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Interaction with refugees

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ABSTRACT: This paper addresses some of the challenges of educators interacting with refugees. Language and cultural barriers add to the tricky situations the latter are facing. Thus, gestures offer possibilities of situational learning that both protagonists can benefit from. Paying attention and reading gestures enable to go further and create relationships which practitioners rely on in helping professions.

KEYWORDS: refugee, interaction, gesture, body, perception.

Introduction

This research concerns educators whose job is to welcome and care for refugees in Brescia, Italy. During the Arab Spring crisis in 2016, 120 000 of them entered the country and 80 000 asked for political asylum. Educators are required to care for the primary needs of refugees, but also assist them in starting a biography. Indeed, as undocumented individuals they must appear before a commission, tell their stories, and express about their future in the host country. The commission makes the decision to grant papers, political asylum or reject the request. Despite the increasing number of public in need and the challenge of their profession, the expected acknowledgement of educators' work remains low. Consequently, educators rely on their own motivation and engagement in the profession (Cadei & al. 2013). The authors add that Italian professionals claim the practitioners perform a difficult job. The difficulty resides in the profession itself because educators coach numerous publics who find themselves in precarious situations and are suffering. Moreover, they complete their work in various official programmes within a specified time-frame. This would require that the refugees put their problems aside and focus on the actual programme offered. Therefore, focus on motivation and future project is required, whether meaningful or not. This research goes along improvement of professionalization of educators, showing new didactic actions in training.

How do the professionals guide people in the context of refugees? Through what means do they perform their tasks? How do they pass the difficulties and barriers posed by language and culture in the interaction?

The research question which could guide this study will be: communicate with gestures and learn with and from gestures with a focus on speech and eye gestures. I will present the theories concerning gestures and communication. Then, the methodology will show how the educators were approached. The results will be presented in the third part.

Theoretical framework

Theoretical framework is built in a pluri disciplinary approach. In sociology, Mauss (1934) shows *body techniques* that the individual uses in his ordinary gestures. The body is capable of big and small gestures, in an aim. The *body techniques* reveal their efficiency through the bodily dimension of action. The author suggests apprehending the concept of body technique as a coherent set of plural techniques. However, these techniques may differ from one society to another, from one culture to another. Each body technique is made up from other body techniques. The latter belongs to a set that constitutes a coherent discourse. They form a language and enable to think the question of *communication*.

Communicate by gestures

The body is a tool at the service of the human: it enables to act and embody numerous activities. First, these activities enable an individual to be and communicate. When looking at the other, the body participates to enunciate what it sees, hears and feels. It can produce signal gestures which participate both to an enunciation construct and composition of an enunciation. In Mauss's theory, this constitutes training. The notion of training is investigated by Bourdieu in his habitus concept. For Cosnier (1984), the language results in combining numerous factors which provide a total enunciation. Gestures accompany the dialogue in a form of mediation between thought and speech (Calbris, 2011). In the philosophy of language and speech acts theory, utterances provide meaning while describing reality and changing the social reality described. Austin (1970) considers three activities that

proceed enunciation: locution act (a meaningful production), illocution act (production with intention), perlocution act (production with an act). According to Grice (1975), the logic of conversation follows rules that require minimum understanding and cooperation between the speakers. Therefore, the maxims of quality, quantity, relation and effort appear essential in interaction.

For Merleau-Ponty (1945, p. 1967), our body is not the time and space, it inhabits the time and space. The body scheme is a means for the French philosopher to express that the body is present to the world and has an incidence on perception. We do not create the body scheme; it imposes to us, depending on the situation. It imposes the meaning of being. The body scheme imposes a perception that precedes the experience and imposes its shape to the experience when it happens. He makes a distinction between the primary and secondary expression through the example of looking and looking again at an art piece, which does not appear the same. To perceive is to make a movement between the spoken language (primary expression) the cultural heritage transmitted, and the significant language (secondary expression), the present one where meaning emerges. To make a gesture is to embody an activity. The acting subject apprehends what surrounds him as an objectifiable fact but also as a phenomenon that goes through his existence; he invests this phenomenon in a subjective manner. The corporeality of the subject constitutes a relationship to the world which lets itself be seen and perceived. Gesture is embodied. Trained intelligent body acting makes sense. It can anticipate action or use a detour (Streek & al. 2013). The anticipation or the detour can be found in *embodied arguments* (2013, p. 254). Indeed, when discourse analysis and body movements are put together, there seem to be evidence of arguments. In face-to-face interaction, verbal claims are heard, and the body shows evidence of actions that take part in the communication and can be an intrinsic part during the interaction. Gesture functions thanks to a specific grammar. It covers discursive, cognitive, linguistic and kinesic aspects. Mondada (2015) stresses that the touching gesture presents some normativity in terms of description, evaluation, saying and assessing. Whereas Duranti (2015) points out that the gesture aims at controlling because humans need to control context.

