"We only meet in the lift"

An Examination of Australian Multiculturalism through the Resettlement Experiences of African Refugees

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Abstract

In 1973 Australia repealed the *1901 Immigration Restriction Act* and thus did away with over 70 years of racial selection. This, arguably drastic, change in law and policy begs the question of what kind of diversity strategy would be implemented. It also hints at the need for it to be examined. What kind of diversity framework does a nation defined by whiteness generate when whiteness is no longer its defining trait?

This study sought to examine the resettlement experiences of African refugees in Melbourne as a way of exploring the underlying assumptions that make up Australian multiculturalism. Given Australia's past and the heavily controlled immigration system that has characterised Australia's involvement with the mass migration of people, the implementation of any diversity management strategy is likely to reflect the ideological underpinnings that make up national identity. The use of a Foucauldian theoretical framework aided by a qualitative approach allow for the inclusion of the personal and the systemic. The findings of this study reveal that Australian multiculturalism is inextricably linked to the economic imperative of diversity advantage. Examination of multicultural policy reveals a belief that Australian multiculturalism is good for the nation because it is good for the economy.

This uniquely Australian take on multiculturalism has long lasting effects on refugee populations that resettle in Australia. It also has far reaching consequences for resettlement research in general as it has generated a knowledge base that privileges measurable outcomes at the expense of a rich understanding of resettlement as a process, with no definable end point, that is individual in its length and collective in its reach. This study found that the majority of the research about resettlement is large scale, survey based, and quantitative, focusing exclusively on measureable indicators such as housing, employment, and English proficiency. This approach has informed our current understanding of refugee resettlement as one where refugees are disadvantaged in almost every area when compared to Australian born peers.

The present study is an attempt at generating a different understanding of resettlement that, while accounting for systemic failures, generates a space for African refugees and settlement workers – key actors in the resettlement dyad – to describe the resettlement journey into multicultural Australia in their own words. The study shows that alongside concerns for basic

needs, refugees are also negatively impacted by less measurable needs such family, status, and the emotional impact of discrimination. Conversely, settlement workers are facing increasing levels of bureaucratisation and higher workloads that make it almost impossible for them to generate real relationships with their clients.

Overall, this study found there are three pillars that shape resettlement: systemic constraints, expectations, and relationships. Interpersonal and familial relationships play a crucial role in the resettlement journey for refugees and workers alike. It also revealed the role that expectations play in the creation of worker/client relationships and service provision. Refugee expectations of what Australia is going to be like and worker expectations of appropriate service provision can negatively impact resettlement if they are not accounted for or if there is no space for negotiation. Resettlement is a relational journey that requires solid and reciprocal relationships that empower all those that go through it.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Table of Figures

Glossary

ABF	Australian Border Force
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACPEA	Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs
AHRC	Australian Human Rights Commission
AMEP	Adult Migrant Education Program
APIC	Australian Population and Immigration Council
ASR	Australian Survey Research
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CMA	Council for Multicultural Australia
CMY	Centre for Multicultural Youth
CRSR	Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UN)
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DSS	Department of Social Services
ECC	European Economic Community
ESL	English as a Second Language
HoA	Horn of Africa
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
HREOC	Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
HSS	Humanitarian Settlement Services
IHSS	Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy
LSIA	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia
MGS	Monash Graduate Scholarship
MIPRS	Monash International Postgraduate Research Scholarship
MMR	Mixed Method Research
MRC	Migrant Resource Centre
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NMAC	National Multicultural Advisory Council
NOM	Net Overseas Migration
NSW	New South Wales
OMA	Office of Multicultural Affairs
OS	Overseas
PA	Primary Applicant
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
QLD	Queensland
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
SDB	Settlement database
SGP	Settlement Grant Program
SMI	Scanlon-Monash Index
SONA	Settlement Outcomes of New Arrivals

TA	Thematic Analysis
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
VIC	Victoria
WA	Western Australia
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto
Me dio dos luceros que cuando los abro
Perfecto distingo lo negro del blanco
Y en el alto cielo su fondo estrellado
Y en las multitudes el hombre que yo amo.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto
Me ha dado el sonido y el abecedario
Con él las palabras que pienso y declaro
Madre amigo hermano y luz alumbrando,
La ruta del alma del que estoy amando.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto
Me ha dado la marcha de mis pies cansados
Con ellos anduve ciudades y charcos,
Playas y desiertos montañas y llanos
Y la casa tuya, tu calle y tu patio.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto
Me dio el corazón que agita su marco
Cuando miro el fruto del cerebro humano,
Cuando miro al bueno tan lejos del malo,
Cuando miro al fondo de tus ojos claros.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto
Me ha dado la risa y me ha dado el llanto,
Así yo distingo dicha de quebranto
Los dos materiales que forman mi canto
Y el canto de ustedes que es el mismo canto
Y el canto de todos que es mi propio canto.

Gracias a la Vida.

Violeta Parra.

1. Introduction

Every year Australia welcomes a (limited) number of refugees into its shores. The process is long and the wait time is unknown (Karlsen 2015). Every year Australia welcomes even more permanent, semi-permanent, and temporary migrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2015). I arrived in Melbourne, Australia on the 26th of January 2007 as one of those temporary migrants holding a two year student visa. I did not expect that my temporary stay would turn into a semi-permanent one. It was after completing a Master of Arts degree that I began working in the NGO sector with refugees and migrants living in high density apartment blocks in inner city Melbourne. It was this job, coordinating training for my clients, which would set me on a path that would take me further than my own personal experience of migration. As any other migrant, I had believed that Australia, as a self-proclaimed multicultural nation, had few racial tensions and had overcome any problems it had with diversity long ago. Furthermore, upon arrival I had no notion that 34 years earlier my entrance would not have been permitted based on my racial profile (Anderson, W 2005).

It was during my time in Melbourne's inner city public housing estates of Fitzroy, Collingwood, and Richmond that I became familiar with the stories of refugees who had come to Australia escaping the atrocities of war and civil unrest. These stories were unique to each individual and yet they seemed to share a commonality that I, as a migrant, had not imagined as part of the resettlement experience. Stories of isolation, loneliness, and disconnection with the broader community seemed to taint the everyday lives of my clients. My personal experience had registered there was a certain reluctance from the broader student community to establish more profound bonds with international students, but I took this to be a sign of the temporary nature of our stay. As I worked more closely with the different communities that lived in the housing estates it became clear that the there was more to Australian multiculturalism than met the eye.

According to the 2011 census data, Australia has a total population of 21. 5 million people; of these 9.3 million (43.53%) people are either born overseas (OS) or have one or both parents born OS (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2014e). This translates into Australia having a large proportion of residents that are seemingly culturally diverse; yet

taking these numbers at face value ignores the reality that the most common country of immigration into Australia is the United Kingdom (DIBP 2014e). It also ignores the fact that the census includes in its population statistics all those temporary and semi-permanent migrants, who although living in Australia are not citizens and enjoy none of the benefits that come with full citizenship (ABS 2014d). I, for example, took part in the 2011 census; therefore I am counted as part of those 9.3 million people who are culturally diverse, living in Australia, yet I am neither a citizen nor a permanent resident.

The broader point behind these statements is an acknowledgement that hidden in the numbers is a reality of a citizenship that is still predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Eurocentric. The cultural diversity of Australia is also fuelled by temporary residents that are not afforded the benefits of full membership to the nation, and having one or both parents born OS does not always mean broader cultural diversity. Australia began as a penal colony of the British Empire and though time and laws have changed, the country, arguably, still retains a British and European core that is both perpetuated by immigration law, trends and policy guidelines and visible through the population that inhabits it.

1.1. The Study

As implied earlier, this research project is a requirement for the completion of a doctoral degree. It has been conducted in the Department of Social Work in the Faculty of Medicine, Nursing and Health Sciences at Monash University in Australia. This research project was carried out with the assistance of two scholarships provided by the university: the Monash Graduate Scholarship (MGS) and the Monash International Postgraduate Research Scholarship (MIPRS). These scholarships covered tuition and provided me with a stipend for the duration of the candidature. Whilst this study was done within the Social Work department, this thesis does not exclusively represent a social work study; this research is of a hybrid nature as I am a scholar with cross-disciplinary experience. Social Work is a discipline that fosters the inclusion of a range of theoretical positionings while encouraging a practical focus that encourages action on social issues, not just theorising. As Armstrong (2014) suggests, studying social issues can be a bridge between more theoretically inclined disciplines, such as sociology, and social work as it marries the theory and action oriented aspects of either field.

The impetus for the research comes from my own professional experience in the field of resettlement. Prior to my candidature, I worked with a non-government not-for-profit organization providing cross-cultural communication training programmes to refugees and migrants who were living in public housing in inner city Melbourne. It was the experiences in that setting that prompted the questions that were to shape this research project. The anecdotal evidence of discrimination and isolation was the catalyst to consider exploring the way in which refugees live after leaving their homelands, how multicultural policies impact on the resettlement experience and if these policies influence levels of social cohesion.

The research question for this study asks:

> What is the lived experience of resettlement for African refugees in Melbourne and what can this tell us about Australian multiculturalism?

This study further aims to:

1. Explore the concepts underpinning Australian multiculturalism and how they impact on the settlement experiences of refugees from Africa.

2. Identify the relationship between the discourse of multiculturalism, (re)settlement policy, service delivery and (re)settlement experiences

3. Identify how individual knowledge, opinions and understanding of '(re)settlement' and 'multiculturalism' determine the practice of settlement workers.

4. Explore resettlement as a locus for understanding the impact of Australian multiculturalism.

This study is done using a mixed methods approach within a predominantly qualitative framework. The ontological and epistemological underpinnings belong to a post-modern, and therefore post-positivist, theoretical approach. This study uses a Foucauldian theoretical framework, applied to a thematic analysis of qualitative data, which focuses on the creation and perpetuation of structures of power and ways of constructing knowledge. The details of this will be laid out in depth in Chapter 4.

This study seeks to contribute to debates around multiculturalism by examining what we can learn from the lived experiences of African refugees' settlement in Melbourne. To make the links between settlement and multiculturalism, and to be able to discuss what we can understand about multiculturalism, we must first examine Australian multiculturalism within the context of the broader multicultural debate.

1.2. Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism[1] as policy direction is one that has manifested almost exclusively within the liberal democracies of the West. Multiculturalism has, therefore, been deeply tied to the liberal value of individual rights. To understand multiculturalism is to recognise the rise of the human rights narrative of Western liberal democracies since the end of the Second World War. Amartya Sen notes that "certainly the *rhetoric* of human rights is much more widely accepted today – indeed much more frequently invoked – than it has ever been in the past" (emphasis in the original) (Sen 2001, p. 227). Human rights are a prerequisite for minority rights, from there follow cultural minority rights, cultural minority rights allow for multiculturalism to be implemented within the nation-state. In a modern world that has been increasingly defined by the challenges of migration and mass movements of displaced people, the challenges presented by the diversification of the population within the nation-state is one of the single largest global issues to address today (Kymlicka 1995, 2010).

Yet multiculturalism remains a contested term (Delanty 2010). There is no unifying theory of multiculturalism and different countries have adopted different working models (see Table 1.1 below). Australia sits somewhere in the middle of this continuum and has implemented its own version of multiculturalism. This study does not seek to argue for or against multiculturalism but rather to explore what we can understand of the functioning of Australian multiculturalism through examining African refugees' resettlement journeys. Knowing where Australia sits on the multicultural continuum is important due to the global nature of the term.

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[1] An earlier version of this section was used as the basis for a chapter in an edited book I was a part of. See Fernandez Arias P. (2015) Resettlement as an identity-building process. In: McConville C (ed) *Hopeful Places: Migration and belonging in an unpredictable era.* Melbourne: Connor Court Publishing.

Table 1.1. - COMPARISON OF AUSTRALIA'S MULTICULTURAL POSITIONING

Kymlicka's Multiculturalism	Australia's Multiculturalism	Modood's Multiculturalism
A direct consequence of the human rights movements of the 1950s and 60s.	A result of labour importation, political changes after WWII and international humanitarian agreements.	A direct consequence of Europe's colonial past.
Proposes the cultural accomodation of existing institutions.	Led to the creation of specific settlement services that assist migrants.	Proposes the restructuring of the public and private sphere to incorporate difference.
Acknowledges the importance of culture but expects a level of adaptation from migrants.	Acknowledges the importance of culture but curtails it within the confines of the Australian way of life.	Considers culture and religion to be inseparable from the individual and not to be mainstreamed.
Has a deep concern with First Nations.	Viewed as a completetely different issue to that of Indigenous Australians	Does not consider Indigenous issues as part of a theory of multiculturalism.

Some authors (Kymlicka 1995, 2010; Modood 2007; Parekh 2006) note that, for example, in the US, multiculturalism emerged as a result of the minority rights struggles of blacks, gays, and other minorities. Mansouri (2011), on the other hand, argues that in Europe, Canada, and Australia, multiculturalism was implemented as a direct result of the numbers of migrants entering the country. Modood (2007) links multiculturalism specifically to the aftermath of post-colonial migration, which led to a push for diversity management, culminating in a European form of multiculturalism. This working definition of multiculturalism is inextricably tied to the history of Europe. Modood defines multiculturalism as "the political accommodation of minorities formed by immigration to western countries from outside the prosperous West" (2007, p. 5). While these different versions of multiculturalism share the same goal, to manage the challenges of the population's diversification, they are symptomatic of the differences between the countries and cultures that have implemented them.

The role, place, and importance given to culture are the most contentious points within the multicultural theory debate. The degree to which authors ascribe absolute importance to culture varies. Scholars coming from the UK, such as Uberoi (2008), Modood (1992, 2007; 2012), and Parekh (2006), are more prone to imbue it with considerable importance, while authors such as Kymlicka value it for what it contributes to the individual but do not consider culture an absolute. Culture for Kymlicka (1995) refers to societal cultures, that is, systems of meaning and practices that stem from a society's history. Cultural systems provide members of that culture with meaning and a culturally constructed conception of the good life and unconditional belonging (Kymlicka 1995, pp. 80-93). For Kymlicka, it follows that those

migrants who have opted to leave their culture, forego their right to self-government in the new land (Kymlicka 1995, pp. 95-6) yet are entitled to accommodation.

In a debate which is often based on a moral premise, Parekh's argument is similar as he describes himself not to be morally opposed to assimilation. According to Parekh (2006), if members of minorities wish to be assimilated then they are free to do so, but assimilation should not be a prerequisite for equal citizenship. Multicultural societies require a broader concept of culture to operationalise the interactions between its members. For Parekh this process is one that involves all members of the community, whether old or new, and is one that is based on dialogue. To ensure connectedness, a degree of willingness is required from the parties involved and Parekh (2006) presupposes that this willingness is one of the underpinnings of multiculturalism.

