to support a causal relationship between caring and GPA, but it is interesting to note this overlap with the quantitative findings.

The quantitative findings also suggested that caring was related to higher levels of self-esteem. While the outcome of self-esteem was not directly assessed by the qualitative research, respondents reported that teachers' caring (or lack of caring) impacted how they felt about themselves. As was described previously, Zozo appreciated his teachers' caring reasoning, "Because they show that they care about me so that makes me feel good… and smart." Alternatively, Linda shared a story about a college preparatory program tutor who she felt did not care about her:

> She was the tutor. And to the point that I thought about giving away everything and leave [the college preparation program]. So it was like the last month of [the program], and when you graduate you get a certificate, and I was like I don't want to do all that. I am going to leave [the program]. I don't want to stay here. She is too mean to me. I was crying. It was really horrible.

> She acted really bad to me and it was in front of the whole class. So when my teacher knew that, she talked to her and she was like, had her apologize. And she was like, if she is going to do anything like that again to you, she is not going to stay in [the program] and be the tutor. I'm just going to tell her to leave. She can leave, you can't.

Notably, teachers' caring impacted how each of these students perceived themselves and their academic abilities.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Results in Brief

This research analyzes the relationships between young Iraqi refugees and their educators, and the potential benefits of caring relationships, utilizing a multi-methods approach. First, interviews were used to gauge Iraqi refugees' experiences in U.S. schools, as well as their notions of caring, and the ways in which they benefited academically and socioemotionally from having caring educators. Next, a secondary analysis examined how caring affected the educational and self-esteem outcomes of young people whose families came to the United States for political reasons.

This research expanded the understanding of caring for refugees, a population that is understudied in the immigration literature generally and in research on caring and social capital specifically. Previous research has documented that caring relationships with educators yield positive academic and socioemotional outcomes for students in general (e.g., Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hao & Pong, 2008; Philip, 2008; Wentzel, 2003). Yet research has not extensively explored the impact of such relationships on refugees. Moreover, no research has assessed how caring affects young Iraqi refugees. Because the Iraqi population is growing in the United States (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011), this research is important for building programming to integrate these young refugees into U.S. schools.

Three main findings emerged from this research. First, overwhelmingly, refugees reported having caring educators. In the qualitative component of this study, all of the Iraqi respondents except one reported having at least one caring educator, usually their ESOL teacher. In the quantitative component of this study, more than

70% of respondents from the secondary analysis said their teachers were good, graded fairly, were interested in the students, and did not discriminate against them. Participants in this study reported that their caring educators cared for them both as learners and as persons. Educators cared for the Iraqi refugees as learners through their academic helpfulness, high expectations, fairness, teacher quality, student behavior management, and interest in the learner. Also, educators cared for respondents as persons by becoming involved in the student's activities outside the classroom and listening to and respecting the respondents. Finally, these respondents also explained that educators cared for them as immigrants/refugees by making curricula relevant, helping them without being asked, and showing interest in Iraqi culture.

Although respondents voiced similarities in how they wanted their educators to care for them as immigrants/refugees, there were also differences. For example, respondents who had experienced trauma had different perspectives of how a traumatic past should be handled by their caring educators. While some preferred not to be treated like they had psychological deficiencies, others wanted teachers to recognize that trauma could negatively impact student learning. These examples underscore the importance of educators being conscious of a diversity of experiences and attitudes within the Iraqi population.

Second, ESOL teachers proved to fulfill a significant caring role for Iraqi refugees in this study. Most students reported that their ESOL teachers were caring and cared for students as learners, persons, and immigrants/refugees. Also, respondents said that these teachers introduced them to academic programs and

scholarships while encouraging them to pursue paths that would lead to academic success. These teachers were sources of emotional and institutional support for refugees. Respondents felt comfortable sharing information about their personal lives with their ESOL teachers and simultaneously felt that these teachers shared important institutional knowledge about school and college. Respondents saw these qualities and efforts as above and beyond what teachers were required to do.

Third, caring relationships resulted in positive socioemotional and academic outcomes for refugees; this finding emerged from both qualitative and quantitative data. Iraqi respondents described that caring educators made them believe in themselves. For example, although respondents initially felt quite shy and unsure of their ability to do well in school or eventually pursue college, their caring teachers encouraged them to be confident about these possibilities. The secondary analysis also revealed a link between caring teachers and the students' higher levels of self-esteem. Positive feelings of self are important because they can help students feel more confident acclimating into their new environments.

This research also revealed that caring relationships resulted in positive academic experiences and outcomes for refugees. Iraqi respondents reported that their educators exposed them to important information and programs to help them get into college. Educators also provided concrete support like writing letters of recommendation for refugees. Because attaining a college degree is important for future wellbeing, and college admissions often require that students are knowledgeable about the admissions processes and have sufficient GPAs, the contributions of these educators was important.

The secondary analysis revealed higher GPAs among respondents who reported that their teachers were good, graded fairly, and were interested in them. Furthermore, higher GPAs were related to higher educational attainment for the sample of individuals whose families came to the United States for political reasons. While it was not possible to determine any causal link between GPA and caring in the qualitative research, those respondents who said they had caring relationships with educators reported higher grades than those who reported having few or no caring educators.

6.2 Theoretical Considerations

6.2.1 Rethinking Caring Theory

Caring theory has provided an important lens to understand the key findings of this study. This theory positions caring as an interactional relationship between the care-provider and the care-recipient in which the provider cares for the recipient, both as a learner and as a person (Noddings, 1999; Noddings, 2001; Wentzel, 2003). Within the interactional relationship, the care-provider cares and the recipient acknowledges it (Noddings, 1992). The care-recipient's acknowledgement is a fundamental aspect of caring theory (Noddings, 1992), and it is important because the perception that educators care is related to positive academic and socioemotional outcomes for students (e.g. Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hao & Pong, 2008; Kim & Schallert, 2011; Noddings, 1999; Osterman, 2000; Philip, 2008; Wentzel, 2003). While caring relationships are beneficial, they may be difficult to cultivate because definitions of caring may differ across cultures (Noddings, 1992, 2001), which may

lead to the miscommunication of care. Therefore, understanding caring from the perspectives of diverse groups is important.

Findings from this study support main caring theory postulates. The reciprocal dimension of caring relationships was evident during Iraqi discussions of their relationships with educators. These respondents characterized the interactional nature of their relationships, in which the care-recipient acknowledges care has taken place. Respondents described a desire to show their caring teachers that they recognized and appreciated the care; they expressed this by thanking their educators, performing and behaving well in their classes, or volunteering to help the educators when possible.

Another way this research aligned with previous caring literature was in the definition of caring. As caring theory posits, care for the learner and person are both important (Gay, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999; Wentzel, 1997). Iraqi refugees in the qualitative sample and young people who came to the United States for political reasons described educators with qualities aligned with both of these dimensions of care. Educators' caring was not characterized solely by what Noddings (2003) described as "aesthetic caring"; rather it was reminiscent of "authentic caring" because these respondents felt that the educators cared for them more than just as students. In other words, educators cared for respondents both as learners and as persons.

Findings of this research make important and novel contributions to caring theory. First, this research examined young Iraqi refugees. Limited research exists on Iraqis in the United States, and no research details their caring relationships with

educators. Studying this group is important because Iraqi refugees are a growing population in the United States (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011).

Besides expanding caring theory by focusing on a population that is rarely studied in the literature, a key theoretical contribution of this research was the identification of a third dimension of caring: caring for the refugee/immigrant. This third dimension was as important as the two commonly known dimensions of caring (as learners and persons) for Iraqi refugees. While caring theory has acknowledged that caring is cultured (Noddings, 1992, 2001), has explored the caring relationships between educators and minority and immigrant youth (e.g. Saavedra & Saavedra, 2007; Valenzuela, 1999), and has prescribed ways in which educators can be culturally responsive in caring (Gay, 2000, 2010), limited research exists on caring relationships between young refugees and their educators. Research that has done so focuses on the perspectives of the educators (e.g. Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009). Because caring theory prioritizes the perspectives of the cared-for, this research which looks at what caring means to Iraqi refugees makes an important contribution.