Learning the gesture-learning from the gesture

Education science took interest in the gestures of teachers and trainers in the classroom. Gesture represents a means to decipher an activity and analyse it (Alin, 2010) in the objective of professional action (Jorro, 2016). According to Alin (2010), the teacher unfolds gestures and micro gestures. Professional gestures characterise technical contribution of the actions but also the symbolic behind the actions. As for micro gestures, they represent “a set of little sensory motor gestures, enounced, conscious or unconscious which accompany and/or second the realisation of a professional gesture” (2010, p. 93). Similarly, one gesture can accompany and/or second different micro gestures. It aims at an objective, but what is interesting is the gesture’s symbolic. Speech gesture is necessary as it accompanies the explaining and ensures the comprehension. It also enables to listen and respond in an orderly manner. The conversation ensures a relation between speakers. The quality of the relation may introduce other gestures worth analysing. When studying professionals at work, the listening gesture represents the objective of understanding to provide counselling accordingly. The symbolic of the listening gesture is expressed through the availability and patience displayed by the professional who, while listening, is proceeding to reflexive activity and selecting the pieces of information that help evaluate the required actions (Ramsamy-Prat, 2015). The interest in gestures stems from its primary reason to be in relation with others. Gestures are omnipresent in our daily lives. If they inform on others, they equally allow us to modify what we wish to transmit. A gesture carries an address, it reaches the other. In interaction, the body builds a comprehensive model and addresses the

other. Some gestures frame the discourse which means the gesture *says* the discourse and that the sentence bears no ending, or the latter is not required.

Gestures express knowledge and knowledge-in-action (Jorro, 2016, p.2017). When making the distinction between professional and trade gestures, the author specifies that the body socialises, while performing different tasks. The characteristics of professional gestures are the address (to the self and the other), amplification according to situation, *Kaïros* that stands for justification and leaves its trace. Gestures are addressed to the other who regulates these same gestures by speech or sign of acknowledgement or refusal. When observing teachers' actions, Jorro (2010) observes reflexivity lines and reflexive postures in teaching practices: either backing-up or testifying where the practitioner has the intuition the situation is important and sees the situation requires further feedback but feels deprived by it. Jorro *et al.* (2017) also observes the questioning posture where the practitioner sees meaning in his own practice, and the evaluation-regulation posture, which requires applying alternative strategies, and questioning experiential knowledge to mobilise them in action in a different manner. Through language gesture, the professional explains: in the educator's case, the language is precise but simple. The discourse is made of narration and explanation. The refugee must understand the reason beyond the questioning which enables to provide specific answers. The latter allows the professional to regulate other gestures; he can influence the ongoing activity with other gestures. Those adjustments gestures show anticipation or even an assessment.

Research methodology

The enquiry is carried out in 2 NGOs, from January to April 2017. The Museke Foundation and ADL Zavidovici are both located in Brescia (Italy). They employ educators to welcome refugees, help them in their daily (new) lives and find ways to integrate on the Italian territory. Some volunteers offer their help. I followed 5 educators (3 women, 2 men), observed their work and interviewed each of them. Their experiences range from 2 years (4 educators) to 7 years (1 educator). They all had a previous experience abroad working with immigrants in different organisations. A first meeting was organized with the managers to explain our research and its protocol. A second meeting with each educator was planned; I obtained their agreement and arranged for observations. The third meeting was the observation day. The research was organised in three steps:

- Data collection: as an ethnographer, I sat in the room observing and writing notes. During the commute to the various accommodations, I seized the opportunity to obtain more information on the practice, population and regulations.
- Practitioner's interview: at the end of the day, I used my notes to clarify the actions of each professional. Because the communication was in English, which is not well spoken, I had to adapt the interview. In the *Entretien d'Explicitation*- micro phenomenological interviewing-(Vermersch, 1994, 2011), there are a few moments where comprehensive interviewing crosses the present one. In this case, I used comprehensive interviewing more than expected and kept simple English to ensure comprehension. Data from interviews and observations were criss-crossed for analysis. Nevertheless, because the interview was carried out in English, *l'Entretien d'Explicitation* could not provide with required information. Indeed, verbalisation in another language turned out to challenge the method of inquiry. Consequently, comprehensive inquiry (Kauffman, 1996) was crossed and proved more successful.
- Analysis: all interviews were taped. Speech gestures were separated from other gestures for further analysis.