Modood's multiculturalism not only involves the recognition of difference and the framing of it in a positive light, but also requires the restructuring of the private and public sphere to incorporate difference as visible and real. Placing the burden of accommodation in the public sphere is a departure from a more classical version of assimilation. Political multiculturalism for Modood is a way of going past simple toleration into the realm of real respect for difference of whatever type the individual or group possesses. This positive framing of difference implies a degree of reciprocity and interaction that is not always explicit in the theory. Critics of multiculturalism have accused it of promoting separatism and ethnic ghettos, of not doing enough towards creating a sense of unity amongst all the diversity of the modern city (Wood, Phil & Landry 2008). Yet Modood (2007) frames his theory of multiculturalism in terms of civic interaction, stating that there is a dialogical aspect to this theory that opens the possibility of reciprocal learning. Put simply, Modood expects the city dwellers of modern Europe to critically engage with difference and learn something in the process, therefore guaranteeing a uniting outcome to the theory.

In contrast, Parekh's (2006) multiculturalism is neither a political doctrine nor a philosophical theory of humanity but rather a perspective on human life. Individuals are culturally embedded beings, with a range of systems of meaning, and are for the most part open to change. Or as Parekh writes "the dialogically constituted multicultural society both retains

the truth of liberalism and goes beyond it" (2006, pp. 340). This is to say that at the heart of Parekh's argument is an underlying belief in liberal values and forms of government.

Without the liberal framework it would be considerably difficult to argue for minority rights, cultural accommodation and other forms of diversity management. Believing that cultural heritage is an axiomatic constituent of the individual's sense of identity and that the individual is entitled to retain any degree of cultural heritage she wants is the basis for all claims made by minority groups. It is hard to envisage these claims being accepted by other less flexible forms of political organization. It would seem then, that a liberal and human rights starting point is always necessary for deliberative forms of multiculturalism, even when nation-states do not start out this way.

Australia's own history of multicultural implementation is a complex one, which will be explored further in Chapter 2. Australian multiculturalism can be said to sit somewhere in the middle of the multicultural continuum described above. It came about as a result of labour importation and a changing global political scene after two world wars (refer to Table 1.1 above) and is characterised by a uniquely Australian approach to population management as described below in Section 1.4. In a multicultural framework that is a result of labour needs and links to European notions of cosmopolitanism, African refugees are a highly visible group with a set of specific challenges and needs that, arguably, put Australian multiculturalism to the test.

1.3. Why this Research?

Recognising that Australia continues to be a country primarily inhabited by White European communities and their descendants is an important step when critically examining the idea of a multicultural Australia. My professional experience with culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities was one that did not match the official narrative of a nation that welcomed immigrants from around the world; my experience as a student had shown me that underneath a veneer of success lay old racial tensions that had long been removed from the official statements. My observation of the tacit segregation of the city itself spoke of a reality that was unaccounted for.

Of all the clients I worked with, it seemed that, at least at an anecdotal level, those who had African heritage were the ones with the most compelling stories of discrimination and solitude. Africans in Australia are a highly visible group given their small numbers (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2008). This places this particular group in a distinct situation. Other cultural communities that are part of the humanitarian intake programme also come to Australia through skilled migration programmes or student visas; this allows them to become part of Australian society through different pathways, making their presence less tied to notions of welfare and even of draining the state of its resources. In contrast, almost all Africans who come to Australia are humanitarian entrants or refugees (Hugo 2011).

This dissonance between the official narrative and the reality I was coming into contact with could not be left unaccounted for. Multiculturalism is argued to be for all Australians (Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982) not just for some. Examining the case of African refugees, with their small numbers and visible difference, would allow for a deeper exploration of the workings of multicultural application in Australia.

The resettlement experiences of the African community are points at which the intersections between state-regulated migration, service provision, multicultural policy, and individual experience all come together to reveal something about the way in which Australia does multiculturalism. It is the nexus between where the state implements its laws and policies and where individuals negotiate their own identities and create meaningful experiences.

Looking at this point of intersection is important because, as Foucault (1978) argues, power should be studied at the points at which it is exercised over individuals.

And yet the idea of an 'African community' is one that is riddled with assumptions and generalizations. In truth there is no such thing as a singular homogenous African community, just as there is no such thing as a singular Latin community. The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) estimated that in 2010 there were around 300,000 people born in Africa living in Australia (Australian Human Rights Commission 2010). Of this number the majority are South African, which includes South Africans of European descent. There are larger communities from Zimbabwe, Sudan, Mauritius, Kenya, and Ethiopia (AHRC 2010) as well as smaller ones from Burundi, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone (Hugo 2009).[2] These 'communities' are no more than a collection of people that share some common traits and who may look, from the outside, to be more or less cohesive groups. Similarly, I, as a member of the Latin community, often come into conflict with the assumed values and experiences this community is meant to have, yet I cannot deny that I belong to this group when I am placed in relation to other cultural communities.

For the purposes of this thesis the term 'African' is simply a term used to encapsulate a wide range of people who all share an African background or ethnicity. When the term 'African refugee' is used it means an individual who obtained residency through the humanitarian intake program and has an African country as their birthplace. While there may be other more inclusive, or less deterministic, terms to refer to African refugee participants (e.g. 'those of refugee background'), the very practical issue of length and word count needs to be taken into consideration when selecting a name for this group of participants. I do not wish to further perpetuate ill-conceived assumptions, however this study requires a degree of grouping in order to function. These terms will allow me to delve into the lived experiences of a group of individuals, which share similar experiences, whilst retaining individual and important differences. Other significant terms will be outlined later in this chapter.

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[2] For a more detailed account of the migration patterns between African and Australia refer to (Hugo 2009)

1.4. Australia's Population

As indicated earlier the total population of Australia is just over 21.5 million according to the 2011 census (DIBP 2014e); this does not mean that there are over 21.5 million citizens but rather that at the time of the census 21.5 million people were physically located within the geopolitical boundaries of the nation (ABS 2014d). The literature shows that since federation Australia has received over 800,000 refugees (Refugee Council of Australia 2015b). Yet how does the whole population appear when a closer look is taken?

Table 1.2 - TOP 10 NOMINATED BIRTHPLACES FOR THE 2011 AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL CENSUS

Rank	Country	2011 Census (N)	% of the population
1	Australia	15,021,553	69.8
2	England	911,592	4.2
3	New Zealand	483,396	2.2
4	China (excluding SARs and Taiwan)	318,969	1.5
5	India	295,363	1.4
6	Italy	185,401	0.9
7	Vietnam	185,039	0.9
8	Philippines	171,233	0.8
9	South Africa	145,683	0.7
10	Scotland	133,432	0.6

Table 1.3 - TOP 10 ANCESTRIES IDENTIFIED IN THE 2011 AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL CENSUS

Rank	Ancestry	2011 Census (N)	% of the population
1	English	7,238,533	33.7
2	Australian	7,098,486	33
3	Irish	2,087,758	9.7
4	Scottish	1,792,622	8.3
5	Italian	916,121	4.3
6	German	898,674	4.2
7	Chinese	866,208	4.0
8	Indian	390,894	1.8
9	Greek	378,270	1.8
10	Dutch	335,493	1.6

Australia is certainly a country defined by the presence of many nationalities and ancestries; in fact the 2011 census registers 252 birthplace countries and 306 distinct ancestries (DIBP 2014e). The *Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Population Clock* states that there is a 'net gain of one international migration every 2 minutes and 05 seconds' (ABS 2014c). However, when looking at the top ten countries of birth and ancestries (see Table 1.2 and 1.3 above) it becomes obvious that the vast majority of the population retains either an Anglo-Saxon or

European tradition, arguably, making nationalities who are visibly different, such as African ones, a noticeable minority.

In terms of the current national migration trends, the net overseas migration (NOM) for the June 2013-14 period was 212,700 people. This was 9.7% lower than the NOM estimated for the year ending 30 June 2013 (ABS 2014a). Compared to the previous year, half of the states and territories registered decreases in NOM arrivals and all states and territories recorded increases in NOM departures (ABS 2014a). As for Victoria, where this study was conducted, of its total population of five million, 26.2% were born OS and 19.6% of that group were born in a non-English speaking country; 68.6% were born in Australia with 9.4% of those having both parents born OS and 10% having one parent born OS. Victoria recorded the highest gains from interstate migration, i.e. internal movement from other states and territories, for the year that ended 30th June 2014 (ABS 2014a). Australia's population landscape is inextricably linked to the movement of people into and within the nation.

In historical terms the ABS notes that the Australian population is at present more likely to be older, live in urban areas, have fewer children, and be born in countries that are not part of the British Isles (ABS 2014b). What this statement means is that currently there are more people, than in the past, that are likely to have been born outside the British Isles. However, Table 1.3 (above) establishes that 51.7% of the Australian population have English, Irish, or Scottish heritage, making this statement by the ABS misleading. Overall the population is older, with the median age in 2011 being 37 years compared to 22 years at the turn of the 20th century. Fertility rates have dropped from 3.1 children per woman in 1921 to 1.9 in 2011 with life expectancy increasing by over 20 years for both men and women (ABS 2014b).

Prior to the 1950s the main population gain was through natural increases but currently the main driver of the population increase is overseas migration (ABS 2014b). This is not a point to be missed; Australia is a country that gains most of its new inhabitants from immigration rather than by natural birth. Immigration is a fundamental part of the maintenance of national growth. Maintaining multiculturalism as an active part of Australian national identity is, arguably, more important than ever.

1.5. Current Context

In Australia the difference between refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants often gets lost on the general public; namely everyone falls under the umbrella of immigration. Hugo (2011) notes this in his work on the contributions of migrants and refugees. Significantly the single largest piece of research conducted so far, the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), included all groups. While these differences might not seem to be of great importance the fact that refugees are amalgamated with migrants and that asylum seekers are not viewed as refugees makes a big difference when it comes to public opinion. In Australia, multiculturalism is seen as belonging to the realm of immigration (Tsiolkas 2013).

Boese and Phillips (2011) argue that in Australia multiculturalism was adopted defensively, not proactively, in the 1970s and has since been haunted by issues of definition and implementation. They also argue that the Australian government has struggled to balance cultural pluralism with attempts at promoting social cohesion. When multiculturalism is discussed, it is often quotas that are being discussed (Boese & Phillips 2011). Immigration, and therefore multiculturalism, is not only debated purely within the political sphere, it has become a part of the public sphere through media reporting and a recent Parliamentary inquiry (Joint Standing Committee on Migration 2013).

Currently, the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) alongside the Department of Social Services (DSS) oversee the implementation and enforcement of multicultural guidelines as well as the enforcement of border security. The DSS was created in September 2013 (Department of Social Services 2015a), following the change in federal government while the DIBP is a result of the merging of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship with the Australian Customs and Border Protection Service (DIBP 2015b). This new arrangement means that service provision falls within the DSS and immigration and border protection belong to the DIBP portfolio.

The DIBP is the newest iteration of a department that has been known by several names in the past decade: 2001-2006 Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), 2006-2007 Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA), 2007-2013 Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), 2013 onwards Department of

Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP). The most controversial branch of the Liberal government's changes is the new Australian Border Force (ABF). The ABF is a front line operational agency that focuses solely on border control inside and out of Australia's designated borders (DIBP 2015a). The changes in the name can be said to reflect the changing nature of the relationship between government, the broader population, and the idea of multiculturalism in Australia as well as a move towards the securitization of immigration, population control, and the tightening of national borders to prevent unlawful arrivals.

This push towards control extends beyond the patrolling of borders to the dissemination of information. Recently the spotlight has been on the conditions of asylum seekers who are being processed offshore under the present government's asylum seeker policy (see for example Amnesty International 2015; Flitton 2015; Morrow 2015; Reilly 2015; Whyte & Allard 2015). The Border Force Act (Commonwealth of Australia 2015) has the power to prosecute detention centre staff who disclose any information on the conditions asylum seekers face. This prompted a response from doctors working at these offshore camps to contest the decision of the government (Ireland 2015). Amnesty International states that "this new legislation gives the government the power to imprison doctors, nurses and child welfare professionals who feel compelled to speak out about the abuse of innocent people in immigration detention" (Amnesty International 2015).

The most recent refugee crisis, the mass movement of Syrians to Europe, has prompted worldwide attention. Australia has pledged to resettle 12,000 Syrian refugees before mid-2016. Some credit this response to the public pressure generated by a group of vocal refugee advocates and supporters (Bourke 2015). Yet the mainstream media initially reported that Australia would only resettle Christian Syrians, much to the dismay of many, including other religious groups (Bagshaw 2015). This information was not accurate, although when it came out, it did not seem entirely out of the realm of possibility. Lest we forget the day that the ABF almost walked the streets of Melbourne randomly scrutinising people on the off chance they might be foreigners and checking for the appropriate visas (Borrello 2015). That day will live in infamy in the collective imagination of Melbournians for years to come.

It is under this hypervigilance on border security and the hyper-scrutiny of immigrants and refugees that Australian multiculturalism operates. It is in this context that refugees live their

daily lives. In Australia the power of the government to protect borders is not a small matter. In 2013 former Prime Minister (PM) Tony Abbott won the federal election on a platform based primarily on the reduction of taxes and preventing the entrance of illegal maritime arrivals ('boat people') into Australia (see for example Liberal Party of Australia 2013).

Abbott's strategy was a continuation of former PM John Howard's 'Pacific Solution', which saw the creation of the offshore processing system for asylum seekers who tried to reach Australia by sea, and operated with that name between 2001 and 2007 (Grewcock 2014). Howard (2001) was well known for declaring that "we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come" during his 2001 election speech. Arguably, this attitude permeates the broader mind-set of Australians (Hage 2003). These debates are shaped by the anxieties that come with being an island state; Australia has vast shores that cannot be monitored effectively and its proximity to Pacific Island nations makes it possible for asylum seekers to travel by boat and breach national borders.

Another unforeseen impact of the 2013 change of federal government is the loss of publicly available information and the effect this had on my study. In 2012, when I commenced there was a wealth of information online, in government websites, on the humanitarian programme and related issues, including reports and general data about resettlement. I used many of these websites to obtain information on available settlement services, the refugee intake, previous resettlement research, and other important information. Currently many of those links are broken or not found, the publicly available information that assisted the initial stages of this study is no longer public. This is not only detrimental to this study, it has a flow on effect that makes researching resettlement more byzantine and convoluted. Above I have referenced instances where the Australian government has been questioned in relation to its disinformation measures; resettlement researchers should also join in and denounce this push towards concealment.[3]

As these examples show, in Australia issues of immigration and multiculturalism are deeply contested. The debate on migration and refugees is often mixed in with the debate on how much of a contribution, rather than an expense, migration can be for the country (Hugo 2011).

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[3] Where possible new links were added to the reference list. If there were no alternative URLs the originals have remained and notes have been made in the Endnote library for this study.