Caring for the immigrant/refugee involved three actions on the part of the educator. First caring educators adapted curricula to meet students' needs as new English- learners. Second, they showed familiarity with and interest in Iraqi culture, reflected in ways such as learning the Arabic language and Iraqi history, holding support groups for Iraqi students, and organizing events where Iraqi students could showcase their culture. Third, caring educators initiated help rather than waiting for the student to ask the educator for help; educators did this by paying attention to students and asking if they needed assistance. This was particularly important for the

Iraqi refugees in the sample because most reported being shy or nervous in U.S. schools, which might make them less likely to ask for assistance.

One last important contribution made by this research is the importance of recognizing the agency of refugees in interactional caring relationships. The interactional view of caring is limited in its focus on the care-provider initiating the relationship and the care-recipient responding. In this research, the Iraqi students recognized that if they expressed care by behaving well, participating, or showing interest, teachers would care for them in return. This shows that respondents felt empowered to shape the relationship. Therefore, instead of all caring relationships being initiated by the provider, some relationships were clearly recipient-initiated.

6.2.2 Conceptualizing Social Capital

Social capital theory also framed this research, and the elements of the theory most pertinent to this research are reviewed here. The concept of social capital holds that relationships and networks are important because they facilitate the access of resources (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). It is foreseeable that, particularly for refugees integrating into a new society, bridging trusting relationships with individuals who know U.S. institutions could be helpful. These "institutional agents" can expose young people to "institutional resources," such as information about academic programs or scholarships, which may lead to later academic success (Stanton-Salazar, 2011; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Yet, like economic capital, social capital may not be equally accessible to all people. Bourdieu (1977, 1983) suggested that there are persistent inequalities in access to resources acquired through relationships, such that those in economically privileged statuses in society can

reinforce their position by connecting with other high-status individuals. Those in lower economic echelons, conversely, may be isolated from members of other economic strata, making upward mobility difficult.

The research of this dissertation showed that the Iraqi refugees from this study were, in fact, resettled in neighborhoods with other low-income individuals, typical of refugees in the United States (UNHCR, 2009). Challenges related to living in low-income neighborhoods could certainly interfere with academic success (Greene & Anyon, 2010; Morgan, 2012; Palardy, 2013), as the educational services are generally overstretched in urban areas (UNHCR, 2009). In such schools, there is less money per student (Frost, 2007), lower-quality teachers (Morgan, 2012; Robinson, 2007), and students less likely to go to college (Palardy, 2013). In line with these studies of poor urban schools, respondents from both the qualitative and quantitative studies did attend poorer schools with high percentages of minorities, and the Iraqi respondents attended schools that were underperforming. All but one of the schools they attended scored lower on state assessments and had fewer AP courses offered than schools in Maryland did on average.

It seems plausible that the lack of academic resources and opportunities in several low-income areas could be problematic for the academic prospects of Iraqi refugees. The setbacks experienced by people isolated in low-income areas can be intensified by other factors including language, skills, knowledge, and relationships (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Caderberg, 2012). Bourdieu (1977, 1983) explained that relationships that expose individuals to important resources for success in society are not equally accessible to all. This has been demonstrated in

education research, such that higher-income White students have more access to individuals that can help them to be academically successful (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, Vasquez, & Mehan, 2000; Woolley & Bowen, 2007). Under Bourdieu's theory, Iraqi refugees in this study may be at a significant disadvantage and at risk of not being able to ascend the economic ladder. Yet, this research showed that Iraqi refugees from the qualitative sample and students who came to the United States for political reasons from the quantitative sample do report promising educational prospects when exposed to caring educators. The question becomes: Do these educators, combined with student agency, neutralize some of the impact of economic disadvantage?

In fact, respondents did access important resources from their educators. For example, respondents received information about academic programs and colleges, indicating their access to what Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) characterized as institutional resources. Because their educators helped by sharing these institutional resources, they could be considered institutional agents (Stanton-Salazar, 2001, 2011; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Institutional resources accessed through relationships with institutional agents may be particularly important for refugees, since they and their families may have less access to information about the U.S. educational system resulting from limited exposure to and knowledge of the system (Uy, 2011). Respondents Warda and Sara discussed their experience with college admittance, in which they did not know admissions policies until their educator helped them access the information. When they experienced a glitch in their acceptances, they planned to forgo their first choice

college and apply at another school. But the assistance from their teacher, who knew how the system worked, resulted in their enrollment at their first choice. The teacher's actions represented an institutional agent helping Warda and Sara access institutional resources.

The caring relationship between the teacher and Sara and Warda, as well as other resource-yielding relationships between refugee respondents and their educators, could be characterized as bridging social capital. As discussed, bridging occurs when individuals connect with others of different societal positions, resulting in access to "external assets" that could not be garnered through bonding social capital between homogenous groups (Putnam, 2000, p.22). In Warda and Sara's case, they bridged social capital with their teacher, who knew about U.S. college admissions procedures, a topic unfamiliar to their Iraqi community.

Building trust was important as respondents and educators bridge connections across different cultures, economic groups, and levels of authority. Respondents alluded to trusting their ESOL teachers with important information about themselves, and revealed that they seemed to especially trust educators who recognized their situation as immigrants and refugees. Trust in relationships grew stronger when teachers showed trustworthiness. This is reflective of Coleman's (1990) notion of the "trust relation," in which the "trustor" must decide to trust, while the "trustee" must make efforts to be trustworthy (p. 96). Ronaldo described an example where his ESOL teacher proved trustworthy, noting that she advocated to the school administration that ESOL students be able to have a celebration of their culture on

Thanksgiving. “And that makes me really trust her,” he explained. “And she really care.”

This research affirms the value of positive relationships because they may neutralize some of the problems faced by individuals who attend low-income schools. Thus, this research is in line with other findings suggesting that those with economic disadvantage may benefit most from resources acquired via social capital (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Phillip, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999). That said, it cannot be assumed that all refugees receive adequate support. Despite having trusting, bridging relationships with their ESOL teacher and other caring educators who respondents reported to be caring, seven students could not think of more than two caring teachers at their schools. The limited number of reported caring teachers is important to mention because, while respondents were able to access resources from a few couple of their educators, some of the participants did not feel supportive, resource-yielding relationships otherwise. Therefore, while it does seem that caring relationships may neutralize the impact of community economic disadvantage, refugees may still not be as well positioned as their White, higher-income peers are.

6.2.3 Combining Caring and Social Capital

Both caring and social capital theories are highly important in their contributions to the larger discussion of refugees adapting to U.S. society and finding success therein. Context and accessible resources (important in social capital theory) and relationships (important in caring theory) must be considered in the ecocultural model of adaptation. For example, social structures differ from one country to the

next (Hamer, 2011; Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Frater-Mathieson, 2004), presenting dissonant contexts between home and resettled country. Many challenges arise in the new location, including linguistic, cultural, and economic barriers, which make acclimation difficult. Adapting to the school environment can be particularly challenging, especially in contexts that offer limited access to academic opportunities and resources. These contextual issues could contribute to a difficult adaptation process for refugees.

However, this research showed that refugees built caring relationships within the challenging contexts that may assist in the adaptation process. This research suggests that caring relationships are important for developing social capital and consequently accessing resources. Youth are more likely to seek assistance from those they perceive as caring, and educators may be more inclined to give assistance to those for whom they care. As the qualitative portion showed, relationships with caring educators yielded advantages for respondents in terms of their development of social capital. This was especially true of caring relationships with ESOL teachers, who cared for refugees on all three dimensions of caring. From these educators, respondents received institutional resources that included academic program information and assistance in preparing for college. Also, respondents felt that educators helped them believe in themselves and in their academic abilities. All but one respondent expressed a desire to go to college, and four students were already enrolled in college. These respondents said their caring educators had shown them that college was a possibility. The secondary analysis revealed, too, that having caring educators resulted in higher self-esteem and earned higher GPAs.

These caring relationships cannot make up for the vast inequalities in schools. However, given that inequalities do exist, such relationships may mitigate some of the disadvantage by providing access to essential resources. Relationships with educators may help young people effectively engage in society and invest in outcomes that could benefit the students (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). Educators and refugees who invest in such relationships may contribute to a successful adaptation process within educational contexts.

6.3 Research Limitations and Future Research

6.3.1 Limitations

While the multi-methods approach of this research contributed to the body of knowledge about refugees and their relationships with educators, it also presented some challenges and limitations that are important to discuss. Challenges arose in both the quantitative and qualitative portions; this section will cover those.