Presentation of the associations

The choice of investigating in both organisations was accidental but turned interesting. Museke welcomes *all refugees* sent by the public services whereas ADL Zavidovici cares for those in the SPRAR (System of Protection for Refugees) which is a European project. ADL employs 22 people, 15 of them work directly with refugees. 2 of them are qualified as educators, the others have experienced social work and are named *operatore social*. ADL works on 4 projects with other towns around Brescia (Cellatica, Collebeato, Calvisano and Passirano). Museke started its work in Burundi to care for poor populations, a mission is organized every year to train medical staff in Burundi. The NGO employs 2 project managers, 2 part-time educators and 1 social worker.

Ethnographic observation

I followed each educator for half day with the refugees (male Africans at that time). ADL visits them in a flat provided by the town, whereas Museke accommodates 8 men in a house the organisation owns. The educator's work consists in checking the rooms, people present, kitchen and particularly the refrigerator, asking questions and enquiring about their health. At Museke, the practitioner takes them to medical checks, assists with Italian classes. In both cases, there are steps taken to find a job or community work and participate to social life.

At ADL, two other situations occurred while I was enquiring. Therefore, I took the opportunity to observe the case of a young man signing up for the SPRAR programme. Another case shows the educator with a translator, helping to start the biography of a young man for the commission. In both case, I wrote down notes for further analysis. I had to pay more attention to those two cases with the refugees because they were carried out in Italian and I am a beginner. I relied on my knowledge of the French language. The translator acted as a mediator, helping the educator whenever necessary. Sometimes, a short explanatory dialogue took place between the latter and the refugee in an African dialect. Then the translator would explain to the educator, adding sometimes elements of clarification.

Interview

I travelled back and forth with the educator and comprehensive interviewing was carried out during the commute. After their work, at the end of the day, a micro phenomenological interview was carried out in the office for one hour. Entretien d'Explicitation is a method of enquiry that allows the practitioner to explicit his practice (Vermersch, 1994; 2011). Entretien d'Explicitation is based on action (Ramsamy-Prat, 2017). It allows to obtain information on action by describing the experience verbally. The objective is to collect fine data on the actual action and not on a class of action. The tool is based on the previous experience the subject is describing; the subjective evocation relies on guidance. Guidance is essential: it provides abundant information on action, specifies where attention is focused during the process. Distinction is made on what the subject is doing, what he could not carry out, and what he was not allowed to perform. This is where Entretien d'Explicitation normally shows its performance. In our study, the method was challenged.

The researcher observes that body movements or engagement of the body are more numerous than in an ordinary interaction. The educator tries not only to pass the difficulty of the present situation but also the ones that add to the environment, i.e. language and cultural barriers. The speech gesture appeared difficult. How to ensure a fair comprehension of what was being stated? In this study, only the researcher master English. Therefore, the work requires constant repetition of acts of speech (Grice, 1975; Searle, 1969), what appeared

relevant (Sperber & Wilson, 2004) and an elevated level of attention. Some results are provided below.

Results: the educator's gesture analysis

Content analysis becomes difficult because of limited lexical field. During our interview, the educator is struggling to find his words in English, as if he were translating in his mind. This event occurs at times when the practitioner is reflecting on his activity and proceeding to elicitation. Words in the native language (Italian) pop up.

He could...como... S puede el bano... (Vincenzo – 6)

He was...como si dice...(Alessandro – 1)

Nevertheless, semiotic analysis is the primary filter. The other cases emphasize on the speech during interactions with the refugee and the educator. I consider the practitioner's speech, then the refugee's. Afterwards, I observe how speech and gestures are intertwined. Sometimes the gestures follow the speech as to clarify. Sometimes the gestures represent embodied arguments (Streeck & al. 2013).

Speech gesture

I ask him how he's feeling and if he eats... I am responsible for them. (Vincenzo-4).