It seems as though the most common question is whether refugees are a good 'investment' in the long term and yet a new ABS study shows that refugees are the most entrepreneurial migrants in Australia (Safi 2015). Historically the debate has focused on whatever group seems to be migrating 'the most' to Australia. Until recently the focus was on Asians as the source of the migrant panic however, in recent times, it has moved swiftly on to Muslims (Wilson 2015). African communities, however, have not been exempt from this debate. In 2007 the then Immigration Minister, Kevin Andrews, declared "some groups don't seem to be settling and adjusting into the Australian way of life as quickly as we would hope" ('No Africans allowed. Has our way of life come to this?' 2007). It was on the back of statements like this that the humanitarian intake quota for African humanitarian applicants was reduced from 70 percent to 30 percent of the total intake (Pearlman 2007) for the following year.

Jakubowicz (2010), in his report for the AHRC, notes that Australians that are not of African heritage view the African continent as composed of a series of negative stereotypes. The height of these stereotypes manifested in the late 2000s when the African community in Australia was explicitly linked to increases in crime rates and a slow rate of integration (Jakubowicz 2010). As Jakubowicz notes "there are some Australians who react with anger and suspicion to cultural and physical difference, offering violence instead of welcome" (2010, p. 22). This is why exploring the experiences of African refugees as a means of examining the limits of Australian multiculturalism can be said to be a way of examining just how successful the Australian model really is.

How we speak of immigration shapes the ways in which we view immigration. This study is concerned not only with what language is used to discuss immigration and refugees but how it is used. Acknowledging that there is an inherent level of complexity in language is an important starting point for any piece of research. It is also important to generate a consensus around the terms that are used throughout. Below is a list of terms that are used in this study.

1.6. Important Terms

Language, discourse, and their effects on the social body are a key aspect of this study. A degree of clarity of terms is both practical and necessary as it is not the intention of this study to fold into itself and engage with the vast debates relating to the problematic nature of categories. Categories are problematic as they can never fully capture complexity. Whilst the following specific terms are used in the study, I acknowledge their limitations.

i.   *Refugee*

The definition has been provided by the United Nations which states that a refugee is a person who:

> *Owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for 1992)*

This definition provides the legal framework for all countries that adhere to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR). Australia's involvement with refugees and humanitarian entrants stems not only from its historical intake of displaced people but also from the signing of the CRSR.

ii.   *Humanitarian Entrant*

This is a concept that is used by the Australian government to identify all people who lawfully enter Australia under the Humanitarian Intake Programme. Since 1978 Australia has had a specific programme dealing with refugees and humanitarian entrants (Hugo 2011). Currently Australia's Humanitarian Intake Programme is managed by the DIBP and the DSS, receiving yearly funding to continue delivering settlement services (DIBP 2014f). The programme consists of two main components: visa processing, managed by the DIBP and Humanitarian

Settlement Services (HSS), managed by the DSS and delivered by a number of tendered organizations in the community (DSS 2014c).

For the purposes of this study, the term refugee is used to refer to humanitarian entrants and refugees alike. While this choice is not in line with the visa category distinctions made by the Australian government, that is, not all humanitarian entrants are refugees but all refugees are humanitarian entrants, I have chosen it for practicality and ease of reading.

iii. *Humanitarian Intake Programme*

In the last two years, since the 2013 election of a Liberal government, there have been significant changes in the nature of the Humanitarian Programme. Prior to the change in government, the Humanitarian Programme aimed to:

- honour Australia's obligations as a signatory to the *1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* ('Refugee Convention') and its 1967 protocol and other international human rights treaties to which Australia is a party
- assist people in humanitarian need overseas, for whom resettlement in another country is the only available option
- share the responsibility for refugee protection with the international community (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011b).

More recently, the programme has two important functions:

- the onshore protection/asylum component fulfils Australia's international obligations by offering protection to people already in Australia who are found to be refugees according to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees
- the offshore resettlement component expresses Australia's commitment to refugee protection by going beyond these obligations and offering resettlement to people overseas for whom this is the most appropriate option (DIBP 2014b).

iv. *Family Visa Stream*

The family visa stream is one of the largest visa streams in the Australian Immigration Programme (DIBP 2015c). It has four main categories: partner, child, parent, and other family. All family visa applicants must have an Australian sponsor who is an Australian citizen, this sponsor will shoulder the costs of the application as well as all costs for the first two years while the sponsored family member is not eligible for any of the benefits afforded to citizens. This visa stream is available to anyone outside of Australia who has an Australian relative or partner. Refugees and humanitarian entrants who wish to bring family to Australia do so via the family visa stream.

v. *Skilled Migration Visa Stream*

The skilled migration stream is designed to target migrants who have skills or abilities that "will contribute to the Australian economy" (DIBP 2015d). It is designed to help address skill shortages in the labour force. In the 2010-11 period it accounted for 67 percent of the total migration programme (DIBP 2015d). Under this stream, skilled migrants may be sponsored by an employer, by a state or territory government, or may lodge an application once invited by the Australian government to do so. Under this stream there are four main categories: point-based skilled migration, permanent employer sponsored programme, business innovation and investment programme, and distinguished talent.

vi. *Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS)*

The HSS programme provides support for refugees from the point of arrival during the first six to 12 months and usually extends with some support for up to five years or through the Settlement Grants Programme (SGP) (DSS 2014c). These resettlement services are provided by organizations on behalf of the Australian government and are subject to eligibility criteria. The objectives of the HSS are to provide refugees with:

- tailored support to begin a new life in Australia
- an opportunity to strengthen their ability to fully participate in the economic and social life of Australia
- skills and knowledge to independently access services beyond the HSS programme

- services in accordance with the programme's principles (DSS 2014c).

Until 2011 the HSS was known as the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS) (AMES 2015). The differences between both schemes relate mainly to the types of services that are provided and the funding structure. The introduction of the HSS meant that services are now allotted funding depending on outcomes rather than needs (Ernst & Young & Australia 2015; Urbis Keys Young & Australia 2003).

vii.   *Resettlement*

Resettlement as defined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the "selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2011). The preface of the UNHCR *Resettlement Handbook* also mentions integration, and the ability to integrate, into the new community as a fundamental part of resettlement. Resettlement is one of the three durable solutions provided by the UN, the other two are repatriation and local integration into the country of asylum (UNHCR 2013).

In the Australian case refugees who resettle do not often return to their homelands (Hugo 2011). So while many other refugee-receiving nations consider refugees temporary guests, in Australia refugees are viewed as an integral part of the demographic gain that all migrants bring to the nation (Hugo 2011). This longevity of stay adds further basis to the choice of African refugees as research subjects for this study.

1.7. I, the Researcher

Migration has been at the core of my personal and professional experience since a very early age. I was born in Chile while it was still under the totalitarian regime of Pinochet. Just like many of the families of the time – though for completely different reasons – my family migrated to another country. My mother and father were barely thirty when they moved with their three children, all aged under five years, to Boston, Massachusetts. My father was a Master's student and my mother worked night shifts. We were the typical *sudaca*[4] migrant family and like any *sudaca* family my parents endured, as they recall, the discriminatory experiences that came with that label. We returned to the homeland just as Chile was returning to democracy, my parents made this decision based on the fact that they felt that raising children in a place like the US was less than ideal, due to their perception of high levels of crime, drugs, and child abductions.

Having acquired a second language I moved through my homeland somewhat like a stranger, a feeling of unfamiliarity permeated all the things that were meant to be commonplace to me. I could probably attribute this to the fact that I had left Chile at an early age and had little memory of my place of birth. It could be related to the fact that I had lost the ability to speak my mother tongue, even though I could understand it perfectly. It could be that travel, most travel, changes people in ways that are often intangible and go unnoticed. I received a cosmopolitan education as my private school adhered to the International Baccalaureate curriculum and upon graduating high school I did a gap year in the UK. My higher education began in Chile and ended in Australia. My parents live in Paris and my brother in Chile. Work has always put me in contact with other migrants and I have put in practice a lifestyle that is characterised by high levels of mobility.

My education has been as eclectic as my personal life. I have grown up speaking two different languages, Spanish and English, and completed academic studies in both. My first degree was in English literature and linguistics, my M.A. was in gender and development studies. This mix of academic training has translated into multidisciplinary research work and an interest in

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[4] Sudaca is a pejorative term, popularised in the 1980s, used to refer to South Americans who migrate to the US. It is a contraction of *Sudamericano*, the Spanish word for South American.

diverse research strategies and topics. My personal and professional experiences have shaped my politics and epistemology. A clear example in this study is the use of the female pronoun 'she' instead of using the traditional 'he' as a marker for any hypothetical case as well as for the neutral. This, I am aware, is not part of the convention, yet it is a purposeful and considered choice I make as the author of this thesis. As Sniezek and Jazwinski argue "[g]eneric masculine language conventions not only reflect a history of male domination, they can actively encourage its perpetuation" (1986, p. 643). This is why I am actively moving away from this convention and using 'she' (see also Gustafsson Sendén, Lindholm & Sikström 2014; Mitchell 1994).

It could be said that this dissertation is the result of a lifetime of migration that is both physical and intellectual; that has defined not only the way in which I live my life but the way in which I understand and conduct research. I am a product of a rather haphazard series of events that led me to the commencement of a doctoral degree that explores migration and resettlement for those with a life story that is radically different to my own, but who are equally defined by a possible sense of perpetual movement.

1.8. Thesis Structure

This study is set out in eight chapters. Chapter 1, the introduction, presents the general terms of the study. This chapter describes the origins of the study and how I, as the researcher, influenced the direction it took. Chapter 2, providing the Australian context, establishes the historical and policy context in which Australia came to call itself multicultural. Australia began as a nation that had racial discrimination embedded into law and ended with a multicultural framework that was a direct result of long term labour importation, Australia's commitment to take in displaced people after both world wars, and international pressure in the face of an ever increasingly globalised world. This brief history allows us to better understand the link between the history of a nation and the kind of multicultural understanding that is implemented. Australia would not have this version of multicultural policy or settlement services if its history had been different. Exploring the history of Australia also makes the link between multiculturalism and economics explicit.

Chapter 3 explores the settlement research that has been produced in Australia since the mid-1990s. Multiculturalism in this country is deeply interconnected to notions of economic advantage and its success is understood in the language of measurable outcomes. Settlement research has mainly focused on quantifiable indicators at the expense of a more complex and humane understanding of the resettlement journey. All major studies have been quantitative and have focused on issues such as housing, English proficiency, employment, and health. While these are all markers of important aspects of resettling in a new country, they reduce its complexity to numbers that may not truly reflect other more diffuse concerns. The single largest study done so far, the LSIA, has been the most comprehensive piece of research done to date and has become the main source of data when researching migration to Australia.

Chapter 4, the methodology, lays out the ontological, epistemological, and methodological foundations of this research. The chapter begins by placing the study between the two major ontological positionings of realism and nominalism (Neuman 2013). That is to say, the study acknowledges that there is a reality external to the individual but influenced by her; this perspective is called critical realism (Neuman 2013). The chapter then describes how it draws on both a Foucauldian theoretical framework (Foucault 1978, 1983, 2001) and intersectionality (MacKinnon 2013) as its underpinning structure. These frameworks take into

account that the individual is subject to 'systems of race, gender, and class domination' (MacKinnon 2013, p. 1020). The chapter then provides the rationale for a predominantly qualitative mixed methods approach. It concludes with a description of the sampling and recruitment processes.

Chapters 5 and 6, the results, describe the findings of this study. This research finds that for most refugees the most important factor in successful resettlement is relationships: the possibility of preservation of familial relationships, their relationships with their workers, and the creation of new relationships with, and outside of, their community in Melbourne. Relationships, especially good reciprocal worker/refugee relationships, provide the support networks refugees require, when those networks expand into the mainstream they provide potential assistance and valuable information. While this does not mean that issues such as housing and employment are not of vital importance, it points to the fact that for many refugees, having a house is pointless if the house is empty and rest of their family remains in Africa and are still, most likely, unsafe.

On the other hand, for settlement workers 'successful' resettlement is understood as refugees who go through the system and become independent citizens. This is a process mainly determined by factors external to the settlement workers themselves, i.e. by systemic constraints and refugee expectations of the system. Workers are the ones who contend with the brunt of the changing policies and funding issues that riddle the resettlement system. This is often compounded by the expectations that refugees bring with them; expectations that are not always based on real or current information, yet come from sources that are close to them and therefore seem trustworthy. This, is turn, makes the refugee experience of the resettlement service one shrouded in perceptions of apparent disinterest from workers and a feeling of hopelessness when they learn the reality they have to contend with. Whilst these general findings are in line with the majority of the settlement research literature, the innovation of this particular study lies in the stories that I managed to collect and how they shed light on the complexity of the emotional landscape of resettlement for both workers and refugees.

Chapter 7 presents the discussion of the findings in relation to the research question and its aims, to the discourse of Australian multiculturalism, and to resettlement research, as well as

delving into the implications of the findings. Chapter 8 provides concluding comments on the study and suggests directions for future research.

2. The Australian Context

Migration, the global movement of people, and the consequences of international mobility have been affecting individuals and communities throughout human history (Martell 2010). How the modern nation-state has dealt with this long standing phenomenon is an area that has attracted considerable interest in the last century given the rapid changes that technology has brought with it. Larger numbers of people can now move over vast distances at incredible speeds that were once thought impossible. This new found level of mobility has become, for a certain part of the population, commonplace (Elliott, A & Urry 2010), but for others a necessity (Betts 2010). The impact of technology and mobility on our understanding of the complexities of the world extends far beyond the mere location of the self; it extends into the building blocks of individual and collective identity (Elliott, A & Turner 2012; Elliott, A & Urry 2010). The way in which the modern nation-state operationalises its relationships to mass migration is, arguably, a sign of the way a sense of national identity may be established and a marker for how citizens are to relate to the idea of migration.

This study takes the view that multiculturalism, as a key pillar of the resettlement experience, should be examined using a holistic approach. An approach that includes the history and the implementation of multiculturalism in Australia and its relationship with African refugee resettlement. International migration is primarily a historical outcome of what could be called the linear progress of humanity; it is linked to the heritage of colonialism and to the advent of technological advances. It is therefore conceivable that different nations will respond to the demands of mass migration in differing fashions, nations that were former colonial powers and nations that were former colonies will respond differently. Another aspect of this is the receiving nation's own history and social structures upon accepting migrants.

This chapter aims to present a concise history of the Australian context in which multiculturalism came about; upon examination it becomes clear that the historical push and pull factors were pivotal in the adoption and implementation of multiculturalism. A former settler colony with racially based immigration policies embedded into law produces a very specific diversity management strategy. In this chapter multiculturalism in Australia is examined through the lens of migration; making explicit the link between migration and

multiculturalism in the Australian case is a necessary thing. Though Australia has called itself a migrant nation for over forty years, it did not start out this way. In its origins lie exclusionary immigration policies that were in operation up to 1973 and that created a relational bond between the ideas of multiculturalism and migration.

When Australia introduced multiculturalism it did so by eliminating the racially based restrictions on immigration that had been in place since federation (Chiro 2011; Hugo 2011; Mann 2012; Mansouri & Lobo 2011). While Australia has not embedded the term multiculturalism into any legal framework it did embed protections against racial discrimination into law in 1975 (Trlin 1984), safeguards which remain the most visible set of formal protection for cultural minorities (Soutphommasane 2014). However, talking about multiculturalism in Australia is, almost always in the collective imaginary, talking about managing migration quotas and the refugee intake.