First, there are limitations related to the quantitative portion of the research. Conducting secondary analysis meant having no control over how the data were collected or the questions asked. Therefore, while secondary analysis has advantages such as its low cost and high efficiency (Singleton & Straits, 2005), its connection to the qualitative component of this study was not seamless in that the questions asked did not directly mirror the qualitative portion. That said, and as shown previously, the CILS researchers did collect data on topics relevant to this research on caring. For example, they noted teachers' interest, goodness, grading fairness, and discrimination, which were all important variables representing caring that interview respondents for this original research also mentioned.

Another limitation of using the CILS data was that it did not include immigration status. In other words, CILS did not ask for respondents' refugee status, making it difficult to determine if the cases included in the quantitative sample were designated "refugees." Unfortunately, there are no available data sources on refugee youth. However, CILS was used because it included a sample of students who came for political reasons, one reason migrants seek refugee status. For example, many refugees from Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia came to the U.S. for political reasons. Of the CILS sample that was not born in the United States, the majority were from these countries. Their political motivation for emigration likens them to present-day Iraqi refugees in the United States because many Iraqis, since the advent of war in 2003, came to the United States for political reasons. For example, Iraqis who worked for the U.S. government or Multinational Force are allowed refugee status, and the admittance of Iraqis resettled in a second country of Egypt or Jordan, who also worked for the U.S. government, has increased with the passage of USRAP (Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, 2013).

Additionally, the CILS sample cannot be assumed to be representative of refugee populations in the United States. On top of not asking about refugee status directly, CILS was only collected in Florida and California; both reasons contribute to its lack of representation of refugees across the United States. However, the purpose of this research was not to make generalizations based on a representative sample. Instead it was to explore the importance of caring for populations who emigrated for political reasons.

Another important limitation of this study was that it was not clear the impact of my demographic characteristics (age, nationality, gender, and language) and the cultural mismatch between the respondents and myself on the types of conversations that ensued in interviews. Research has suggested that demographic differences between the researcher and participants can influence research findings (O'Leary, 2005), as they could impact the kinds of conversations that we had or did not have. For example, my gender could have influenced my interactions with Iraqi males and females whose gender norms differ from my own. Pointing to specific effects of demographics on the research was not an objective of the research, but acknowledging them is important. However, as described, I had volunteered as a mentor with an Iraqi family for three years, and that experience may have ameliorated some of the intercultural miscommunications that would have ensued had I never been exposed to the Iraqi community.

An additional limitation of the qualitative portion of this research was that the young Iraqi refugees' experiences were documented only at a single point in time and in one context. Relationships, language mastery, adaptation, self-perceptions, and experiences change over time and across spaces. Therefore, participant responses are time-specific and context-specific. Participants attended public city schools in a city where programs are available to refugees, such as a mentor program (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on this). Therefore, such outcomes may not be observable in locations where such institutional characteristics are not the same.

Additionally, while there were similarities, such as age and reason for migration, between the quantitative and qualitative samples, there was not a seamless

connection between the two samples. The CILS data were not inclusive of refugees from Iraq, and the refugees in CILS were not from Maryland. These limitations are noteworthy but not entirely relevant, given that the quantitative portion of the research was not intended to draw a seamless connection with the quantitative portion. Rather, the intention was to expand on the educational and socioemotional implications of caring relationships on individuals who have come to the United States for political reasons. To reiterate the qualitative portion cannot be seen as a deeper study of the quantitative, nor can the quantitative be seen as a broader study of the qualitative. Instead, each contributes in different ways to our understanding of caring for migrant populations who have been understudied in the previous research.

6.3.2 Future Research

Future research should consider these challenges and limitations and build from them. Expansion of data sources on refugees and broadened research on Iraqi refugee populations are needed. Large-scale data should be collected on refugee populations and be inclusive of immigration status. Future data collection should also target more recent refugee populations, such as Iraqis, Burmese, and Bhutanese.

These adaptions and expansions of data sources are necessary because much of the research on refugee populations is qualitative in nature; large-scale understanding of the population is important. Without such data, researchers cannot make claims about the populations at large and are instead left with questions. For example, this research did not enable large-scale conclusions about Iraqi refugees. Future refugee data sources should also include social capital indicators, such as resources acquired by relationships with educators. The qualitative portion of this

research uncovered nuances in the experiences of caring that the quantitative did not reveal. For example, the qualitative research showed that caring relationships enhanced respondents' access to information on academic programs and other institutional resources that would help them succeed academically and professionally. CILS does not report the types of resources that caring teachers make available to students; thus, it is not possible to know whether intermediary variables affected the relationship between caring and positive academic and socioemotional outcomes.

Second, research on young Iraqi refugees must focus on their diverse ecosystems to uncover the independent and interactive influences of these contexts. This research suggested that contexts matter and have important consequences for refugees' wellbeing. For example, Jackson was a large school with frequent fighting among students. Students who had attended Jackson described a desire for their caring educators to keep them safe and out of trouble. ESOL programs at Hampton, Madison, and Emerson provided only one or two instructors, giving students in those programs longer-term relationships with their educators, potentially contributing to respondents' perceptions of caring from the teachers. These examples and others show the importance of context; an in-depth analysis of the respondents' schools, classrooms, teachers, or family situations to further contextualize participant responses would be helpful. Future research should engage in detailed analysis of these factors to provide a fuller picture of how and where care takes place. This will further illustrate how different contexts provide a social construct for the meaning of caring. As Gay (2000) noted, students "need both the spaces and the relationships" (p. 159) to feel connected. Future research should more deeply examine these "spaces."

Beyond context, future research should assess the effects of young refugees' individual characteristics, such as gender, age, developmental stages, personality facets, and previous experiences. This current research suggests that such individual characteristics are important. For example, respondents' experiences of trauma had differing effects on what they wanted from teachers. While some wished for teachers to recognize and adapt for their traumatic experiences, others hoped teachers would not assume they experienced post-traumatic stress disorder. Individual characteristics—such as respondents' shyness, limited English ability, and previous attitudes about respect for teachers learned in their home countries—may have influenced whether respondents wanted educators to directly initiate a caring relationship, instead of the burden of initiation being on the student. Ultimately, many personal characteristics contribute to whether or not educators and young refugees develop caring relationships; future research could more deeply assess how various individual characteristics interact in this dynamic.

Future researchers who study the effect of caring on refugee populations might consider engaging in action research, in which the refugees help create the research plan. Research has suggested that refugee policy disempowers refugees, as they are often not included in decision-making (Haines & Rosenblum, 2010; McKinnon, 2008; Nawyn, 2010; Rose, 1983). Action research allows refugees to have a voice in the collection of data that could ultimately affect policy, and might yield relevant research and resulting policy.

6.4 Recommendation for Schools and Policy

As discussed in the "Theoretical Framework" chapter, Gay (2010) distinguished between *caring about* and *caring for* individuals. *Caring about* someone involves having concern for someone's wellbeing, but *caring for* someone requires taking an action (Gay, 2010). Action, therefore, is needed for an educator or school system to adequately care *for* individuals. This research has several implications for possible adjustments to educational programs and schools. This section includes recommendations for improved caring relationships between educators and refugees, such as: training educators on the importance of caring; building educator understanding of the importance of caring specifically for immigrants/refugees; and empowering young refugees.

First, school systems and mentor programs should train educators on the general importance of caring. This research and many other studies showed that teacher caring contributes to positive academic outcomes and wellbeing (Behnia, 2007; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hao & Pong, 2008; Philip, 2008; Wentzel, 2003). Educators should receive training on caring for the student as both learner and person. Educators can be trained to care for the *learner* by holding high expectations, making curricula relevant, and keeping classroom environments safe to ensure learning can occur. However, teachers should be informed that this type of caring alone is not enough. Caring relationships are more authentic when educators also care for the *person* by showing interest in the things that are important to the care-recipient, as well as listening to and respecting the recipient. Caring for the person makes the care authentic rather than aesthetic (Noddings, 2003).