This utterance is frequent (Grice, 1975; Searle, 1969) and said to be relevant (Sperber & Wilson, 2004). The question starts the dialogue and interaction during each visit. Inquiry about health appears important as it permits to plan activities and act accordingly: make appointments with doctor or hospital, check sanitary problems. The speech gestures show a practitioner like a good parent and concerned by the well-being of the refugees. One could state that the gestures are specific to this profession: the educators satisfy the primary needs of refugees. Speech concerns food, clothes and accommodation. Words such as Food, cook, kitchen are frequently expressed. When visiting the flat, the educator spends some time in the kitchen. He checks the refrigerator, questions on food and cooking. Twice, we found ourselves at cooking time with the group.

They share the meal...I think it reminds them of how it is in their country, they eat in the same plate...Also, they always ask me to eat with them...You know as a guest, they make tea for me (Vincenzo-notes during commute).

When signing the SPAR contract, Guilia inquiries about the young man's cooking abilities. She states how important cooking is but thinks others can help in the task.

Because, they are really, really kind and really helpful (Guilia-3).

Concerning clothes, associations in town offer what they have or were left. Each accommodation has laundry space. Their choice of clothes is specific. Not only they need clothes, but they require the decent quality and fashion ones.

They go to the Mosque, they know where to find nice clothes and good quality. (Alphonso-during commute).

The accommodation is theirs, for a specific time. They clean and take care of things. Each refugee has his own bedroom or shares with a mate. During one visit where the educator controls the room, one refugee shows us around, but makes sure he shuts the door. The sign expresses his room and own universe not to be disturbed, and the educator respects it. Others place photos, books or music on shelves in the bedroom. This space represents a shelter.

Embodied gestures

Hand gestures accompany the discourse, the educator holds the SPRAR contract and turning the pages, she explains. The situation is formal and reflects the importance of the information transmitted. She points the article on the contract, shows different explanations and suggests the refugee reads them later when he is settled. The refugee nods that he understands and agrees to sign the contract. The dialogue takes place in Italian (educator's native language) which sounds like a relief, the young man studied Italian in the previous Centre for refugees. The researcher's understanding is medium. The speech gesture is accompanied by the listening gesture and the look in times of doubt and uncertainty. While observing the interview, I perceive a stressed and silent young man. The educator asks a few times, looking at him:

Are you OK? Do you want some water? Are you alright? (Guilia – written notes)¹

Although the question is asked at various times, the professional keeps repeating it. One notes that the questioning varies but the answer remains the same. The utterance of the enunciation act stands for its importance (Austin, 1970). The refugee remains silent but would sigh at the last request. This sigh represents a last attempt to express something he would not speak out loud. This is their first meeting, he does not know this person, he will not be able to say how worried he is in this unfamiliar environment. Although, the educator is explaining the procedure in the programme, he probably does not understand everything. The amount of information is high, and he probably cannot take all in.

When I questioned the educator about this, she answered:

He looks very worried and very sad to leave his friends. And you could see he was really not comfortable (Guilia -1).

He is very young and very clever. You can see this. He is clever, he is smart. (Guilia -2)

The look provides the information that the practitioner will use to adjust the practice. The evaluation comes from the look: *very worried* that requires adjustment: *do you want some water?* Besides, if the young man does not respond to *ok*, he might get *alright*. The verb to *look* and *see* are repeated. The utterance shows the intention: this is how the practitioner evaluates the action. The entire body participates to the interaction, the same discursive object is enunciated to solicit a response (Cohen-Scali, Ramsamy-Prat, 2015). In addition, the sigh is addressed. During the interaction, the sigh proposes an answer to the questioner as the refugee uses a detour. The sigh stands for an embodied argument to the repetition of the question (Streeck & al. 2013). Moreover, the message is extralinguistic and is produced in the form of a gesture. Referring to Bakhtin's dialogism, there is a link between the speaker and his speech, he stands for his first discussion partner, as in an inner voice. The speech is produced during the interaction with his previous positioning: *silence*. One could also mention his status: he cannot choose, the only option is to follow the rule, if he wishes to live in this new country. Grice's model of cooperation does not apply, the boy does not answer verbally. But he produces a sign (Merleau-Ponty, 1967) he sighs.