2.1. From a White Nation to a Multicultural Australia

History, it can be argued, is the story that nations create, repeat, and tell others about themselves. It is the means by which nations configure their sense of national identity. A nation without history is a nation that has no coherence as this comes from the attachments individual members of a group generate towards a shared history, symbols, heroes and myths. Benedict Anderson (2006) described this in terms of the imagined community of the nation. The imagined community provides individuals with a sense of belonging. This belonging develops when individuals, and collectivities, become part of and add their own meaning to the symbols that represent the nation. Australia as a nation-state has created a history that has come to define the idea of the imagined community of Australia. This sense of unity and coherence provided by the state will be termed 'Australianness'. Australianness, as the anchor for national identity, determines the range of behaviours, beliefs, and interactions that are carried out by citizens. In other words Australianness provides the 'rules of engagement' that citizens are to follow when encountering each other and strangers. Australian history then needs to be explored in order to understand the context in which multiculturalism became the norm in a nation that had spent most of its history as a racially exclusionary White nation.

A significant aspect of the imagined community of Australia is that this is a nation forged by the sweat, hard work, and tears of the migrants that came to make a new life in a distant land of great opportunities (Mansouri & Lobo 2011). This story is what Ashton (2009) would call the "authorised heritage discourse" that legitimises and reproduces national narratives. Yet it is far less commonplace to explicitly talk about the policy that defined Australia from federation until 1973. The reality that a racially-based immigration policy was the defining factor of the Australian national identity is not often taken into account, especially when the general population debate the current state of racial tension or the backlash over a perceived problem with boat people. Australia is a nation that speaks of itself as not having any racially-based problems, it is multicultural and polyethnic (Nelson, Dunn & Paradies 2011). Australia, according to official rhetoric, *has always been this way*. The only minor slight in an otherwise unheard of success story, purportedly, is the treatment of Aboriginal people.

Such an idealistic view of multicultural Australia requires an examination of what came before. These assumptions fly in the face of a history that is laden with racial selection (Anderson, W 2005), stolen generations (Ashton 2009) and child migrants (Rundle 2011). How can a nation have always been diverse yet only accept White people into its sovereign territory? How does diversity thrive when only a certain group of people are allowed access? This apparent rupture between the collective understanding of national identity and the historical evidence points to the complex nature of migration and the imagined community of Australia. As noted earlier, it is a factor that needs to be considered when exploring Australian multiculturalism and the settlement experiences of migrants. Multiculturalism in Australia did not appear within a vacuum and since it has real life impact on a whole sector of the population, making the historical underpinnings of the prevailing government policy explicit is an important part of understanding how they contour individual and collective experiences.

The following sections summarize and critique the history of Australia's transition from a racially based nation to a multicultural one. These do not aim to provide an in depth historical account but, rather, set the context in which Australia developed its multicultural policy. If Australia (in the form of a federation of states which came about in 1901) has been writing its own history, it has been simultaneously creating its own identity. This sense of identity or Australianness is not simply the result of the passing of time but rather a concerted and purposeful attempt initially by colonial powers and after 1901 by the sovereign state of Australia. The dialogical interaction between the history of Australia, the national identity that has been fashioned from it, and the individual and collective narratives of migrants and refugees is the locus where the tensions between these are played out. Nations are not born and raised in a vacuum, they are in a constant dialogue with the forces that surround and interact with them; this also applies to internally designed and implemented government policies. Understanding this part of Australia's history is understanding the particulars of Australian multiculturalism's rise.

2.2. The Birth of the Nation

Australia was, until 1901, a series of colonies of the British Empire (Mansouri & Lobo 2011). Lest we forget, the original inhabitants of Australia were the many dispersed Aboriginal tribes that occupied the island for some 50,000 years prior to White settlement (Brooks 2005). Their relationship to the White coloniser was contentious and up to this day there are disputes about the accuracy of the history that is officially sanctioned. Although this part of Australian history falls outside the scope of this research, it could be argued, as Hage (2003) contends when looking at the link between current nationalism and White colonial paranoia, that the present treatment of non-white Australians is a phenomenon that has persisted from the early colonial period.

During the nineteenth century, Australia was established by Britain and a steady influx of British, Irish and Scottish settlers came to its shores. Mid-way through the 1800s Australia experienced the gold rush era that brought with it not only incredible wealth but Chinese migrants into the newly formed British colony. This moment in Australian history is significant because the porousness of the colony became obvious to settlers. Freda Hawkins (1989) links the creation of racially based immigration law in 1901 in Australia to the influx of non-white migrants during the gold rushes of the nineteenth century, specifically the arrival of considerable numbers of Chinese gold seekers into Australia. The impact of the gold rush was compounded with the imagined notion that the Chinese government was trying to set up a colony in northern Australia (Hawkins 1989).

The 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act* stated that a prohibited immigrant was:

> Any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the officer (Australian Government 1901).

Any immigration officer was legally allowed to decide what language the dictation test was to be in, making the selection of desirable migrants easy and subject to individual immigration agents. During the initial phase of Australia's nationhood many of the attitudes towards other races were justified under the premise of Social Darwinism (Jupp 2007; Parkin & Hardcastle

1993), a misapprehension of Darwin's theory of evolution, whereby the weaker were justifiably subjugated by the stronger as it was a sign of the natural progression of evolution. Australia developed its own way of enacting racial segregation: it looked towards the conformation of a state that would legally exclude those who were undesirable (Hawkins 1989; Jupp 2007; Mann 2012, 2013). In 1901, when Australia became a federated country under the Commonwealth, Alfred Deakin noted:

> In another century the probability is that Australia will be a White Continent with not a black or even dark skin among its inhabitants. The Aboriginal race has died out in the South and is dying fast in the North and West even when most gently treated. *Other races are to be excluded by legislation if they are tinted to any degree*. The yellow, the brown, and the copper-coloured are to be forbidden to land anywhere (emphasis my own, quoted in Anderson, W 2005, p. 90).

Jatinder Mann (2013) contends that Australian national identity was based, from the late nineteenth century onwards, on the two overriding principles of Britishness and Whiteness. These two concepts were both interrelated and dependent on each other. To be British was to be White and the best form of Whiteness was supposedly that of British Whiteness. Mann argues that Australia, although it had a name of its own and a history that was in the making since the landing of the first settlers in 1788, had moulded itself as decisively British. Australians were not only British subjects, they were British people and they belonged to an intricate and expansive network of colonial outposts and colonial nations, they were part of empire.

Individual and collective identity, therefore, was intimately linked to the nineteenth century notions of racial purity and superiority, of the civilizing mission of the superior races and the overall triumph of man over nature (McClintock 1995). British settlers were faced with a wild land, terra nullius, that had no inhabitants to speak of and what seemed like vast natural resources. The settlers were to tame the land and all that came with it to build one more bastion of Britishness. Given the distance between Australia and all other colonial powers

there was no competition for land rights and Britishness was the undisputed source of national identity (Hage 2003; Hawkins 1989; Mann 2012, 2013).

James Jupp describes Australia as an immigrant nation that is the product of "conscious social engineering to create a particular kind of society" (2007, p. 6). For Jupp, this places Australia as distinct from all the other immigrant nations because of the role the state played in the creation of a particular type of nation, a nation that was defined not only by its institutions but by its racial purity. For Jupp, the core of Australian immigration has rested on three pillars: "the maintenance of British hegemony and 'white' domination, the strengthening of Australia economically and militarily by selective mass migration, and the state control of these processes" (Jupp 2007, p. 7). Jupp even goes as far as saying that the claim that Australia is the most multicultural nation in the world, though often repeated as a mantra, is incorrect and would not stand up to review. These are quite radical claims that contradict not only popular wisdom in and out of Australia, they go against the narrative produced and repeated by state and federal governments since 1973. Jupp does not deny the reality of polyethnicity but he questions the validity of stating that Australia has truly diversified its institutions, businesses, and social and political elites, given the fact these are still overwhelmingly British. This would resonate with the data on population and ethnic diversity presented in Chapter 1; Australia, for all the advances it has made since the days of the White Australia policy, remains a predominantly Anglo-Saxon nation.

Furthermore, one of the defining features of pre-multicultural Australia is the degree of support that the idea of a White Australia found in the general population and both major political parties. Hawkins (1989) notes there was no tangible criticism of the policy until the early 1960s, arguing that there was a desire to "build and preserve societies and political systems in their hard-won, distant lands very like those of the United Kingdom" (Hawkins 1989, p. 22). Mann (2012, 2013) and Jupp (2007; 1993) link the policy to the irrevocable status of White Britishness as the anchor for Australian identity.

After federation Australia's immigration policies remained stable, the exclusion of non-white races was backed by law, and general public opinion favoured a White and British migration strategy. This is not to say that there was no migration from other parts of the world:

52

exceptions were made for labourers, students, diplomatic missions and wealthy business people, who were allowed to enter in the name of the national interest (Batrouney 2006; Hawkins 1989). Members of the African diaspora first entered Australia before federation as former slaves, British convicts, and sailors (Jakubowicz 2010; Mungai & Pease 2009). Thus, despite the heavily controlled migration systems in operation, small seeds of a potential polyethnic society were being sown in Australia. These seeds were further fostered with developments influenced by the fallout of two world wars, resulting in millions of displaced peoples who suddenly found themselves in need of a new home (Hugo 2011).

2.3. Australia in a Post WWII World

With the end of the first half of the twentieth century, radical change across the Asia Pacific region and a shift towards an understanding of interdependence among nations emerged. Two world wars had brought more horrors than anyone could have imagined and as a consequence a new spirit of universal brotherhood and cooperation was emerging (Nava 2007). How this new found spirit, generating primarily from Europe, would affect White Australia was something no one could have accurately predicted.

Australia had built its national identity, institutions and ideals on the basis of White Britishness, aided by the justification provided by Social Darwinism (Dafler 2005; Francis, M 1996). During the second half of the twentieth century, when Social Darwinism became unpopular and, more importantly, discredited, the concepts of *social harmony* or *social cohesion* were deployed by government to fill the vacuum left by Social Darwinism (Cantle 2012). Such a shift in perspective became well established in public opinion and the eyes of the government, as in just over 50 years Australia had created a highly homogenous White, British, affluent society. Yet the perils of invasion from the surrounding Asian nations were never more real than during the Second World War. The slogan of 'populate or perish', brought into the popular discourse of Australians in 1937 by Billy Hughes and later used by Arthur Calwell, post WWII (Hawkins 1989; Jupp 2007), provided a simple yet highly emotive catch phrase for what many Australians were feeling.

Australia in the 1950s was no longer a state that could stand alone. The creation of the United Nations (UN) as a supranational body that would guide, reward, and punish individual nation states for their behaviour was a materialization of countries collectively exerting political influence. It was no longer possible to simply act according to what leaders of nation-states believed, in this new era of cooperation they were subject to the scrutiny of those from other nation-states. Public opinion became a matter of global consideration. The world had expanded and shrunk at the same time (Beck 2006). Haebich (2008) explores this new global scenario and the Australian reaction to it by tracing a link between the treatment of Aboriginals, migrants, and the ideals of the Australian nation. She describes the Australia of this era as an anxious nation; this heightened level of anxiety stemmed from the need to

assert a new position within the "changing boundaries of empire, nations and alliances" (Haebich 2008, p. 29). This new state of flux allowed for the demands of indigenous peoples and migrants to be heard not only at a local level but for them to resound on a global scale. It was the starting point for demanding cultural minority rights within Australia.

Australia, after WWII, was part of the broader international conflicts of the cold war (Garner & Kirkby 2013) and its alignment with the Western Capitalist Bloc placed it in opposition to Russia and the Communist Bloc (Haebich 2008). This meant that the Australian government's political activities were now subject to discussion in the global press and within the UN (Mann 2013). Haebich (2008) notes that the Communist Bloc sustained a vivid interest in the government's treatment of Australian Aboriginals as an effective way of discrediting Australia in the eyes of the global south. Australia had tenuous relationships with the new nations of the south, given its racially based migration policy (Ward, S 2005); any further bad publicity was going to have a negative impact, not only in terms of capital and foreign investment but in terms of labour importation. Though Australia's discriminatory practices did not stop at immigration, internal segregation was never as explicit as the South African apartheid policy, yet in some international circles both nations were often compared and likened to one another (Haebich 2008; Hawkins 1989).

Changes in Australia's relationships with other nation-states meant that Australia's relationship to Britain altered during the second half of the twentieth century. It lost its anchor in Britain and this proved a difficult challenge for the nation (Mann 2012, 2013). Arguably one of the most important changes that happened around this time was the creation of Australian citizenship (Boyer et al. 2004). It was not until 1949 that the legal category of Australian citizen was embedded in law, and even then the category of British subject lingered until 35 years later. Australians only ceased to be British subjects in 1984 (Boyer et al. 2004).

If Australia was no longer a part of Britain then what was it? Mann (2012, 2013) argues that the resolution of this identity crisis came first in the form of a 'new nationalism' but was subsequently resolved with the adoption of multiculturalism. Mann links this shift not only to the rise of cosmopolitanism but also to the increasingly conflict ridden relationship between Australia and the UK. During the 1960s the UK made a number of decisions that in Australia's

view were incompatible with the principles of the British Empire. The UK had applied for membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) and had removed its troops from the East of Suez (Mann 2013).

Australia's response to these political decisions was a radical shift in its own sense of identity. Australia began to move away from the British identifier and towards a sense of Australianness that had not really been articulated before. This 'new nationalism' was still predominantly White but was far more inclusive of other European traditions than before. For Mann (2013), one of the most important symbolic gestures of this period was the removal, in 1967, of the British label from the Australian passport.

Mann (2013) notes that there is an important narrative shift in the early 1960s around the common history espoused by government. It was Menzies in 1962 who first spoke about Australians as descendants of migrants in his speech to the Annual Citizenship Convention. He noted:

> But we here who are old Australians, are all [...] migrants [...] Some of the more distinguished among us are able to trace our ancestry back further than that. Some of them prefer not to. But it is interesting to recall that all of us who are, you might say, the old brigade, are people whose parents or grandparents [...] maybe came out to Australia seeking a new life in new country [...] Therefore, I do not like these artificial distinctions very much (Menzies 1962, p. 6-7).

The idea that Australia was a land of many migrants was in stark contrast to the aspirations that Deakin had voiced some 60 years earlier. Further, this reconceptualization signals two important features of Australian political discourse. Firstly, it effectively re-writes the history of Australia from that of a settler colony to that of a migrant nation. This is not a minor change as it heralds the beginning of an era defined by a common Australian identity: 'we are all the same because we all came from somewhere else'; this is not to say it did away with the hierarchies of race and culture but it placed the 'new migrant' and the 'old migrant' as part of the same myth: that Australia has always been a diverse nation, that it is a nation of migrants, and that it has been and will continue to be an example of success. Secondly, this new myth eliminates the complexity of history. Simply put, this implies that things have

always been as they are in Australia. It has always been a nation of migrants, it has always had diversity, and it has always been socially cohesive. By generating a new myth on which to base national identity, the Australian government is disengaging with the long and protracted conflict it has had with Aboriginal populations. To a certain extent it is denying that there has been any conflict. Terra nullius becomes terra nostra, brand new and empty of historical trauma so everyone can look forward to the bright, diverse and multicultural future ahead.