Beyond training educators to care for students in general, schools and mentor programs with diverse student populations should also train educators to express culturally responsive care. As discussed in the "Theoretical Framework," Gay (2010) developed a "functional profile of culturally responsive teaching-in-action" (p. 53). Though the list of items is fairly lengthy, it is useful to include because each item could contribute to care that yields positive academic and socioemotional outcomes, and they are displayed in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Functional Profile of Culturally Responsive Teaching-in-Action

Functional Profile of Culturally Responsive Teaching-in-Action
Providing spaces and relationships where ethnically diverse students feel recognized, respected, valued, seen, and heard.
Fostering warmth, intimacy, unity, continuity, safety, and security.
Knowing culturally diverse students thoroughly, both personally and academically.
Cultivating a sense of kinship and reciprocal responsibility among culturally diverse students.
Responding to diverse students' needs for friendship, self-esteem, autonomy, self-knowledge, social competence, personal identity, intellectual growth, and academic achievement.
Being academic, social, and personal confidants; advocates; resources; and facilitators for culturally diverse students.
Acquiring knowledge of and accepting responsibility for culturally diverse students beyond the school day and its organizational parameters.
Helping students of color develop a critical consciousness of who they are, their values and beliefs, and what they are capable of becoming.
Enabling ethnically and culturally diverse students to be open and flexible in expressing their thoughts, feelings, and emotions, as well as helping them be receptive to new ideas and information.
Building confidence, courage, courtesy, compassion, and competence among students from different ethnicities and cultural communities.

Being academically demanding but personally supportive and encouraging.
Allowing for the active assertion of student interest and curiosity.
Creating habits of inquiry, a sense of criticalness, and a moral edict among students to care for themselves and others.
Treating everyone with equal human worth.
Acknowledging social, cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and individual differences among students without pejorative judgments.
Promotion of cultural, communal, and political integrity and solidarity among different ethnic and cultural groups.
Dealing directly and bluntly with the vicissitudes of racism and the unequal distribution of power and privilege among diverse groups.
Preparing students to understand and deal realistically with social realities (what is), along with possibilities for transformation (what can be).
Teaching ethnic, racial, and cultural knowledge, identity, and pride.
Providing intellectually challenging and personally relevant learning experiences for socially, ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse students.
SOURCE: Gay, 2010, pp. 53-54

After conducting this research with Iraqi students, each of the profile items in Figure 2 arose at least once across all interviews. For example, one item, "Being academically demanding but personally supportive and encouraging" is clearly reminiscent of caring for the student both as a person and as a learner, demonstrated throughout the interviews. Additionally, "Fostering warmth, intimacy, unity, continuity, safety, and security" was particularly present in relationships that students had with their ESOL teachers. Ronaldo's example of seeking out his ESOL teacher, instead of a security officer, when dealing with a safety issue was telling of how well his caring educator fostered safety and security.

Beyond caring that is culturally responsive, this dissertation research points to specific ways to care for immigrants/refugees, particularly Iraqis. Therefore, training programs that seek to train educators on caring for refugee youths should include discussions on caring for the learner, the person, and the immigrant/refugee. Training curricula could distinguish between Iraqi refugees and voluntary immigrants, whose needs likely differ. As the qualitative portion of this research showed, refugees may have experienced trauma, which in some cases affects their concentration. Additionally, while all immigrant groups are at risk of experiencing prejudice and discrimination, discrimination against Iraqis and other Arabic people has increased since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh & Qasmiyeh, 2010; Byng, 2008; Park, Malachi, Sternin, & Tevet, 2009; Wadud, 2011). Therefore, schools with Iraqi student populations should incorporate a discussion of this climate into their caring training. The Iraqi refugees in this study indicated that they wished to be cared for in specific ways, in that educators should: understand the challenges faced by international students, help refugees learn classroom and school policies, understand and appreciate the Iraqi culture, and approach students without being asked for help.

Training that focuses on the ways that refugees wish to be cared for is vital, given this research's affirmation of previous findings that empathy for students' diverse needs is essential in multicultural settings (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009; McAllister and Irvine, 2002). "One size fits all" notions of caring may miss the important needs of specific student populations. At the same time, Noddings (1992) cautioned that textbook knowledge about a student's culture is not enough to provide

adequate care. Instead, educators can supplement that knowledge with insights about students' cultures and individualities learned through strong, trusting, long-term relationships that give a better understanding of the strengths and knowledge these students bring to the classroom (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). It will also aid in understanding students' lives outside of school (Lipsitz, 1995; Noddings, 1984).

Because the qualitative portion of the study suggested that ESOL teachers were most often those distinguished as caring, they could be important players in training other teachers. Gay (2010) suggested that teachers conversing about caring for diverse students is an important part of ensuring culturally responsive caring. ESOL teachers might have an important role in spearheading such dialogs, as respondents described them as showing care across all three dimensions (person, learner, immigrant/refugee). Such dialogs should not be one-time events but should be ongoing discussions geared toward action which benefits student learning and socioemotional development. Such relationships between ESOL teachers and mainstream educators are most effective when they are collaborative (see Peercy, 2012).

Dialogs between teachers and mentors from the refugee program may also be important. As discussed in the "Results" chapter, these educators contributed diverse strengths (and challenges) in providing caring relationships for young refugees. Each can have an individual effect on the adjustment of refugees, making collaboration between educators potentially helpful in building a stronger and broader network of

support. By being in contact with each other, educators might know the broad range of resources available and be able to point students to a these resources.

Though trainings for educators are important, they may not be easy to implement. First, educators who work with young Iraqis may not know their students are refugees (Arnot, Pinson, & Candappa, 2009) because of privacy laws that do not allow for schools to ask the immigration status of their students. However, schools will know the language background and country of origin of students, and therefore such trainings could be held in schools with populations of Iraqis or other Arabic speakers. Iraqi or Arabic-speaking students, regardless of immigration status, may share some of the same concerns and have similar background experiences. Such trainings could still offer specific information on refugee issues.

Additionally, even if training is provided, educators may not be able to easily implement what they had learned in the training. Educators are limited by time constraints and the balance between caring and classroom management/control (Lee & Ravizza, 2008), which may restrict their ability to adequately care for students. Therefore, schools and mentor programs should determine ways to support teachers so they can more adequately care for their students. Particularly, educators who work with marginalized populations may have more of a role than simply a teacher role. For example, they may serve as counselors or community liaisons (see Colomer & Harklau, 2009). While this happens informally, educators are rarely compensated financially for the extra efforts they make, which provides no incentive for teachers to continue to aid students in such important ways. Education policy must adapt to better compensate teachers for their work that goes beyond the classroom.

Another recommendation is to make specific efforts to empower refugee youths to be successful in school systems in the United States. For example, some refugees experience prejudice and discrimination, as revealed during the interviews. Schools should go beyond informing educators about the occurrence of prejudice and discrimination by offering programs that help refugees develop skills on how to cope with the discrimination. In this research, interview respondents used a variety of coping strategies. Some respondents were passive, some used humor, and others sought to educate the discriminating individual. Those who seemed most hurt by the prejudice and discrimination often chose passive approaches for dealing with it. Other respondents had ideas of how to debunk stereotypes and educate others on tolerance. Perhaps support groups for young people could enable them to help each other develop skills in this area. Refugees themselves may be the best sources of support to each other in developing coping skills.

Another way to empower youths is to recognize that they have agency. Refugees should be included in conversations on how best to build programming designed to help them integrate. As this research revealed, simply asking young people how they want to receive care yielded many ideas. Involving refugees in programming decisions may result in more relevant and beneficial tools.

Finally, going a step farther, this research could also be useful for other populations of students, not just refugees. This research may be useful for any group that is "othered" in U.S. schools. When teachers teach marginalized populations of students, they should attempt to care for these students as learners and as person

while simultaneously considering the specific ways each student might need to be cared for. In some instances, it may be appropriate to directly inquire about what the student perceives to be care. Similar to learning styles inventory, potentially teachers could conduct a caring needs assessment inventory with their students. In this way, the teacher will be able to engage in motivational displacement, temporarily suspending her judgments, seeking to more deeply understand the needs and concerns of the care-recipient.

This research showed examples in which students felt that the teachers recognized their special circumstances and were able to help. Respondents in this research mentioned going to their ESOL teachers before going to the security guards with issues of safety, recognizing that their ESOL teachers understood their circumstance in a unique way. One respondent mentioned his teacher, who recognized that Iraqis were often stereotyped wrongly, encouraged the respondent to blog about who he really was as an Iraqi student, beyond the stereotype. Teachers of other marginalized populations might similarly acknowledge the difficulties of being "othered."