Embodiment and Mismatch of meaning

A sigh is heard after the practitioner's repetition of the same question for the fifth time. The refugee keeps silent and looks down. He seems indeed exhausted. The sigh is both addressed and self-addressed: the refugee relies on his culture to respond. Out of respect, he

¹ Personal translation from Italian

looks down, not in the eye. He remains silent. There seems to be a mismatch because he does not dare look during the whole hour-interview. At the end, the body speaks for him. The educator is expecting an answer; doing her job, inquiring about his well-being. Cultural elements are intertwined: one does not look the other in the eye, the mediator will later reveal. We can state here the mismatch is cultural. Meaning is challenged too: the professional is expecting an answer and seems annoyed because the boy is staring at the floor.

He has the chance to be in the programme, he is young, smart (Guilia-3)

The young man does not realise his fortune, his mind is probably clotted with other worries. One could argue he is facing another renouncement: dropping the respect or disrespect from his culture. Indeed, living in another country means renouncement in many ways. The boy may sense the gap between the cultures or even face a cultural shock. The two individuals are not in tune: she is thinking luck and opportunity, compared to many others; he is considering another programme to go through with an unknown future, again. His current stability will last another 6 months. Neither the professional nor he knows the next step which may explain destabilisation.

The eye factor

This result shows that the body technique the practitioner relies on is the eye. While speaking, the educator adds the eye gesture to the speech to understand the language delivered. The communication suggests a total enunciation (Cosnier & Brossard, 1984). The eye gesture addressed to the young man orients towards a symbolic meaningful gesture (Duranti, 2015). In this situation, the role of the educator is processed by sensitive acts (Libois, 2013) which appear meaningful in the educational act. Consequently, the kind look, presence, listening represent professional gestures (Jorro, 2016, 2017) encouraging the young man to respond to the relationship. One can observe a relational knowledge in action (Ramsamy-Prat, 2015) managing the interaction. Furthermore, relational knowledge is supposed to ensure a good future relationship as expressed below:

I need to keep a good relationship with him. (Anna – 1)

Ensuring the good relationship represents a means to obtain (personal) information about the refugee. For most of them, time is an issue. They need time to start expressing themselves, talk about their families and even more time to deliver their stories. Therefore, there is an intention from the subject, the look becomes a professional gesture (Jorro, 2016). It represents a primary experience of a professional posture. The gesture stands for an indicator of competency and shows its performance. In addition, the gesture is addressed to the refugee. The practitioner opts for the moment of interview to display the eye gesture, applying Kairos. The eye gesture leaves its trace for the refugee, as this gesture would not exist in his culture.

We don't look in the eye when speaking. It shows disrespect. This is in our culture
– translator

Eye gesture and comprehension

The observation of another situation provides data. The educator is interviewing a young man in Italian, she needs to prepare him to sit before the commission. She is asking questions, entering data on her computer. A translator is assisting both persons as she communicates in a local African language with the young man. The practitioner addresses the young man, even though the discussion is in a foreign language, Italian. Observing the

situation, I notice the active listening and the look focused solely on the young man. The translator's voice sounds like an "off-voice".

I need to establish a relationship with him...it's important that he knows that the interview is with him and me. I look at him. (Anna -2).

I listen, and I evaluate what's important in the story, this is part of my job. (Anna -2).

The eye gesture helps understanding the situation. The educator points out the numerous questions at the commission and the necessity of a biography that sounds clear, even if it is uncomplete. Her job is to check the events, cross with other pieces of information. The biography session is planned over 4 interviews. Each time, some of the same information is repeated, this is how the learning takes place. The eye gesture accompanies the language gesture in a personal address. The gaze also serves as a coordination device (Mondada, 2015). It serves at facilitating the cognitive process, here of evaluation, but also controlling the veracity of the story (Duranti, 2015). To perceive is to make a movement between the spoken language (primary expression) the cultural heritage transmitted, and the significant language (secondary expression), the present one where meaning emerges. To make a gesture is to embody an activity. Gesture is embodied. A trained intelligent body acting makes sense. It can anticipate action or use a detour (Streek & al. 2013). Gesture functions thanks to a specific grammar. It covers discursive, cognitive, linguistic and kinesics aspects. Mondada (2015) stresses that the touching gesture presents some normativity in terms of description, evaluation, saying and assessing. Whereas Duranti (2015) points out that the gesture aims at controlling because humans need to control context. Here both controlling, and evaluation apply.