By the late 1960s international pressure reached an all-time high (Mann 2013). Ward (2005) notes that Australia in its attempt to solidify itself as a nation turned to the arts; the creation of the Australian Council of the Arts in 1967 signalled an explicit effort from the government to provide the newly Australian Australia with a sense of culture that was unique and exportable (Ward, S 2005). As Horne notes:

> Concern with Australia's "image overseas" became part of the national identity crisis. It was one of the withdrawal symptoms in recovering from being part of the British Empire; the people who ran things in Australia had enjoyed an assured strategic imagination — they knew where Australia stood in the world and they were comfortable with old habits of policy and style in diplomacy, military posture, immigration and trade. Now they had lost their belief in these old habits (1980, p. 121).

It was time to move away from a racially based immigration policy and towards a new form of populating the nation. It was time to move to a new form of national identity that would accommodate this newfound diversity. Multiculturalism was the answer.

Immigration in Australia has always been defined by the "*manipulations* of government" (Jupp 2007); that is to say the deliberate manoeuvring of government policy to obtain a desired end. Since federation the state has had a tight grip on why and how migrants came to Australia and has adapted its laws, regulations and policy directives to match its needs. Since inception, the immigration schemes used in Australia have been deeply interconnected with the ideals of economic growth, skills, work and the contributions made by immigrants. Even when the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act* was put in place it contained exclusion for Pacific Island labourers to work in Queensland (Australian Government 1901). This link

between law, visas, and labour is embodied at present in the existence of the 457 Temporary Work (Skilled) visas. This visa was created exclusively to address local labour shortages within Australia but has generated high levels of controversy in the broader community (Jockel 2009). At present skilled migrants are the single largest group of permanent migrants to Australia (ABS 2015).

I would argue that the only departure from such a calculatedly utilitarian immigration strategy in the Australian context is the immigration category referred to as the humanitarian intake. Yet even when Australia was doing its part in assisting with the international crises of displaced people during the twentieth century, mostly due to international pressures, there was some degree of rationalization as to whom and how many refugees would be taken in (Haebich 2008). Jupp (2007) argues that the Displaced Persons intake was the foundation for a diverse Australia, despite concerns within the general population about an increase in crime and the establishment of ghettos that might come about by accepting southern Europeans. The manifest control of the state did not end with arrival, it continued on in the form of a total push for assimilation (Galbally 1978). As Australia began to accept non-British immigrants it needed to decide how best to deal with the unsurmountable differences of the European races.

If the biggest and most noticeable changes came after the Second World War then those changes were embodied in the first Minister for Immigration, Arthur A. Calwell, who served under the Chifley government of 1945-49 (Hawkins 1989). Calwell's immigration programme borrowed from the famous 'populate or perish' slogan that would so fundamentally affect immigration quotas over the coming years. His goal was to increase Australia's population through immigration by one per cent a year which led to some small changes in the 1901 Immigration Act (Zubrzycki 1997). One of the defining features of post war immigration trends was the inclusion of non-British European displaced people into Australia. This was a result of the strains placed on Britain during and after the war and a new understanding that if Australia was to further populate its territories it would have to include other Whites into the picture. Non-British Europeans presented a much better option than non-whites, both as a long term strategy for population and as a matter of managing public opinion (Harris, S 1993).

This was the reality for all migrants who came to Australia until the 1970s. This decade marked a significant change in policies, not simply because multiculturalism became an official state policy (Bursian 2011; Hawkins 1989; Hugo 2011) but because after almost twenty years of non-British migration into the country, ethnic groups were beginning to have a real presence in Australia (Galbally 1978). Europeans had come to Australia, set up homes and had families that were now integral to the economic development of the nation (Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989). 'New Australians' were voting, working, and consuming in a nation no longer predominantly British though still predominantly White. During the 1970s Australia became the latest nation to join the 'cultural turn'. Once race became an unacceptable category for classification, that is to say once race could not be deployed as a reason for discrimination, culture quickly swept in to fill the void created by difference.

Jupp (2007) focuses on the role that language played in the Australian cultural turn. He maintains that by 1976 Australia had become a multilingual nation with multilingual services – such as the telephone interpreting service, the special broadcasting service (SBS) for both radio and television, and a range of other organisations and services supporting ethnic communities. One of Australian multiculturalism's most distinctive features is the wide ranging set of such non-English options available to non-English speaking residents. The use of these services is voluntary, thus it relies on the willingness of service providers and non-English speaking residents' knowledge of their existence. Ethno-specific services have existed since the 1960s and have become an integral part in the resettlement process of some communities (Jupp 2007). A related phenomenon is the development of ethnic community organizations across Australia, which expressly manifest their cultural diversity.

Though Australia closely controlled immigration, diversity emerged. Political parties at either side of the spectrum became aware of the 'ethnic vote'. As Jupp (2007) notes the concentration of southern Europeans in manual work created a voter base for labour associated movement. This meant that politicians began to notice that tight knit communities with non-British heritage were likely to vote for those candidates who recognised those communities' specific needs. This internal pressure, coupled with the external pressure described above, brought Australia to a point where change was inevitable. There was a dire need for immigration reform and the repeal of the White Australia policy became imminent.

In 1972 Gough Whitlam led the Labor Party to office in the federal elections, having been in opposition for 23 years (Hawkins 1989). Hawkins (1989) argues that Whitlam's concern with migration came from his disquietude with Australia's image in the Pacific region. By this stage Australia had developed an international presence that went beyond being a colony, a former colony, or a part of the Commonwealth. Australia had taken part in wars and was establishing itself as a resource wealthy liberal democracy that traded with many other nations, including those which it chose to discriminate against. The obvious double standard of a nation that was happy to take in Asian capital but not to receive Asian nationals was increasingly harder to ignore.

2.4. Multicultural Australia: Policy and Practice

As noted previously, since its inception and up to the early 1950s, Australia viewed itself as a White British nation and had put internal and external restrictions on the people who did not fit this criterion. As the nation prospered and grew these restrictions became impossible to enforce due to a mix of internal pressure and shifting international trends (Jordan 2006; Ward, S 2005). During the second half of the twentieth century Australia gained newfound international notoriety and increased levels of scrutiny because of its racially-based practices (Haebich 2008). The political scene within Australian borders was facing changes brought about by second generation migrants who had grown up in Australia and were increasingly claiming a voice of their own and demanding representation (Hawkins 1989).

Contrary to what Mann (2013) has suggested, Elsa Koleth (2010-11), in her revision of Australian policy statements and debates on multiculturalism, notes that the first ever mention of a multicultural society was the remark made by Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam government, in a speech delivered in 1973. Grassby described, much in line with what was to become the official narrative, the origins of the Australian nation as one defined by diversity; according to him those who were brought as convicts were themselves fundamentally diverse (Grassby 1973). In just under two hundred years Australia had built a 'just and fair' society that continued the tradition of diversity by welcoming new migrant groups. This is in stark contrast with the Deakin statements of 70 years earlier. The future of Australia as a nation is defined by its past and future diversity, the challenges this presents, and the recognition at all levels that Australia will continue to be diverse (Grassby 1973).

The idea of continuing and growing diversity and the challenges presented by it, the recognition of this diversity by the mainstream, and the relevance of policy direction in the process of firming up a multicultural nation all underpin the creation of the Australian way of doing multiculturalism. It is perhaps the policy documents themselves that offer the clearest glimpse into how Australia implements its multicultural principles. Over the years there have been slights shifts in focus from economic advantage to the impact of new technologies, from the importance of government to the participation of the private sector, and from inclusion

to the civic participation of all members of society. As the following examination will show, the central building blocks of Australian multiculturalism remain the same.

2.4.1. The National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia 1989

The 1989 *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, called the *Agenda* for brevity, though not the first document to discuss multiculturalism in Australia, is the first official policy direction document of its kind.[5] The *Agenda* is a comprehensive document that defines the terms of reference for multiculturalism and sets out a plan for the multicultural future of Australia. It was the product of the work done by the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs (OMA 1989). The *Agenda* gives a clear working definition of the term and establishes three operational realms in which it is to function:

> Fundamentally, multiculturalism is about the rights of the individual — the right to equality of treatment; to be able to express one's identity; to be accepted as an Australian without having to assimilate to some stereotyped model of behaviour. Multiculturalism is concerned to encourage all Australians, including those from non-Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, to share their diversity of cultures, rather than excluding one another or being forced into separate enclaves. It seeks to make it clear that colour or language, style of dress or mode of worship, are no indication of the degree of personal commitment to the future of our nation. Being an Australian has nothing to do with outward appearance (OMA 1989, p. 16).

Multiculturalism is the set of "measures designed to respond to that diversity" (OMA 1989) and it operates within the realms of cultural identity, social justice, and economic efficiency.

In this emerging consciousness, the positive edge that multiculturalism provides the nation is one contextualised by the potential economic contributions made by migrants. Grassby (1973) makes overt a link between migrants and the economy that was already part of the Australian collective imagination and every policy document thereafter reinforces this idea.

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[5] For earlier examples of government or government commissioned documents refer to Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982; Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976; APIC, MacKellar & Australian Ethnic Affairs Council 1979; Galbally 1978; Martin & Meade 1979.

Migrants are a good investment. In spite of this positive framing there are limits to what multiculturalism, and the state, will endure. The *Agenda* summarises them into three: all Australians should have a primary commitment to Australia, multiculturalism is based on the structures and principles of a liberal society, and multiculturalism confers rights and responsibilities to citizens (OMA 1989).

Though diversity is presented as a positive, indeed aspirational, goal the *Agenda* recognises that a main reason for a clear working knowledge of multiculturalism is the considerable difference between the Australian-born, non-Australian born, and culturally and linguistically diverse populations living in Australia. The *Agenda* recognises that the Australian migration programme's overall success should not blind the reader to existing inequalities (OMA 1989) and furthermore that any persistent problems created by diversity will not be solved by the mere passage of time. Rather the *Agenda* calls for unified and precise action to "redress historic failings and, just as importantly, to facilitate the process of continuing adjustment in the future" (OMA 1989, p. 9).

The *Agenda* suggests that participation is the measure of how well a multicultural policy direction is working for the nation. Participation is a twofold concept in the *Agenda* which ensures that ethnic minorities are represented in all branches and subsidiaries of government while also ensuring that the bonds generated by new communities are cemented by political representation. In other words, loyalty to a government and the ideals it represents can only be fostered if there is equal participation in all areas of government and public life.

The *Agenda* takes a rights based approach to the idea of a multicultural policy framework (OMA 1989). Australian multiculturalism is based on the fundamental premise that the individual has intrinsic rights despite ethnic or racial origins. Yet the Australian way of doing multiculturalism requires that any form of accommodation be confined within the limits of liberal political theory, principles, and freedoms. This containment of multiculturalism to liberal politics relates to a certain degree of existential anxiety (Giddens 1991) generated by the impact of moving from an overtly White Anglo-Saxon paradigm to a racially diverse multicultural policy direction (Hage 2003).

Related to the above, and always at the centre of the Australian multicultural policy discourse, are community relations. Diversity, however positive, is always connected to a sense of

impending problems balanced with potential positive outcomes. In other words though there is much good to come from the diverse population moving into, and already in, Australia there are potential issues between these populations and the older whiter tenants of Australia. Community relations become the signifier or code word for all things related to the degree of friction, or conversely the ease, with which different ethnic communities relate to one another.

2.4.2. Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness 1999

Approximately ten years later, and under a new Liberal (conservative) government, another report became a staple of the policy debate in Australia. Prime Minister John Howard was well known for his attacks on multiculturalism and his sweeping reduction of funding for settlement services, community based groups, and key agencies (Koleth 2010-11). Ostensibly this could have meant drastic changes to any policy generated by a government perceived as hostile towards diversity, yet this was hardly the case. *Towards Inclusiveness* was produced by the National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC). The NMAC, active between 1997 and 1999 (DIAC 2012), was the body organised by Prime Minister John Howard to articulate guiding principles for multiculturalism, identify elements of a policy framework, and provide advice on the policy implications of Australia's linguistic and cultural diversity in major events like the 2000 Olympics Games (National Multicultural Advisory Council 1999).

The NMAC maintained that multiculturalism as it manifested in Australia had a uniquely Australian character. This reinforcement of the 'Australian way' highlights that Australia wanted to position itself both as part of the migrant multicultural nations in the world and as possessing a distinctly separate form of multiculturalism. The NMAC was tasked with looking into the issues raised by the terminology of multicultural policy. The report noted that this was relevant because the language used to talk about multiculturalism impacted community attitudes (NMAC 1999). In the Australian context, analysing the usefulness of the term was intimately connected to the fraught relationship the Liberal government at that time had with the idea of a multicultural nation. This debate, it turns out, has been neither settled nor forgotten in Australia (Joint Standing Committee on Migration 2013). In contrast, the debate in Europe has led to the Council of Europe doing away with the term, given its highly inflammatory nature, replacing it with interculturalism (Council of Europe 2008).

The NMAC, in accordance with its terms of reference, provided a definition of Australian multiculturalism which does not stray far from the original sentiments espoused by the *Agenda*. Social harmony, inclusion, diversity, and a commitment to Australia are central. *Towards Inclusiveness* settled on four principles that guide Australian multiculturalism: civic duty, cultural respect, social equity, and productive diversity. Once more the positive aspects of diversity were framed as the number one point. During this period, diversity gave Australia a much desired advantage at the turn of a new century of high geographic mobility. Australian multiculturalism celebrated diversity within the commitment to the nation and the structures and values of Australian democracy. Polyethnic diversity was deeply intertwined with democratic principles and tradition.

Towards inclusiveness hinted at the stronger role that citizenship and civic involvement were to play in the continuing of Australia's multicultural journey. Citizenship is the 'glue' that keeps the nation together and multiculturalism is the framework that guarantees diversity within a modern sense of unity. A special mention was made for those Australians who have British or Irish heritage as they could take "special pride […] for its substantive contribution to the development and success of Australian society" (NMAC 1999, p. 7). Put simply, those of white Anglo-Saxon decent could be more proud than the rest because their contributions were greater.

Towards inclusiveness was an attempt at solidifying the somewhat tenuous link between migration and attachment to a new nation: "the Council considers there is a need for Australian multiculturalism to give due emphasis to the national interest and community obligations" (NMAC 1999, p. 38). Such an attempt explained to new migrants what was required of them once they resettled in Australia but more importantly, the policy document constituted an overt effort to appease those born in Australia who felt that it was impossible to generate a sense of loyalty from new migrants, given their low levels of attachment to the Australian way of life.