A starting point for seeking to better empathize and accommodate with the experience of being "othered" would be to first acknowledge teacher privilege. Because the majority of educators are white, and there is an increasingly diverse population of students in schools, it is important for teachers to reflect on privilege, recognizing that not all students have access to the same societal privileges teachers have accessed. While respondents did not specifically mention their desire for teachers to acknowledge their privilege, they did mention preferring teachers who

seemed to recognize their specific challenges as international students, in comparison to the experience of students and teachers who are not "othered." The policy implication of this might be that teacher education and training programs should incorporate dialogs around privilege.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

Presently, over 30 million individuals across the globe have been forced to leave their homes, becoming refugees, asylees, and internally displaced persons (UNHCR, 2013). Over 2 million of these individuals are Iraqis (O'Donnell & Newland, 2008). With the passage of the Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act of 2007, there has been a significant increase in Iraqis resettled, such that close to 60,000 have been resettled since its passage (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011). Maryland has seen a sizable increase in Iraqi refugees, as well, as they presently account for 23% of the refugee population (MORA, 2012). Therefore, understanding this population, the struggles they face, and the ways that institutions can support their transition into U.S. society has become increasingly important.

Refugee youth face challenges integrating into U.S. society, such as dealing with previously experienced trauma, language barriers, prejudice and discrimination, and learning school policies and procedures (Arnot & Pinson, 2005; Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Hickey, 2007; Taylor, 2008; Wallit, 2008). Challenges may be exacerbated by the fact that refugees are often resettled in urban areas where educational resources are overstretched (UNHCR, 2009). Positive relationships with educators may be especially important for individuals in most challenging situations trying to integrate into a new environment.

To best address the omissions of previous research, and to explore the extent to which caring relationships could facilitate the adaptation and wellbeing of refugees, the multi-methods research agenda was best. By utilizing this approach, the research uncovered the detailed and nuanced ways that Iraqis experience schools, define caring, and benefit from relationships, while simultaneously, documented on a broader scale the impact of such relationships for individuals in the United States for political reasons. As a result of this approach, the research importantly uncovered that young Iraqi refugees and individuals who are in the United States for political reasons do report having caring educators. Such relationships had both academic and socioemotional benefits for young people.

This study has important implications for theory and practice. This research enhanced caring theory by identifying a new dimension of caring beyond care for the learner and person: care for the refugee/immigrant, which was a particularly important dimension for the population that was studied. ESOL teachers were particularly apt at caring for refugees on the three dimensions of care. These educators served as institutional agents, exposing refugees to institutional resources and therefore building the youths' social capital. Their efforts, above and beyond what was required of them, particularly in the context of current political pressures of focusing on cognitive outcomes and standardized tests, showed their strong commitment to the students.

This research also led to important program recommendations, ranging from training educators about the general importance of caring, to educating on the importance of caring for refugees as a specific population. Training on caring should

be a key part of teaching curricula. As respondent Reg explained, “Teachers should care about their students. That’s part of their job.” While this is true, it is the responsibility of the education systems to enable educator care.

Finally, this research showed the resilience and agency of young Iraqi refugees. Despite challenges of experiencing trauma, migrating at such a young age, adapting to a new environment, being resettled in low-income urban areas, and experiencing prejudice and discrimination, these young people built and reinforced relationships with educators, which help to make them successful in school. Equally as important were their caring educators, who could help them build social capital. Refugee agency and the importance and involvement of caring educators to recognize this agency should be noted and capitalized on when creating programming meant to support their integration into U.S. society.

Appendix A

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Introduction:

Hello, my name is Amy, and I will be asking you some questions about your experiences with adults who are involved in your school and education. Thank you for participating. By participating in this project, you are helping us learn about the relationships that young people have with their teachers, mentors, tutors, and counselors. To thank you for your participation, I will give you a $15.00 gift card. Please note, that your comments will remain confidential, which means we will not include your name or the names of teachers or school you mention in the reporting of this project. I will also not ask questions that are too personal or sensitive. Also, your participation in this project is completely voluntary, which mean that at any time you can decide not to answer a question or to stop the conversation. The first thing we will do is talk about and sign a confidentiality statement. Again, I am so happy to have the chance to talk with you.

[Note to interviewer: Probes will be used as needed to encourage conversation. They are not meant to structure the interview but to help spur ideas if respondents are having difficulty responding to the more general questions/comments.]

Interview Questions:

1) Please tell me about yourself.
    - Probes: What do you like to do in your free time or something? What things are you good at? Anything else?
2) Specifically, let's talk about your experiences in U.S. schools. Tell me about school here in the U.S. What is it like academically?
    - Probes: What is your daily academic schedule? What are some differences between your school experience in the U.S. and your school experience in previous schools? What do you like most and least about school?
3) Tell me about the people who you have met in your school here.
    - Probes: Do you feel comfortable with other students at your school? Do you have friends at school? Describe how people at school make you feel, like teachers and administrators.
4) In general, if I ask you to talk about the word "caring", what does that mean to you? (adapted from Banks, 2009)
    - Probe: Anything else?
5) Now I'd like you to think about all of the people who play a role in your wellbeing and education. Think about teachers, tutors, community liaisons, mentors, etc. Can you tell me about the specific people who are most important and who you think care about you.
    - Probes: In what ways do these people care about you? Can you share a story about each of these people that shows they care?
6) Please describe how these people have affected your education.
    - Probes: Did they help you learn about academic programs? Did they help you pass a class? Did they help you learn about college? Did they

care about your school work? Did they influence on your academic goals or experiences?

7) Please describe how these people have influenced you personally.
    - Probes: In what ways have they affected how you feel about yourself. In what ways have they affected how comfortable and happy you feel the U.S.? Do you two talk about topics not related to school? Does the person show interest in you and your interests?
8) Can you tell me about the benefits you feel you have received from these relationships?
    - Probes: Any academic benefits? Any financial benefits? Any connection to other people?
9) Now can you tell be about some of the people involved in your education that you think didn't care about you. (adapted from Banks, 2009)
    - Probes: How would you describe these people? Share a story about these people. How do you know they don't care about you?
10) Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about your experiences in schools or about people who care about you?

Demographic Information:
Introduction: We are almost done with your discussion, but before we finish, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

1) How old are you?
2) What is your gender?
3) When did you arrive in the United States? [Probe: How many years have you been in the United States? In what month and year did you arrive?]
4) Where do you go to school? [Probe: Have you gone to this same school since you arrived in the United States?]
5) What grade are you in?
6) Besides you, who else lives in your house?
7) Are you taking ESL classes? [Probe: Did you take ESL classes before? How long have you taken ELS classes?]
8) Describe your neighborhood. [Probe: Do you feel safe to play outside? Do you know your neighbors? Do you have friends in your neighborhood?]

Appendix B

Consent and Assent Forms

Parent and Over 18 Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Title of research project: Caring relationships between refugees and the adults who play a role in their education

I. **INTRODUCTION/PURPOSE:**

I (if 18 or older) or my child (if parent of a child under 18 who will participate in this study) is being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to explore the types of relationships that adolescents from Iraq have with people in the United States who play a role in their education. I (or my child) is being asked to volunteer because I (or my child) is a person who immigrated to the United States when I (or my child) from Iraq and is between the ages of 13-18. My (or my child's) involvement in this study will have no impact on my (or my child's) grades. My (or my child's) participation will begin when I (or my child) agrees to participate and will continue until the end of the interview or until I (or my child) chooses to end the interview. About twenty other students like me (or my child) will be invited to participate.

II. **PROCEDURES:**

As a participant in this study, I (or my child) will be asked to respond to questions about my (or my child's) experiences with people who are involved in my (or my child's) education, like teachers, mentors, tutors, etc. and how these experiences have influenced me (or my child). My (or my child's) participation in this study will consist of a single interview, which will last for about 1.5 to 2 hours. The interview will be recorded and notes taken. The interviewers and other members of the research team will be the only ones who have access to the recordings and interview write-ups. No one else will hear my (or my child's) interviews unless I give permission.

III. **RISKS AND BENEFITS:**

My (or my child's) participation in this study does not involve any big risks and I (or my child) have/has been informed that my (or my child's) participation in this research will not benefit me (or my child) personally, but the results may help educators who assist Iraqi students better understand how to have caring relationships with young people.