Adjusting meaning with the eye

Meaning emerges in the interaction between the refugee and the professional. The eye function offers a stabilisation of meaning, even if it appears to be temporary. The flow of conversation offers additional meaning to the speakers. The two interactors experience and express the movement at the same time. There is a form of rhythm that stems from the speech/movement couple. As in touching, normativity of touch provides description, evaluation, saying and assessing (Mondada, 2015). Here, the perception provides a significant language, the secondary expression (eye) is added to the primary expression (speech) and meaning emerges (Merleau-Ponty, 1945). The eye gesture is embodied. It is used to anticipate action and serves as a detour to capture meaning (Streeck & al. 2013). While listening during the interaction, the educator is evaluating and assessing (Mondada, 2015). At the same time, the eye is exploring other body movements, as in controlling (Duranti, 2015). Alin (2010) considers the word as the key to training in education. The author reminds that teaching is about saying and finding the right words in reformulations. Indeed, the word allows dissipating misunderstanding or wiping out evidence and direct towards understanding. That happens when we master the language. I use the researcher's model (Alin, 2010: 56) to analyse the interaction. I investigate on the interview before the commission. Before the interview, the refugee is provided with pen and paper to write words in his African language or pronunciation that might be difficult to grasp. However, the social operator addresses him in Italian and looks at him. She asks questions, checks answers, double-checks, repeats, asks for clarifications keeping eye contact with him. She does so to assess and evaluate his answers. During the interview with the researcher, she reckons:

I want him to know that the interview is with him and me (Anna-2)

I need to establish a relationship with him...it's important that he knows that the interview is with him and me. I look at him. (Anna -2).

The table shows the model used to decipher meaning and understanding.

Technical act	Symbolic implication	Gesture	Field of action
Telling a story	Personal address	eye	know historical background
Questioning	Help to relate	orient body	educate
Repeating story	pay attention	Listening	learn to communicate
Writing names	veracity	hand	learn to specify
Drawing events	related to difficult	hand	control emotion
Reformulating	clarify	speech	be specific
Controlling the info	check	speech	tell personal story
Using a mediator	(African) Native language	speech	Interaction with a small group
Relationship	Create trust	Speech + eye	Interpersonal communication
Interviewing	In host country language	speech	Communication exercise

Interview with a refugee adapted from Alin's model (2010, p. 56)

Discussion

In this paper, I showed how the professional adjust to communicate to the refugee he/she works with. I show that body movements help both individuals: one to express feelings he cannot voice, the other to understand the communication. They both rely on the body to produce comprehension, understanding and necessary response in the interaction. The act allows the practitioner to adjust, plan and modify his activity. The focus here is placed on the speech and the eye gestures. Reading the movement, one can notice how the eye performs, guides, shows, expresses, thus *speaks* to the other who *reads* the gesture. The cultural aspect reveals that the eye represents respect for some, hierarchy for others. Some other cultural aspects could be studied. The eye helps to capture speech and provides the hints to evaluate and assess veracity of speech. Seeing the other and his body movements enable the control over the speech. Although the eye gesture appears as a technical one, it also reveals a symbolic gesture permitting the co-construction of understanding and meaning. Paying attention to speech and gesture is crucial as other clues may appear and offer other meanings. The latter can lead to more open or more centred dialogue and lead the inquiry. The task can appear challenging as it requires a focus and a professional eye and ear. In the helping professions, reading the body brings about much more information than words. When the demand for documents is rejected, the refugee must quit the programme. The educator feels his job means little. The refugee might start from scratch again and find himself hanging around in town. Even though, some learning took place there is no assessment. The educator loses track of the refugee most of the time. The gap in language and culture challenge the activity of professionals. Besides, the time-frame of 6 months demands motivation, courage and strength to educate in such a brief time. The question of education can be raised but it seems that the cultural gap may inhibit some learning. One could benefit from a learning rhythm that correspond to this population, considering the time frame. It appears we all use our culture and carry it wherever we go. Educating the

refugee also requires helping him renounce some of his culture (at least temporarily) because there is no time to grasp too many cultural differences while educating. Pain can arise from renouncement as the culture represents a form of salvation the refugee can rely on.

Conclusion

This research would need improvement and more cases on assessment with the eye gesture. The educator moves from one place to the other and cannot plan his work which made my observation difficult. Moreover, the visits in the flats at one association were too short, and at the other, sanitary problems prevented from observing more cases associated with gesture. Concerning the speech gesture, one can notice the effort made both by the professional and the refugee to practise the language of the other every day. This provides learning which is not assessed. Besides, it would be interesting to study other cases providing mismatches in speech and gestures. Furthermore, in this study, I was not allowed to interview the refugee who could provide more data on learning processes.

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