Towards Inclusiveness has 32 recommendations that can be reduced to a few major defining ideas about Australian multiculturalism. Firstly, and most importantly, the maintaining of liberal democratic principles is central to the construction of a multicultural Australia. The freedoms that Australians enjoy can never be placed in opposition to, or in danger from,

cultural diversity. Participation by all sectors of the population is fundamental to Australian multiculturalism; this serves the double purpose of keeping minorities engaged and of generating attachments to the nation through those engagements. Language relating to diversity and the use of the word multiculturalism must continue to be part of the narrative of government. This ensures that diversity-speak becomes part of everyday language and is incorporated into the collective unconscious through language. Advertising is central to reinforcing multiculturalism in everyday life. This is not simply a matter of commercials and public relations campaigns, it needs to be a concerted effort where terms are clarified and common misconceptions around multiculturalism are dispelled.

2.4.3. A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia 1999

A New Agenda, published in December 1999, was based on the *Towards Inclusiveness* report. The very first line reinforces the commitment of the government to multiculturalism and the first two paragraphs set the scene of a diverse, growing, and cosmopolitan society. Diversity and immigration are framed in a positive light as providing the nation with a competitive advantage in an age increasingly defined by the advent of technology and global movement. Arguably there is a decidedly more business-like global tone to this document, compared to *Towards Inclusiveness*. There is a greater emphasis on the role played by global markets and the impact of the internet or the 'electronic super highway' as it is referred to in *A New Agenda*.

A New Agenda includes a plan of action to move Australia's multicultural policy forward. The link between government and the private sector becomes very clear in this document. The relationship between Australian multiculturalism and the private sector relies on a push to improve economic participation and productivity. Multiculturalism in *A New Agenda* is based on four principles: civic duty as support for Australian society, cultural respect in the shape of tolerance for all, social equity which ensures a level playing field, and productive diversity which ensures economic dividends (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 1999).

Overall *A New Agenda* is a continuation of the same core values that have seen multiculturalism advance since its implementation in 1973. The explicit link between the

private sector and multiculturalism is used to reinforce the value adding that cultural diversity provides Australia. It is also the number one reason why the government, and arguably public opinion, have sustained their support for multiculturalism.

2.4.4. The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy 2011

The most current multicultural policy document was launched in February 2011 by the then Gillard (Labor) government. It was entitled *The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy* (DIAC 2011c) and is considerably less extensive that its predecessors. It stands at 16 pages of which seven are actual text, not including the index. The other eight pages are various high resolution images of Australians from all different ethnic backgrounds smiling at the camera and looking either productive or happy or productive and happy at the same time. The document lays out four principles that make up the current Australian multicultural policy, which do not stray far from those established in previous documents: national unity, cohesion, economic advantage, and non-discrimination (DIAC 2011c).

Like previous policy documents, the principles in this document 'value' cultural diversity and frame it in a positive light, but only as long as the ideas of democracy and unity reign over diversity and contain it. The policy calls for government institutions to respond to diversity, which in turn will apparently provide the nation with economic and trade revenue. Finally the government promises to uphold its end of the bargain by ensuring that it will act against intolerance and discrimination with the full force of the law. It is impossible not to feel that this policy, more perhaps than any other, has a contractual tone that clearly indicates the present state of multiculturalism in contemporary Australia. This echoes the contractual tone of the citizenship act:

> The Parliament recognises that persons conferred Australian citizenship enjoy these rights and undertake to accept these obligations:
>
> (a) by pledging loyalty to Australia and its people; and
>
> (b) by sharing their democratic beliefs; and
>
> (c) by respecting their rights and liberties; and
>
> (d) by upholding and obeying the laws of Australia.
>
> (Commonwealth of Australia 2014)

The corporatizing of Australian multiculturalism is perhaps a symptom of the dangers of constructing a polyethnic nation over the remains of a White racialist state. The most viable survival strategy for Australian multiculturalism's future is to frame its benefits within the economic and neo-liberal supply and demand paradigm which has been so customarily deployed. Australia is not only a multicultural nation because of its ethnic diversity, it is a multicultural nation because this is the 'best bet' for the future. The economic argument has, since the 1970s, been the main justification provided by the government for maintaining multiculturalism. It has become the reason why settlement outcomes are so fundamental. The narrative of gain can only be supported by the cold hard facts of statistics.

Humanitarian entrants, refugees and asylum seekers all fall short of this narrative. They are perceived as coming to Australia with little to offer and much to gain; they provide no skills, no revenue and fill few labour shortages. Refugees then become the ultimate symbol of burden on the state. Solidarity towards those who have nothing to offer is difficult to justify in a world that is defined by concerns over global financial crises and mounting debt (Hage 2003). Added to their vulnerability as stateless people, refugees are potentially perceived as bad long term investments.

The demise of solidarity has become most evident since February 2013 when Liberal Tony Abbot became the Prime Minister of Australia. I would argue that the Liberal party won the 2013 elections on a platform based on tax reduction and 'stopping the boats' (Liberal Party of Australia 2013). The new government brought with it sweeping changes in the treatment of asylum seekers arriving by sea (DIAC 2014) and a reduction in the quota of refugees. Much continues to be said about the nearly impossible task of border protection, both by academics and politicians alike; most of which has been negative. This public debate, compounded with Australia's vast and permeable border and a historic paranoia about invasion, places humanitarian entrants, refugees, and asylum seekers outside the narrative of state multiculturalism as it has been defined by the Australian government since 1973.

2.5. Summary

The question of how Australia, a nation that had racial segregation embedded into law, became a nation that defines itself through multiculturalism and diversity is one that can only be answered in retrospect. The desire to re-create a British ideal in a distant island in the southern seas was only tenable as long as external and internal forces of ethnic and racial diversity were kept at bay. Yet during the second half of the twentieth century this became untenable, the international positioning of Australia was being harmed by its racialist immigration laws, especially in relation to its Asian neighbours, with the rise of an international human rights discourse that was primarily non-racist (Jordan 2006).

With this historical context in mind, it becomes clear that the geographical isolation that allowed for the White Australia policy would shape the way in which multiculturalism was to be implemented. An almost absolute adherence to the Australian way of life was a fundamental tenet of Australian multiculturalism's design. This way of life materialised in the laws, institutions, and values that Australians have become accustomed to; multiculturalism was in no way going to shape or alter them, yet translators and interpreters were going to be provided so that 'new Australians' could become a part of the long standing traditions Australia held.

Australian multiculturalism was a response to the influx of non-British and non-European populations into Australia. It is the set of "measures designed to respond to that diversity" (OMA 1989) and has operated within the realms of cultural identity, social justice, and economic efficiency. Australian multiculturalism provides individuals with protections, but more importantly it provides responsibilities and limitations to those cultural protections. These are two important safeguards to maintaining the Australian way of life. As noted above, this reinforcement of the 'Australian way' highlights that Australia wants to position itself both as part of the migrant multicultural nations of the world and as possessing a distinctly separate form of multiculturalism. Since 1999 its government has placed considerable emphasis on citizenship and in 2007 introduced a citizenship test (Chisari 2012).

Stats (2015) argues that during the 1990s public opinion placed considerable pressure on the government to deal with the problem of illegal maritime arrivals. The imposition of a

migration framework on the 'asylum problem' created the idea that there were two types of refugee groups – those that waited where they were supposed to and those that came without warning or invitation – that were presumed to be in competition with each other (Stats 2015). Conceiving of maritime arrivals as 'queue jumpers' legitimates the harsh measures that were implemented by Howard with the Pacific Solution, measures which continue today with the ABF that "consider the border not to be a purely physical [...] but a complex continuum stretching offshore and onshore, including the overseas, maritime, physical border and domestic dimensions of the border" (DIBP 2015).

The Australian way of doing multiculturalism is first Australian in principle and then multicultural. As former Prime Minister John Howard explains "[o]ur democratic values and commitment to a fair go for all underpin Australia's success as a multicultural and cosmopolitan society" (DIMIA 1999, p. 3). It would seem plausible to state that those who come to Australia are welcomed into a system of multiculturalism that presumes a high degree of adaptation from them – if they are not of European heritage – but would not require the same levels of adaptation from the White majority. How does this tacit requirement impact on refugees when they are not in a position to make a contribution? Does such a policy perspective allow for the inclusion of those who cannot or will not adapt to the Australian way of life?

The next chapter presents an examination of resettlement research done in Australia. It focuses on research conducted from the mid-1990s onwards to account for the impact of the large scale government LSIA study. The link between history and policy extends into research; how a specific phenomenon is understood both creates and reflects the ideologies that underpin it. Examining resettlement research can provide a clear indication of whether the principles at the heart of Australian multiculturalism are at the heart of the understandings we construct about the resettlement experience.

3. Literature Review: Examining Resettlement in Australia

As noted in Chapter 1, Australia has a total population of over 21 million people, according to the 2011 Census (DIBP 2014e). The single largest group migrating to Australia continues to be from the UK (DIBP 2014e). To look at research on resettlement in Australia and not account for the fact that migrants include a British majority is to ignore the fact that Australia is still predominantly a White nation with an overwhelming British heritage. This fact is important not only because of its predictable effects on the study of migration and resettlement but because the current concepts of migrant and migration in the Australian context obscure the reality of a persistently White European majority, largely British in origin.

The total population figure of over 21 million also masks the 1.67 million temporary residents (7.2% of the estimated total) (Markus 2014) who are neither permanent residents nor enjoy the privileges of citizenship; they arrive, make considerable contributions to the nation – either by work or by study – and depart. Uninterrogated statistical data can distort the picture of how migration actually occurs. This multifaceted and complex reality is the background for researching the experiences of non-British migrant groups, including African refugees.

Understanding and measuring settlement outcomes has become an important focus of Australian government research to determine if funds are being spent wisely (Khoo 2012) and if policy changes are producing the desired effects (Cobb-Clark 2004). It is this focus on outcome based assessments that has come to define settlement research. This study takes the view that settlement research should be understood as research that focuses on exploring the conditions of refugees and migrants that come to Australia. These conditions are understood in concrete terms and mainly in areas such as housing, employment, education, and English proficiency.

Most of this research thus far has focused on first generation migrant outcomes, due to those being considered an indication of the success of the overall migrant programme (Khoo et al. 2002). In Section 2.1 I argue that there is a link between the history of Australia as a White settler nation and the imposition of multiculturalism as a 'top-down' political decision. What kind of settlement research, who is being researched, in what ways the data are being

collected – are important questions when seeking to examine the relative success or failings of migration and multiculturalism in Australia. Does the knowledge generated around settlement reinforce a particular multicultural discourse? Does the research reinforce the desirability of the well-educated, able bodied, professional migrants over other kinds of migrants? How do migrants who belong to the other group fare? Are there supportive conditions for those who do not 'have something to contribute' but wish to make a new life in Australia?

Chapter 3 provides an examination of resettlement research with a specific focus on Australia. This focus is due to the specificity of the Australian context as well as the nation-specific nature of multiculturalism as a diversity management strategy (Delanty 2010; Uberoi 2008). The resettlement literature examined in this chapter is from the mid-1990s to the present. This time frame was chosen given the impact that the implementation of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), discussed in this section, has had on the production of knowledge since 1995. However, it is important to note that, as Hugo (2011) points out, there is little research that focuses solely on refugee outcomes. Within this, there is even less resettlement research focusing exclusively on African cohorts.

While the studies included in this review focus predominantly on measurable settlement outcomes, as this is how settlement has been constructed through research, this literature review includes 35 papers that focus exclusively on African refugee cohorts, of those 25 are directly related to issues of settlement. This is by no means a comprehensive representation of the research on African refugee resettlement, nor does this review intend to be. However, the reality of research on African refugees is one where studies have focused on highly specialised issues or highly specific communities. As noted in Chapter 1 the concept of 'African refugees' is a culturally constructed one used for the purposes of practicality in this study. It is also relevant to point out that the small scale qualitative research that has been done, with the exception perhaps of Pittaway and Muli (2009) and the Australian Human Rights Commission (2010) reports, has not been the research that has informed multicultural or resettlement policy in the last 20 years.

Despite the shortcomings described above, this review attempts to generate a holistic picture of how resettlement is understood in the context of Australian multiculturalism. To do so the

literature examined includes aspects of social cohesion and social capital to describe the complex nature of the resettlement process. While issues of social cohesion are far less likely to be quantifiable, there has been an ongoing effort by the Scanlon Monash Foundation to monitor social cohesion yearly since 2007 in Australia. Social capital, on the other hand, is a much broader issue within the resettlement research sector. Throughout the review small scale studies that focus on African cohorts have been included, where possible, in an endeavour to include their rich qualitative information.

This chapter begins with an examination of social inclusion in terms of both social capital and social cohesion. Social capital is a term that has become part and parcel of the discussion on the success or failure of immigration, given the obvious consequences of putting two or more culturally diverse groups in the same geopolitical space (Markus, 2012, 2013, 2014). Social cohesion is explored through the Scanlon Monash yearly reports, the largest of their kind in Australia, which have become a barometer for gauging the pulse of social cohesion. The chapter then examines the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) which, between 1995 and 2005, gathered data on migrants who had resettled in Australia under a range of visa streams. The LSIA study continues to be the single largest longitudinal study of its kind in Australia and provides most of the knowledge base that has constructed the academic and public perception of migration.

To provide a more accurate picture of what resettlement looks like in Australia, this chapter examines the general findings on commonly deployed measurable outcomes: employment, housing, education and English proficiency, and mental health. These indices are familiar to anyone looking to evaluate the success of a nation and its economy. This chapter concludes with an examination of the Hugo (2011) report, which focuses specifically on the economic, social, and civic contributions of refugees.

3.1. Examining Multiculturalism: Social Inclusion and Civic Participation

Society, or what we have come to understand as society, has in recent years irrevocably changed, in part due to global migrations and in part due to the effect technology has had on social relations (Castells 2000; Elliott, A & Turner 2012; Giddens 1991). Social inclusion, social cohesion, and civic participation have become part of the current discourse on the integration of migrants (Hage 2003; Hugo 2011). How these concepts are defined is vague and varied, but it would be generally accepted that they relate to political participation and a sense of belonging (Hugo 2011). In opposition to this, social exclusion functions as a multifaceted process by which individuals and collectives are excluded from the larger society to varying degrees (Correa-Velez, Spaaij & Upham 2012). Understanding how these concepts operate in the lives of refugees, and migrants more generally, provides insight into how well multiculturalism is faring in terms of intangible, less easily quantified, aspects of settlement.

3.1.1. Social Capital: Facilitating Connectedness

Social capital is a broad term that has become popular within the policy and academic sectors for its ability to deliver positive outcomes measurable in some ways at a micro and macro level (Major et al. 2013; Stone, Hughes & Australian Institute of Family Studies 2002). The Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY), taking the definition provided by Dr Andrew Lohrey, states that social capital is created when people become part of organised groups of people, participate in learning activities or build trust with their neighbour, thereby producing norms of reciprocity (O'Sullivan & Olliff 2006, p. 17). Reciprocity is the defining point of social capital, it allows for both giving and taking between actors. It generates a sense of connection that provides not only a human bond but a resource that individuals can access if they need to.