IV. **CONFIDENTIALITY:**

The interviewer will attempt to keep my (or my child's) personal information confidential. To help protect my (or my child's) confidentiality, the interviewer will use a pseudonym, which is a fake name, and all original recordings containing my (or my child's) voice, or any data that might disclose my (or my child's) identity will be secured on a non-networked, encrypted directory. Only the interviewer and members of the research team will have access to these records. If information learned from this study is published, my (or my child) will not be identified by name. By signing this form, however, I allow the researcher to make the recordings of me (or my child) available to the University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC) Institutional Review Board (IRB) and regulatory agencies as required to do so by law. Consenting/agreeing to have myself (or my child) participate in this research also shows my agreement that all information collected from me (or my child) may be used by current and future researchers in such a way that my (or my child's) personal identity will be protected. Such use will include sharing anonymous information with other researchers for checking the accuracy of study findings and for future approved research that has the potential for improving human knowledge.

☐ Yes, I give permission to record my (or my child's) voice.

☐ No, I do not give permission to record my (or my child's) voice.

V. COMPENSATION/COSTS:

My (or my child's) participation in this study will involve no cost to me (or my child), and I (or my child) will be paid $15 for participating and offering time.

VI. CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS:

The principal investigator, Amy Pucino has offered to and has answered any and all questions regarding my (or my child's) participation in this research study. If I have any further questions, I can contact Amy Pucino at apucino@ccbcmd.edu, or (240) 446-1957.

If I have any questions about my rights as a participant in this research study, contact the Office for Research Protections and Compliance at (410) 455-2737 or compliance@umbc.edu.

VII. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

I have been informed that my (or my child's) participation in this research study is voluntary and that I (or my child) am/is free to withdraw or stop participation at any time. I have been informed that data collected for this study will be retained by the researcher and analyzed even if I (or my child) chooses to withdraw from the research. If I (or my child) does

choose to withdraw, the researcher and I will discuss my withdrawal and the investigator may use information up to the time that I (or my child) decides to withdraw.

I will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

VIII. SIGNATURE FOR CONSENT

The above-named investigator has answered my questions and I agree (or I agree for my child) to be a research participant in this study.

Parent Name (If child under 18): ______________ Date: _____________

Parent’s Signature (If child under 18): ______________ Date: _____________

Participant’s Name: ______________ Date: _____________

Participant’s Signature (if 18): ______________ Date: _____________

Investigator's Signature______________ Date: _____________

Arabic Parent and Over 18 Consent Form

نموذج اقرار بالموافقة المسبقة للمشاركة في الأنشطة البحثية
عنوان مشروع البحث:علاقات الاهتمام و الرعاية بين اللاجئين القاصرين والكبارالذين يلعبون دوراً في تعليمهم

أولاً- المقدمة/الغرض :
أنا (عمري 18 او اكبر) أو طفلي (إذا كان والدا لطفل دون سن 18 والذي سيشارك في هذه الدراسة) طلب مني المشاركة في دراسة بحثية. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو استكشاف أنواع العلاقات التي لدى المراهقين العراقيين مع الاشخاص في الولايات المتحدة الذين يلعبون دوراً في تعليمهم. أنا (أو طفلي) قد طلب مني التطوع لأنني (أو طفلي) عندما هاجرت إلى الولايات المتحدة من العراق , كان عمري (أو طفلي) ما بين ال 13- 18عاما. أن انخراطي و مشاركتي (أو طفلي) في هذه الدراسة لن يكون له تأثيرعلى درجاتي (أو طفلي) .
أن مشاركتي (او مشاركة طفلي) ستبدأ عندما اوافق (أو طفلي) على المشاركة، وسوف تستمر حتى نهاية المقابلة أو حتى أنا (أو طفلي)اختارانهاء المقابلة. قرابة العشرين طالب مثلي (أو طفلي) سيدعون للمشاركة.

ثانيا- الإجراءات :
كمشارك في هذه الدراسة، سوف يطلب مني (أو طفلي)الاجابة على أسئلة خاصة بتجاربي (أو تجارب طفلي) مع اولئك الاشخاص الذين يشاركون في تعليمي (أوتعليم طفلي) مثل المعلمين والمدرسين الخصوصيين، والموجهين، ..وإلخ، وكيف أثرت هذه التجارب علي (أوعلى طفلي). ان مشاركتي (أومشاركة طفلي) في هذه الدراسة سوف تتكون من إجراء مقابلة واحدة والتي سوف تستمر لحوالي 1.5 إلى 2 ساعة. سيتم تسجيل المقابلة وأخذ و تدوين ملاحظات.
ان اعضاء فريق البحث والقائمين على المقابلة هم فقط الاشخاص الوحيدون المخول لهم الاضطلاع على التسجيلات و المدونات و الملاحظات الخاصة بالمقابلة. لن يستطيع احد اخر الوصول إلى التسجيلات الخاصة بمقابلتي (أو طفلي) إلا إذا أعطيت الإذن وسمحت بذلك.

ثالثا- المخاطر والمكاسب :
ان مشاركتي (أو طفلي) في هذه الدراسة لا تنطوي على أية مخاطر كبيرة، وكما تم ابلاغي (أو طفلي) بان مشاركتي (أو طفلي) في هذا البحث سوف لن تفيدني انا شخصيا (أو طفلي) ، ولكن النتائج قد تساعد المربيين و القائمين على تعليم الطلاب العراقيين على فهم افضل عن كيفية الحصول على أفضل رعاية وعلاقات ودية مع هؤلاء الشباب.

رابعا- السرية :
الباحث سيحاول المحافظة على سرية معلوماتي الشخصية (أو طفلي) . من اجل المساعدة في حماية سرية معلوماتي (أو طفلي) ، فان الشخص المسؤول عن المقابلة سيستخدم اسم مستعار، والذي هو اسم وهمي. كما ان جميع التسجيلات الأصلية التي تحتوي على صوتي (أوصوت طفلي) ، أو أية بيانات قد تكشف عن هويتي (أوهوية طفلي) سيتم حفظها وتأمينها بواسطة شبكة اتصال غير قابلة للاختراق. ان اعضاء فريق البحث و الاشخاص المسؤلين عن المقابلة هم فقط الذين لديهم الحق الوصول الى هذه التسجيلات. في حالة نشراية معلومة من هذه الدراسة فانه لن يتم الاشارة الى اسمي (أو اسم طفلي).
عند توقيعي على هذا النموذج فانني اسمح للباحث باستخدام تسجيلاتي (أو تسجيلات طفلي) و كذلك اسمح باستخدامها من طرف جامعة ماريلاند في مقاطعة بلتمور (UMBC) ومجلس المراجعات المؤسسية (IRB) والوكالات التنظيمية بموجب ما يقتضيه القانون.

ان موافقتي الخطية على مشاركتي شخصيا (أو طفلي) في هذة الدراسة فانه يعني أيضا موافقتي (أو طفلي) على ان كل المعلومات التي تم جمعها عني (أو عن طفلي) يمكن استخدامها في ابحاث مستقبلية بطريقة تحمي سرية شخصيتي و اسمي (أو طفلي). ان هذا الاستخدام للمعلومات في المستقبل قد يتم من خلال مشاركة اشخاص مجهولين و باحثين في فحص هذة المعلومات و مدى دقتها من اجل ابحاث مستقبلية معتمدة لتطوير المعرفة الانسانية.

- **نعم , اسمح بتسجيل صوتي (او صوت طفلي) .**
- **لا , اسمح بتسجيل صوتي (او صوت طفلي) .**

خامسا- التعويض المالي / التكاليف:

ان مشاركتي (أو طفلي) في هذه الدراسة لن يترتب عليه اية كلفة علي و انه سوف يدفع لي مبلغ 10 دولار امريكي نظير الوقت الذي قدمته للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة.

سادسا- جهات الاتصال و الاسئلة :

ان الباحث الرئيسي في هذه الدراسة " ايمي بوسينو " قد عرضت و اجابت على جميع الاسئلة المتعلقة بمشاركتي (أو طفلي) في هذه الدراسة البحثية. اذا كان هناك اية اسئلة اضافية يمكنني التواصل مع " ايمي بوسينو" على البريد الاكترونيapucino@ccbcmd.edu أو رقم الهاتف 1957-446-(240). أذا كان لدي أية اسئلة تتعلق بحقوقي (أو حقوق طفلي) كمشارك في هذه الدراسة البحثية يمكنني مخاطبة مكتب حماية البحوث والمطابقة على هاتف -(410) 2737-455 اوالبريد الالكتروني compliance@umbc.edu

سابعا- مشاركة تطوعية :

لقد تم اعلامي (أو طفلي) بان مشاركتنا في هذه الدراسة هي مشاركة تطوعية و بناء عليه يحق لي (أو لطفلي) الانسحاب أو التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت , ولكن جميع البيانات السابقة التي تم جمعها أثناء مشاركتي من قبل الباحث سيتم الاحتفاظ بها تحليلها حتى بعد انسحابنا من المشاركة في هذا البحث. أذا اخترت انا (أو طفلي) الانسحاب سوف نناقش انا والباحث امر انسحابي واحتمالية استخدام المحقق المعلومات حتى ذلك الوقت الذي قررت أنا فيه الانسحاب (أو طفلي).

سوف يتم اعطائي نسخة من هذا الاقرار للاحتفاظ به.

ثامنا- التوقيع على القرار:

الباحث المذكور اعلاه قام بالاجابة على جميع اسئلتي وأنا أوافق على ان يشارك طفلي في هذه الدراسة.

اسم الوالد(اذا كان عمر الطفل اقل من 18 سنة)-------------------------------------

التاريخ :--------------

توقيع الوالد(اذا كان عمر الطفل اقل من 18 سنة)------------------------------------

التاريخ :--------------

اسم الطفل : ------------------------------- التاريخ : ---------------------------

توقيع الطفل: ------------------------------- التاريخ : ---------------------------

توقيع الباحث : ---------------------------- التاريخ :----------------------------

Minor Assent Form

Whom to Contact about this study:
Principal Investigator: Amy Pucino
Department: Language, Literacy & Culture
Telephone number: 240-446-1957
Participant's name: ____

MINOR'S ASSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH ACTIVITIES
(ages 7-17 years)

We are asking you to be in a research study. This form will tell you all about the study and help you decide to be or not to be in the study. Read this paper carefully and ask any questions you have. You might have questions about what you will do, how long it will take, if anyone will find out how you did. When we have answered all of your questions, you can decide to be or not to be in the study. This is called "informed consent."

What the study is about:
I am being asked to participate in a research study about the relationships that young people from have with teachers, mentors, tutors and other people who help them with school. Also, I am being asked about my experiences in U.S. schools. This research is being done as part of a doctoral program at University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC). I am being asked to be involved because I am from Iraq and have gone to school in the U.S. My experiences may help people understand how to best work with Iraqi students.

What I'm being asked to do:
If I decide to participate in this study, I will be asked to talk with the researcher for about an hour to two hours about my experiences in schools and with adults who are involved in my education.

Risks and Benefits:
The benefits to me of doing this study is that I might learn some new ways to think about my own education and I might enjoy helping other people learn about my experiences. This may help me when I go to an interview for a job or for college where I am expected to talk about what I know and how much I have learned. I will also be helping the researcher understand the best ways to work with Iraqi youth like me. There is, however, a risk that I might feel embarrassed being part of a study.

Prizes:
If I choose to participate in this research, I will receive $15.00 to thank me for being a part of an important project.

Privacy:
If you participate in this study, we will not tell anyone else how you did. We will keep all information about your participation in a locked cabinet without your name

on it so that only we can see how you did. We will use this information to write a big paper on how Iraqi youth feel about their experiences in schools and their relationships with adults. Your name will not be used in that paper. After we write the paper we will throw away all of this information.

Your Rights

- You have the right to carefully read this paper and ask questions before deciding to be or not to be in the study.
- You have the right to choose not to be in the study and nobody will be mad at you.
- You have the right to stop participating anytime you want, and you will still get the prize.

Interview Language: Would you like the interview to be in English or Arabic?
____

If You Have Questions

If you have any questions about the study, call Amy Pucino at 240-446-1957.
If you have any questions about your rights, or are upset in any way about the study, you can call someone in the Office for Research Protections and Compliance at (410) 455-2737.
Signing this paper means that you have read this or had it read to you and that you want to be in
the study. If you don't want to be in the study, don't sign the paper. Remember, being in the
study is up to you, and no one will be mad if you don't sign this paper or even if you change
your mind later.

If you want to be in our study, sign your name here:

Name:_______________________________ Date:____________________

Investigator's Statement and Signature:

1) Research for which there is no direct benefit to the child. When there is no direct benefit likely from participation in the research and the child is old enough to and capable of giving assent, obtaining assent is mandatory. The following documentation is to be included in the assent form:

The undersigned investigator hereby certifies that he/she has discussed the research project with the child participant and has explained the information contained in this document, including the reason for the research, the risks, and the benefits or potential benefits. The undersigned investigator further certifies that the participant was encouraged to ask questions and that all questions were answered.

Signature ______________________ Date __________

Arabic Minor Assent Form

<u>من هم جهة الاتصال المعنية بهذه الدراسة :</u>

- **الباحث الرئيسي : إيمي بوسينو**
- **القسم : اللغة والادب والثقافة**
- **رقم الهاتف : 240-446-1957**
- **عنوان المشروع : ما وراء كلمة "الرعاية": مشروع متعدد الاتجاهات عن علاقات المودة و الاهتمام بين المراهقين من اللاجئين العراقيين والبالغين الذين يقومون بالدور التعليمي في حياتهم**

اسم المشارك: --

<u>نموذج اقرار بموافقة القاصر للمشاركة فى الأنشطة البحثية</u>

<u>(االعمر بين 7 الى 18 عاماً)</u>

نحن نطلب منك أن تكون ضمن دراسة البحث. هذا النموذج سوف يقول لك كل شيء عن الدراسة ويساعدك أن تقرر أن تكون أو لا تكون في الدراسة. أقرأ هذه الورقة بتمعن، واطرح أي أسئلة لديك حول ما سوف تفعله، كم سيستغرق ذلك، وإذا كان أي شخص او احد سوف يعرف ماذا فعلت. عندما نرد على جميع أسئلتك الخاصة بك، يمكنك أن تقرر أن تكون أو لا تكون في الدراسة. وهذا ما يسمى "الموافقة المسبقة و المعلومة".

<u>ماذا تدورالدراسة حوله :</u>

لقد طلب مني المشاركة في دراسة بحثية حول علاقة الشباب مع المعلمين والموجهين، والمدرسين الخصوصيين وأشخاص آخرين الذين يساعدونهم في المدرسة. وايضا ، تم سؤالي عن تجربتي في المدارس الأمريكية. هذا البحث يجرى القيام و العمل به كجزء من برنامج الدكتوراه في جامعة ماريلاند التابعة لمقاطعة بالتيمور (UMBC). لقد تم سؤالي ان اشارك فيه لأنني من العراق، ولقد ذهبت إلى المدرسة في الولايات المتحدة الامريكية. أن تجاربي قد تساعد الناس و الاشخاص على فهم كيفية التعامل مع الطلبة العراقيين بشكل افضل.

<u>ما يطلب مني القيام به :</u>

إذا قررت المشاركة في هذه الدراسة، سوف يطلب مني التحدث مع الباحث لحوالي ساعة إلى ساعتين عن تجربتي في المدارس ومع الكبار المساهمين الذين لهم دور في تعليمي.

<u>المخاطر والفوائد:</u>

الفوائد العائدة على من القيام بهذه الدراسة هو أنها قد تمكنني من التعرف على بعض الطرق الجديدة للتفكير في التعليم الخاص بي، وقد استمتع بمساعدة أشخاص آخرين للتعلم من تجاربي. وهذا قد يساعدني عندما اذهب للمقابلة للحصول على وظيفة أو للكلية حيث يتوقع مني للحديث عن ما أعرفه ومقدار ما تعلمته. كما أنني سوف أساعد الباحث لفهم أفضل الطرق للعمل مع الشباب العراقي من امثالي. ومع ذلك، فان هناك خطر أن قد أشعر بالحرج كوني جزءا من هذه الدراسة.

<u>الجوائز:</u>

إذا اخترت المشاركة في هذا البحث، سوف أتلقى مبلغ 15.00 دولار(خمسة عش دولارا) تعبير عن الشكر لي كوني كنت جزءا من مشروع مهم.