Two components of social capital that are of specific interest to this study are those of bonds and bridges. Bonding capital, it is argued, allows the individual to establish a relationship with other members of her family and group while bridging capital allows her to move away from these closely knit networks into the wider civil society (Putnam 2000). For refugees "social capital refers to the connections refugees and refugee groups have to state structures and institutions and therefore relates to power and authority" (Elliott, S & Yusuf 2014, p. 102). Arguably, when individuals are displaced from the homeland where they have spent a lifetime

building networks, the loss of social capital, both bonding and bridging, can have a devastating effect on their ability to integrate (McMichael & Manderson 2004).

Social capital has in recent years become a commonly used concept when talking about successful refugee resettlement. Social capital can be considered a key component of social inclusion; the extent to which the individual can tap into networks of friends, co-workers and family will inevitably be associated with how well a humanitarian entrant is resettling. This is why much of the research on social capital (except for the Scanlon Monash reports) has permeated the settlement research sector in the form of small scale qualitative studies, focusing on specific communities or ethnic groups and the impact of social networks on outcomes such as mental health and employment. The ability to access and draw on social capital is linked to improved outcomes for everything from education (Major et al. 2013; Shrestha, Wilson & Singh 2008), to employment (Torezani, Colic-Peisker & Fozdar 2008), to participation levels (ABS 2006), to overall wellbeing (Elliott, S & Yusuf 2014).

Yet the concept itself is difficult to encapsulate and can refer to a range of different ideas relating to resources and relationships (ABS 2006). Social capital provides possible job opportunities, access to knowledge of a number of opportunities and to members of other networks. CMY (2011) thus argues that facilitating bridging and bonding relationships for refugee youth is a fundamental part of good settlement policy. Indeed the same can be argued for all migrants and refugees.

In contrast to the commonly heard narrative of the benefits of social capital, scholars such as Pardy and Lee (2011) would view the new emphasis on social capital, and by extension social cohesion, as a form of 'new integrationism', similar to assimilation, where the purportedly divisive evils of multiculturalism can be counterbalanced by requiring migrant communities to become part of the mainstream. Pardy and Lee combined their individual research into everyday multiculturalism, focusing on non-Anglo-Saxon communities and civic organizations. Based on Lee's findings from semi-structured interviews with representatives of civic organizations in Sydney and Melbourne in 2007 and 2008 and Pardy's ethnographic research among the Vietnamese-Australian community between 2000 and 2006 (Pardy & Lee 2011, pp. 304-5), the researchers claim that words such as 'social capital' and 'multiculturalism' are politically deployed by refugees and workers to generate spaces of

belonging (Pardy & Lee 2011, p. 300). These buzzwords "produce political spaces from which claims on the nation and entitlement to national space are asserted" (Pardy & Lee 2011, p. 300). It has long been a contention of critics of multiculturalism that the idea of minority rights is divisive and has a negative impact on social cohesion. However, the question of what divides communities is rarely asked. It is not the mere presence of difference, or as Mary Douglas (1966) states matter out of place, it is the relationships with difference that define how individuals are to bond to multiculturalism.

3.1.2. Mapping Social Cohesion and Settlement in Australia

In Australia the yearly Scanlon Monash *Mapping Social Cohesion Report* has become a point of reference for researchers, policy analysts, communities and service organisations. This nation-wide survey has taken place yearly since 2007 (Markus 2014) and has generated a well-established knowledge base on community perceptions of social cohesion. For the first five years the survey used a uniform methodology with random sampling that was stratified geographically and a sample base of 2000 (Markus 2012, p. 6). This, comparatively large sample base allows for better examination of subgroups according to age, education, or political affiliation (Markus 2012, p. 6). The questionnaire design is "informed by ongoing review of Australian and international research" and the interviews are carried out over the phone (Markus 2012, p. 6).

More recently, in 2013 and 2014 the survey used a dual-frame sample methodology comprising randomly generated landline and mobile phone numbers (Markus 2014, p. 6). For 2014 there was a 62.7% landline and 37.3% mobile phone distribution (Markus 2014, p. 6). This move is in line with emerging best practice, as there are an estimated 21% of adults who live in households with no landlines (Markus 2014). An added feature of the 2014 survey was an experimental internet based survey of 1070 'third' generation Australians, that is Australians with both parents born in Australia though many were fourth, fifth or later generations (Markus 2014, p. 46). This survey had an extra set of questions on Australian identity, contact between cultures, and integration (Markus 2014). Markus argues that while the inclusion of internet based surveys is effective, it is not possible to establish a representative sample nor can excessively negative social views be accounted for (Markus 2014, p. 8).

Social cohesion as defined in the Scanlon Monash report is a concept that, while contested, has three factors in common: a shared vision of the future, is the property of a group or community, and is a process (Markus 2014, p. 13). This means that social cohesion is viewed as a dynamic process that is always changing for the members of a nation, and one that needs to be tracked regularly. Different social and environmental factors can affect the way individuals feel about community attachments. The Scanlon Monash report takes on an eclectic approach to social cohesion based on work by Jane Jenson and Paul Bernard (no reference provided) that incorporates the domains of: belonging, social justice and equity, participation, acceptance and rejection, legitimacy, and finally, worth (Markus 2014, p. 13). These can all be considered to be core ideas when examining resettlement of a visibly different group within the Australian multicultural context.

Using this understanding and the data collected since 2007, the report developed the Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) of social cohesion which is used to measure shifts and changes in opinion and reported experience (Markus 2014, p. 14). An interesting feature of the report is the ability to track the overall SMI from 2007 to the present. This timeframe has included a global financial crisis, two federal elections and four changes of federal government leadership, as well as a shift in the asylum seeker policy towards a harsher and more restrictive direction. All of these events are, arguably, linked to varying levels of social cohesion within the Australian community. Below is a comparative table, taken from the 2014 report, tracking the changes to the SMI of social cohesion.

Table 3.1 - *The Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) of Social Cohesion, 2007-2014*

Domain	2007[19]	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Change 2013–14 (percentage points)
1. Sense of belonging	100	96.9	95.0	96.6	95.1	91.0	92.6	1.6
2. Sense of worth	100	97.2	96.7	96.5	96.5	93.8	96.8	3.0
3. Social justice and equity	100	112.4	91.9	94.4	95.1	98.0	93.7	−4.3
4. Participation	100	105.3	98.0	106.4	106.6	90.8	93.6	2.8
5. Acceptance (rejection)	100	94.4	81.5	75.3	78.6	68.8	70.9	2.1
Average	100	101.24	92.62	93.84	94.38	88.48	89.52	1.0

(Markus 2014, p. 15)

The table shows the five areas that make up the SMI index of social cohesion: sense of belonging, sense of worth, social justice and equity, participation, and acceptance. Sense of belonging refers to an indication of pride in the Australian way of life. Worth refers to satisfaction with current financial situation and level of happiness over the last 12 months. Social justice and equity refer to views on the adequacy of support for low income populations and the differences between high and low income. Participation refers to political participation, while acceptance measures perceived sense of rejection in the form of negative views on immigration and reported events of discrimination (Markus 2014).

As the above table shows, the largest drop from 2013-2014 has been in the area of social justice and equity which fell 4.3 percentage points over the past 12 months. However in all areas there has been a persistent drop from the benchmark year of 2007 and the second survey in 2009. Particularly notable are participants' identified sense of rejection (acceptance), which has fallen 23.5 points since the survey began (Markus 2014). Of the five markers, this is the only one where a steep drop, as the one seen here, is a desirable outcome. Having the other four indicators well within the 90 to 100 per cent mark shows that, since 2007, there has been a consistent pattern of positive identification with Australia (Markus 2014). Yet looking at the detail reveals certain contradictions to the overall positive picture. Participants were asked 'to what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?' Figure 3.1 below, shows a decrease over time in the levels of attachment.

FIGURE 3.1 - 'TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU HAVE A SENSE OF BELONGING IN AUSTRALIA?' 2007 – 2014

(Markus 2014, p. 16)

78

The results from the third generation online survey shed light on certain tensions. Table 3.2 below, compares participants' responses when asked if multiculturalism has been good for the nation; only 12.9% of respondents who answered online strongly agreed with this statement yet for those who were telephoned 30.8% strongly agreed. And while the negativity of the response rate may be explained by the possibility that those with extreme views are likely to respond online, it may also point to the possibility that respondents who spoke to interviewers over the phone did not wish to be perceived as not endorsing the popular narrative of multiculturalism.

Table 3.2 - 'MULTICULTURALISM HAS BEEN GOOD FOR AUSTRALIA', THIRD GENERATION AUSTRALIAN (PERCENTAGE)

Survey mode	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree/ disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Telephone	30.8	51.4	4.8	6.2	5.5
Online	12.9	37.3	26.8	12.5	9.2

(Markus 2014, p. 50)

Interestingly though, when asked about immigration and the effects of this in making Australia a stronger country the responses trended toward a positive shift. Between 2007 and 2014 there has been an increase from 21.9% to 26.4% in the strongly agree category (Markus 2014, p.20). When combining the 'strongly agree' and 'agree' categories the responses show a 5.6 point increase from 2013 and an overall increase since 2009 (Markus 2014, p.20).

Table 3.3 – 'Accepting immigrants from any different countries makes Australia stronger', 2007 – 2014 (percentage)

Response	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
'Strongly agree'	21.9	24.7	19.1	24.2	25.7	22.0	26.4*
'Agree'	45.1	43.2	43.3	40.1	39.4	40.1	41.3
('Strongly agree', 'agree')	*67.0*	*62.9*	*62.4*	*64.3*	*65.1*	*62.1*	*67.7**
'Neither agree nor disagree'	3.3	3.1	5.9	6.4	5.5	6.1	4.5
'Disagree'	18.1	17.9	18.6	16.2	15.3	18.1	15.9
'Strongly disagree'	7.8	8.9	10.9	10.6	10.7	10.6	9.6
('Strongly disagree', 'disagree')	*25.9*	*26.8*	*29.5*	*26.8*	*26.0*	*28.7*	*25.6*
N (unweighted)	2,012	2,019	2,021	2,001	2,000	1,200	1,526

* Change between 2013 and 2014 statistically significant at p<.05.

(Markus 2014, p. 20)

Another interesting marker observed by the Scanlon Monash report is the sharp decline over seven years in community perceptions about the importance of asylum seekers as a negative issue, with only 4% of respondents in the most recent survey noting it an 'important problem' (Markus 2014, p. 21). Another marked change in the 2014 report was the experience of discrimination marker. While this dropped one percentage point (18%) from 2013 (19%), it is still comparatively high in relation to the 2007 response rate of 9% (Markus 2014, p. 23). This experience is, however, uneven across subgroups of the population. Respondents who were of a non-English speaking background, non-Christian faith, young, male, and residents of urban centres report the highest rates of discrimination (Markus 2014, p. 23).

Overall, the Scanlon Monash reports can be said to present typically inconsistent reactions to Australian multiculturalism and social cohesion, in this sense showing similarities with other reports (Access and Equity Inquiry Panel 2012; Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012). Papers such as *Australia in the Asian Century* (Australia, Gillard & Australia in the Asian Century Task Force 2012) point to Australia's deeply dependent relationship with foreign economies; migration from this region is a way of solidifying the ties that bind this country to its neighbours. The Scanlon Monash reports reveal the conflicted nature of migration in Australia; the reported perception of Australia being stronger due to immigration is not in accordance with the decreasing levels of social cohesion. They do, nonetheless, speak to the importance given to diversity as providing an economic advantage for the long term. What can be seen as a contradiction in responses is probably symptomatic of how Australia has incorporated immigration into its national narrative.

Australia has a federal multicultural access and equity policy that all government departments respond to, this means a series of strategies and benchmarks determine how well departments are doing in terms of accessing and servicing culturally diverse clients (DSS 2014d). Government departments must also report on a regular basis on their performance (DSS 2014a). In 2011 there was an independent inquiry to assess the responsiveness of Australian government services to CALD populations; the result was the *Access and Equity for a Multicultural Australia* report, published in 2012. It found that the access and equity strategy had a major impact on the overall engagement of government with diversity (Access and Equity Inquiry Panel 2012, p. 39), however some adjustment needed to take place to

provide clearer operational guidelines for agencies (Access and Equity Inquiry Panel 2012, p. 42). The report established that various agencies "did not have a strong sense of the multicultural nature of their client group… did not collect relevant data in a systematic way and did not share such data if they had it" (Access and Equity Inquiry Panel 2012, p. 43). This report was published thirty nine years after the repeal of the White Australia policy; the admission that services are still not attuned to their client group reveals the ambivalent relationship government organizations have with polyethnicity and multiculturalism. Perhaps this is why one recommendation suggests that the Access and Equity Policy be renamed Multicultural Access and Equity (2012, p. 7) in an attempt to account for the reality of clientele diversity.

The link the *Access and Equity* report makes between access to government services and a sense of belonging is one that should not go unnoticed. Access to government services, the ability to use these services to the individual's advantage, can be considered a source of bridging capital. Being part of a nation state not only relates to how well individuals get along with their neighbours but also to how they relate to and interact with the institutions representative of government (Anderson, B 2006). Refugee cohorts may resent or fear the state, given their own personal histories in their home countries (McMichael & Manderson 2004). This may well be linked to the emphasis the report places on improving communication strategies, internet materials, and accountability (Access and Equity Inquiry Panel 2012).

Over a decade before this report was published the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) released a position paper discussing multiculturalism. The notion of equality was employed as promoting understanding and tolerance between parties (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 2007, p. 10). While the concepts of equality, equity, and access are an important part of migration understanding who is coming to Australia and how they are doing after arrival is an important part of the implementation of multiculturalism.

3.1.3. In our own Words: African Australians and Social Inclusion

As noted above, there have been some small scale studies that have delved into social inclusion for ethnic communities (see for example Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett 2010;

Fozdar & Hartley 2013; Kennan et al. 2011; Turner & Fozdar 2010). Two of these represent a clear and concerted attempt at identifying how African Australians feel about social inclusion issues. The first is the 2010 report *In our own Words*, published by the AHRC (2010), the second is *We Have a Voice – Hear Us*, published by the Centre for Refugee Research of the University of New South Wales (Pittaway & Muli 2009).