<u>الخصوصية:</u>

إذا قمت بالمشاركة في هذه الدراسة، سوف لن نقول لأي شخص آخر كيف فعلت. سوف نبقى جميع المعلومات حول مشاركتك في خزانة مقفلة بدون ذكراسمك عليها بحيث يمكننا نحن فقط أن نرى كيف فعلت. سوف نستخدم هذه المعلومات لكتابة ورقة عمل مسهبة عن مشاعرالشباب العراقيين حول تجربتهم في المدارس وعلاقاتهم مع الكبار. لن يكون هناك اي ذكرلاسمك في تلك الورقة. بعد أن نكتب ورقة العمل هذه سيتم التخلص منً كل هذه المعلومات.

حقوقك :

- لديك الحق في قراءة هذه الورقة بعناية وطرح الأسئلة قبل أن تقرر أن تكون أو لا تكون جزء من هذه الدراسة.
- لديك الحق في أن تختار ان لا تكون في هذه الدراسة، ولا أحد سينزعج او يرغمك على ذلك.
- لديك الحق في التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت تريده، وسوف يبقى حقك قائما في الحصول على الجائزة.

لغة المقابلة: هل ترغب ان تكون المقابلة باللغة الإنجليزية أو العربية؟

إذا كان لديك أسئلة :

إذا كان لديك أي أسئلة حول الدراسة، يمكنك الاتصال مع : إيمي بوسينو على تلفون 240-446-1957

إذا كان لديك أي أسئلة حول حقوقك، أو اذا كنت منزعج في اي شكل من الأشكال عن الدراسة، يمكنك دعوة شخص ما في المكتب الخاص بحماية البحوث والمطابقة على تلفون (410) 455-2737

عند توقيعك لهذه الورقة يعني أنك كنت قد قرأتها بالكامل أو أنها قد قرئت لك وانك تريد أن تكون في

هذه الدراسة. إذا كنت لا تريد أن تكون في هذه الدراسة، لا توقع هذه الورقة. فقط تذكر أن أمر مشاركتك في الدراسة متروك لك، ولا أحد سينزعج او يرغمك اذا كنت لا تريد ان توقع هذه الورقة أو حتى إذا قمت بتغييررأيك في وقت لاحق.

إذا كنت تريد أن تكون في دراستنا، يرجى تسجيل اسمك و التوقيع ادناه :

الاسم : ----------------------------------

التاريخ : ----------------------------------

التوقيع :----------------------------------

تصريح الباحث والتوقيع:

1) البحث لا يوجد فيه أي فائدة مباشرة للطفل. عندما لا يكون هناك فائدة مباشرة من المشاركة في البحث والطفل من العمر ما يجعله قادرعلى إعطاء موافقته للمشاركة، فان الحصول على موافقته أمر إلزامي. الوثائق التالية يجب إدراجها في نموذج الموافقة:

الباحث الموقع أدناه بموجب هذا يشهد/ تشهد أنه قد ناقش المشروع البحثي مع الطفل المشارك وقد أوضحت المعلومات الواردة في هذا المستند، بما في ذلك غرض البحث، والمخاطر المتعلقة به، والفوائد أو المنافع المحتملة. الباحث الموقع أدناه كذلك يشهد أن المشترك قد تم تشجيعه على طرح كل الأسئلة من طرفه، والتي تم الاجابة عليها كلها جميعا .

التوقيع : -------------- تاريخ : ------------------

Appendix C

Dissertation Codes

1) US school experiences
    a. Positive:
        i. People helpful
        ii. People nice
        iii. ESOL student friendly
        iv. Easy
        v. ESOL teacher important
        vi. Positive academic programming
    b. Negative:
        i. People mean
        ii. Prejudice/discrimination
        iii. Not prepare for college
        iv. Boring
        v. Bullying
        vi. Unsafe
    c. School context
        i. # of Iraqis
        ii. College environment
        iii. RYP
        iv. Teacher quality poor
        v. Teacher quality good
        vi. County/city
        vii. Advanced
        viii. Favorite subject
2) Superficial Caring
    a. Nice
    b. Friendly
    c. love
3) Interactional relationship
    a. Reciprocity
    b. Student responds
    c. Student initiates
4) Caring for the learner
    a. Out of trouble
    b. High expectations
    c. Interest in academics
    d. Time spent on academics

   e. Helpfulness
   f. Teacher quality
   g. Teacher fairness
5) Caring for the person
   a. Interest outside of classroom
   b. Humor
   c. Love
   d. Family/friend metaphor
   e. Attend personal events
   f. Personal relationship
6) Caring for the immigrant/refugee
   a. Arabic
   b. Help even without asking
   c. Educate against stereotypes
   d. Adapt curriculum relevant for Iraqis
   e. Dealing with trauma
7) Not caring
   a. Not enough time
   b. Not engaged
   c. Misunderstands student
   d. Not enough extra help
8) Refugee needs
   a. Help even without asking
   b. Addressing directly
   c. Educate against stereotypes
   d. Different style of teaching
   e. Fairness
   f. Targeted
9) Social capital
   a. Institutional resources
      i. Academic programs
      ii. Letter of recommendation
   b. Metaphor
10) Personal characteristics
   a. Cares
   b. Trauma not effect school
   c. Goals
   d. Advanced
   e. English ability
   f. Respectful

g. Taking personal responsibility
h. Resilient
i. Athlete
j. Doesn't like school
k. Doesn't like fights
l. Independent
m. Doesn't want care
n. Social
o. Likes easy
p. Likes school
q. Wants to learn
r. Likes Iraq

Appendix D

Table 8

Model 6: The Relationship of Caring Composite with Outcomes

Variable	GPA	Educational Attainment	Self- Esteem
Caring Composite	0.21***	0.21	0.21***
	(0.06)	(0.16)	(0.03)
Teachers' Discrimination	-0.12	-0.29	0.04
	(0.07)	(0.20)	(0.04)
GPA			0.08***
			(0.02)
Age	-0.92*	-0.13	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.12)	(0.03)
English Ability	0.19*	0.42	0.09+
	(0.09)	(0.26)	(0.05)
Number of Siblings	-0.02	0.07	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.01)
SES	0.18***	0.76***	0.05
	(0.06)	(0.16)	(0.03)
Female	0.26***	0.36	-0.11**
	(.07)	(0.20)	(0.04)
Single Parent	-0.15	-0.07	-0.01
	(.10)	(0.27)	(0.06)
Other Parent	-0.51+	-1.80*	-0.05
	(0.30)	(0.76)	(0.18)
Cuba	-0.09	-0.32	0.08
	(.12)	(0.32)	(0.07)
Nicaragua	-0.12	0.17	-0.02
	(0.11)	(0.32)	(0.07)
Other Latin/Caribbean	0.19	0.36	-0.02
	(0.16)	(0.43)	(0.09)
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	0.68***	0.28	-0.17*
	(0.13)	(0.36)	(0.07)
Other Asia	0.67***	-0.22	-0.16
	(0.17)	(0.49)	(0.10)
Other	-0.39	-0.14	-0.10
	(0.42)	(1.97)	(0.24)
% White Students	0.00*	-0.00	-0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
School type	-0.10	-0.42+	-0.09+
	(0.09)	(0.25)	(0.05)
Constant	2.30	14.15	2.21
R2	.21	.17	.15

Note. Standard Errors are in parentheses beneath the mean. When comparing means, "whites" are the reference group, as are U.S.-born, and two-parent. Alpha<.05 = *, alpha<.01 = **, and alpha<.001 = ***.

Appendix E

Table 9

Caring and Educational Attainment Including GPA (N = 756)

Variable	Model 6
Teachers' Interest	-0.05
	(0.12)
Teachers' Grading Fairness	-0.08
	(0.08)
Teachers' Goodness	0.01
	(0.11)
Teachers' Discrimination	-0.13
	(0.15)
Control Variables	
GPA	1.20***
	(0.07)
Age	-0.12
	(0.08)
English skills	0.12
	(0.17)
Number of siblings	0.03
	(0.05)
Parent SES	0.51***
	(0.10)
Female	0.07
	(0.13)
Single Parent	0.06
	(0.17)
Other Parent	-0.42
	(0.43)
Cuba	-0.23
	(0.20)
Nicaragua	0.12
	(0.20)
Other Latin/Caribbean	0.12
	(0.31)
Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	-0.58*
	(0.26)
Other Asian	-0.73*
	(0.36)
Other	-0.63
	(0.83)
% White Students	-0.01*
	(0.00)

School Type	-0.31*
	(0.16)
Constant	12.99
R2	.397

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