In our own Words was a study which captured the views and experiences of over 2,500 African Australians, in 50 community meetings in regional and urban areas, across Australia. The project had a particular focus on gathering the views of young African Australians, African Australian Muslim communities, and African Australian Muslim women (AHRC 2010). The report concluded that every measurable area of settlement – housing, employment, health, etc. – was negatively impacted by low levels of social participation, perceived and actual racism, and the propagation of negative stereotypes in the mainstream media (AHRC 2010). The report found that:

> Regardless of how they arrived in Australia, or whether they had been here for a short time or their whole lives, many African Australians said they experienced discrimination and prejudice as part of their everyday lives (AHRC 2010, p. 8)

We Have a Voice, on the other hand, focused specifically on the experiences of refugees from the Horn of Africa (HoA) as to date, there had been little detailed qualitative research focusing exclusively on this community (Pittaway & Muli 2009, p. 8); unfortunately, this research trend still remains. This research project came on the back of the comments made, in 2007, by the then immigration minister on the low levels of integration of African communities in Australia and the subsequent reduction in the humanitarian intake quotas for the African region – as noted in Chapter 1. This could account for the report's explicit intent to highlight that considerable numbers of African refugees from the HoA succeed in their resettlement journey and go on to live rich and meaningful lives (Pittaway & Muli 2009).

We Have a Voice captures the experiences of 87 participants, 37 men and 46 women, from all the countries of the HoA except Djibouti. The majority of the participants were from metropolitan Sydney and were identified by community leaders and service providers as 'ideal' participants for the study (Pittaway & Muli 2009, p. 26). They took part in semi-

structured interviews, with responses analysed using the Ager and Strang (2008) integration criteria model (Pittaway & Muli 2009).

The study found that while HoA refugees are making considerable contributions to Australia, they do face problems after arrival, mainly to do with the systemic aspects of resettlement – housing and employment – yet the report notes some added dimensions (Pittaway & Muli 2009, p. 67). Given the horrors that such refugees endured, family bonds and cultural preservation are important factors for successful settlement (Pittaway & Muli 2009). The report states that social connections are, sometimes, extremely weak; that bridges to other communities are extremely rare; and that the social links with the host community are fraught with problems and difficult to navigate (Pittaway & Muli 2009, pp. 67-8). Refugees that reported successful settlement did so because they felt they belonged and were contributing to Australian society (Pittaway & Muli 2009). These refugees had "achieved family reunion and were satisfied with their access to employment, housing, education, and health services" (Pittaway & Muli 2009, p. 68).

While the role of family in successful settlement cannot be discounted, it is important to acknowledge the difficulties when entire family units move to a different culture, which include intergenerational conflict and the demise of traditional gender roles' impact on the family (see for example Lewig, Arney & Salveron 2010; Renzaho, McCabe & Sainsbury 2011; Williams 2011). This has been framed as intergenerational acculturation gaps that need to be overcome by parents and their children (Sainsbury & Renzaho 2011). Young people experience conflict within their family settings due to the increased pressures that parents and carers face. McMichael et al. (2011) claim that young people report greater conflict in the home due to parents losing their sense of self and familiarity with their surroundings. Findings such as these point to the importance that family structure has on the overall settlement outcomes for individuals; humanitarian entrant families deal not only with the new but also with the burden created by displacement and resettlement.

3.2. Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA)

The LSIA is the most comprehensive survey of immigrants to Australia (Gartner 1996). Since it was implemented there have been no other long term longitudinal studies of immigrant populations into Australia, except the current ongoing, but not yet published, Longitudinal Study of Humanitarian Migrants (Maio et al. 2014). The LSIA was designed to provide reliable data for the Commonwealth government to "monitor and evaluate immigration and settlement policies, programs and services" (Gartner 1996, p. i). This desire to generate data points to the sparse knowledge base relating to migrants before the 1990s, although research has been conducted since the mid-1950s (Neumann 2013) it remains a topic with knowledge gaps. It could be said that the LSIA aims to determine what can and cannot be considered successful settlement (Ward, D 1995).

Defining 'successful settlement' is a complicated matter not only regulated by government policy and service provision but framed by the lived experiences of those who resettle. Some definitions relate to measurable outcomes while others construct success in terms of wellbeing and freedom (Sen 2001). Due to its scope, size, and longitudinal nature, the LSIA is the most important data set in Australia; it is the most commonly cited and referenced source in Australian settlement research. Significantly, it is also the most common source of raw data for researchers.

The target population of the LSIA[6] consists of all primary applicants (PAs) for Australian immigration and members of their family (Gartner 1996, p. 53). The primary applicant is the person who received approval to immigrate and may, or may not, have brought a spouse or dependants (DIBP 2014d). To be eligible, the PA had to be at least 15 years of age; be given their visa offshore; be without special eligibility visas; not a New Zealand citizen; and have an identifiable country of birth (DIBP 2014d). However, due to the changing nature of immigration policies during the time the LSIA was carried out, the composition of samples varied, LSIA 1 and 2, for example, included the PAs and their family units, whereas LSIA 3 only surveyed the PAs and excluded the humanitarian entrant stream (DIBP 2014d). Below is a summary of the individual features of each LSIA study.

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[6] For access to the LSIA questionnaires refer to (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2015f)

TABLE 3.4 - SUMMARY OF LONGITUDINAL SURVEYS OF IMMIGRANTS TO AUSTRALIA

	Years – arrival	Sample size	Data collection waves – after migration	Visa Streams
LSIA 1	September 1993 to August 1995	5192 primary applicants	1 – up to six months 2 – 18 months 3 – 18 to 42 months	Skilled Family Humanitarian Entrant
LSIA 2	September 1999 to August 2000	3124 Primary applicants	1 – up to six months 2 – 6 to 18 months	Skilled Family Humanitarian Entrant
LSIA 3	December 2004 to March 2005	9865 primary applicants	1 – up to six months 2 – six to 18 months	Skilled Family

(DIBP 2014d)

Once a PA was identified as eligible for the study, a letter of invitation was sent asking for their participation. Because this letter was only in English (Gartner 1996), and given the study's Wave 1 timeframe (up to 6 months after arrival), arguably there was an expectation that a third party would be present to assist new arrivals in understanding the letter. During the actual survey bilingual interviewers, non-English speaking interviewers, and official interpreters or respondent's friends or family could be present at the interviews (Gartner 1996). While there are issues around the use of family and friends as interpreters for research purposes, Gartner (1996) explains that it was a decision based on the impracticable cost of professional interpreters for all languages (Gartner 1996, p. 66). Given the difficulties with attaining people's addresses and setting up interviews so soon after arrival into Australia, a rolling sampling strategy was used to accommodate for the uncertainty of the first few months of resettlement (Gartner 1996).

The data were collected by questionnaire consisting of three parts, with a total of approximately 330 questions focused on 12 major policy topics (Gartner 1996, p. 51). Though changes were made to the questionnaire along the way to account for major policy changes affecting migrants, the core remained the same and these questionnaires were the basis for the interviews (Gartner 1996). Though the topic selection is broad, the results stand well within the realm of the quantitative; this is an expected outcome given the aim of the LSIA. Yet it is important to recognise that some nuances are not covered, nor conveyable, in 330 questions.

Another challenge that the LSIA presents is the lack of systematic reporting of the findings. While the raw data are available, only a handful of published reports focus on some of the

LSIAs or on specific topics. The most complete one was done by Vanden Heuvel and Wooden (1999) on all three waves of LSIA 1. These findings are presented throughout this chapter, in brief the report focuses on the labour force experience, English proficiency, income, housing, and health. Overall the researchers state that English proficiency and previous qualifications impacted heavily on labour outcomes in Australia; that income seemed to improve slightly over time; housing became more stable with time; and there was relative ease of access to health services for those not in the more vulnerable visa streams (Vanden Heuvel & Wooden 1999).

While the scope of the LSIA has not been matched by other data gathering efforts and it has generated a huge data set from which to extract relevant information on migration, it is not without limitations. For example, in LSIA 1 the PAs came from more than 120 countries, from all regions of the world, however, three regions dominated the sample – Europe, Southeast Asia, and Northeast Asia. In fact for Wave 1, 29% of all preferential family visas, 31% of all concessional family, 30% of all business, and 38% of all independent visas came from the UK, Ireland, the former USSR, and other European countries (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 1997, p. 1). It is also important to clarify that given the timeframe for LSIA 1, 1994 and 1995, 43% of all humanitarian visas came from the former USSR and other European countries (DIMA 1997).

The LSIA 3's most significant finding is the reduction in the unemployment rate between Wave 1 and Wave 2 (DSS 2007), with only twelve months between waves. While this seems considerable, LSIA 3 does not include refugees. There was also a highly predictable correlation between higher IELTS test scores and better employment outcomes (DSS 2007).

It is important to acknowledge, as indicated above, that much of the publicly available research is generated from or based on the LSIA data. That is to say, most small scale research cited in this review uses the same data set on which to either base or compare their results. The LSIA data are available, free of cost, from their website to anyone who places a request.

In Australia a limited number of scholars work in settlement research. Klaus Neumann's (2013) bibliography on the resettlement of refugees establishes that the first scholarly texts about settlement were published in the 1950s. Since then and up to 2013 Neumann (2013) remarked that there have been 1134 research pieces – an average of 17 documents per year

–on refugee resettlement in Australia; including books, articles, reports, and masters and doctoral theses. He observes a shift from government-led reporting to reports by academics in universities (Neumann 2013). This begs the question of who is funding the research. Neumann describes what he sees as the research gaps: focusing on one particular ethnic group at the expense of more inclusive approaches; a lack of studies looking at the impact of policy changes on scholarship; an excessive focus on the present; an assumption that successful resettlement depends on refugees' ability to adapt; and finally little recognition that refugees return to their countries of origin.

A close look at the bibliography reveals, aside from the recurring government departments and NGOs, a handful of names producing most of the current scholarship in this area: Colic-Peisker (2006; 2007; 2008), Correa-Velez (2010; 2012), Galbally (1978), Harris (1993; 2011), Jupp (2003, 2007; 1993), Markus (2012; 2013, 2014), Marlowe (2009, 2012), McMichael (2011; 2004), Tilbury (aka Fozdar) (2012; 2013), and Zubrzycki (1997). Not included in his list is Hugo (1987; 2010, 2011) who has made a huge contribution to the research. This is not to deny the contributions made by those who publish less often, but rather to account for the somewhat insular nature of both the data source of much research in Australia and the range of researchers themselves, as well as the nature of what is known about multiculturalism and migration within the Australian setting.

3.3. Measuring Outcomes

Education, health, employment, and housing are the indices that have become a benchmark to determine how well an individual or community is doing in Australia. Khoo (2012) reviewed studies based on data from LSIA 1 and 2 in order to generate new key research questions for another longitudinal survey of refugees and other humanitarian migrants to be conducted by the federal government. Khoo states most "studies based on LSIA 1 and LSIA 2 have compared the settlement experiences of migrants in the Family, Skilled and Humanitarian visa categories" (2012, p. 8). The review reveals a well-known and commonly deployed finding that, in general, refugees are worse off for the most common indicators (Khoo 2012).

Yet establishing a sense of context is important to understand how and why settlement outcomes are measured exclusively in terms of quantitative data. Scholars such as Sidhu (2007) point to the neo-liberal models of production that dominate the narratives of government and development as impacting on how policies are operationalised, yet not all aspects of settlement outcomes can be related back to modes of production.

3.3.1. The Settlement Outcomes of New Arrivals (SONA)

SONA (Australian Survey Research 2011) was the first of its kind for DIBP, due to the scale and the scope of the study. The study's aim was to generate data to assist the delivery of post-arrival services and to obtain "a better understanding of how Humanitarian Programme entrants are faring during their first five years […] and to help identify what factors contribute to successful settlement" (ASR 2011, p. 1). The study surveyed just over 20,000 participants with 60% humanitarian, 20% skilled and 20% family stream visa participants. SONA used DIBP'S settlement database yet still relied on mailed, paper-based surveys, sent to addresses recorded in the database. The inclusion criteria for participants were that they:

- had come under the humanitarian, skilled or family stream (the skilled and family streams were included for comparative purposes and account for 40% of the total sample)
- had arrived no longer than 6 months prior to the date they had been identified
- were primary applicants only, no dependent applicants were included

- were 18 years or older (ASR 2011, p. 8).

A stratified random sample was drawn from all the files DIBP identified as meeting the selection criteria. In terms of a general demographic profile, most refugees had been in Australia three and up to four years (30.1%) though each 12 month period from 0 to 60 was evenly represented in the sample (ASR 2011, p. 50). Most were between 25-34 (31.2%) and 35-44 (32.9%) years old (ASR 2011, p. 51). This is comparatively younger than the average population of Australia. Of the total refugees, 37.7% came from African countries (ASR 2011, p. 53). Most refugees lived in metropolitan areas with only 552 in regional settings (ASR 2011, p. 56). Thirty percent of them lived in Victoria (ASR 2011, p. 56). The majority (62.7%) of refugees stated that they were married or in a de facto relationship (ASR 2011, p. 57).

SONA generated a predictive framework using information from prior reports (CMY 2006; Ager and Strang 2004; Khoo and McDonald 2001) and from discussions with DIBP to assess the success of settlement for new refugees. This is to say, they developed a series of variables that, when correlated together, could predict how successful a settlement process could be. In somewhat simpler terms, SONA understood settlement as a continuum where key settlement indicators (age, gender, etc.) would have a relationship to key settlement dimensions (social participation, economic participation, economic and physical wellbeing); these settlement dimensions would contribute in some degree to the overall measurement of settlement (ASR 2011, p. 6).

In an unexpected turn of events, results analysis points to a minimal relationship between settlement outcomes and any independent variables i.e. gender, age, country of birth, length of time in Australia, marital status, postcode and links before arrival. Further to this SONA states that "many of the initially identified settlement indicators did not predict anything" (ASR 2011, p. 59). Due to this truly unforeseen result, SONA explains that their findings are exclusive to that data set and therefore any changes in the data set would alter the results. Ultimately, the revolutionary conclusion is the way in which agencies predict successful settlement outcomes and the way in which refugees describe successful outcomes are different, with the latter focusing on personal happiness and comfort.

SONA delved deeper into the sphere of social cohesion and civic participation by investigating and presenting findings around 'connectedness' and 'linking'. For SONA 'connectedness' is understood as the level of participation a humanitarian entrant has within her own religious, ethnic or family networks – bonding capital – but should not be confused with participation in mainstream Australia. 'Links' are defined as the number of people a humanitarian entrant knew in Australia before they arrived. Neither of these concepts refer to any networks developed by refugees within the broader ethnically diverse community. In other words links or attachments to the broader community are not seen as part of successful settlement, either in practice or in theory at the moment. SONA's conclusions reveal, somewhat paradoxically, that those entrants who came with no links are more likely to speak, read and write English well, and are more likely to obtain a qualification after arrival and be employed, though they are less satisfied with the conditions of their accommodation (ASR 2011, p. 65).

This finding goes against the common knowledge that refugees, who are highly embedded in their communities, i.e. have greater bonding capital, do better in their new country. Perhaps this result is due to an effect of low levels of bonding capital and the consequential need to generate bridging capital in a new country. In other words, refugees who cannot rely on their own communities are forced to look for opportunities in the broader Australian context. A further point needs to be made here. SONA's inability to generate a predictive model for settlement, coupled with this outcome, bring into question the common assumptions of the LSIA and other reports which rely on quantitative markers such as employment, housing, education and health. Yet these markers are not the only way of understanding settlement.

While the aim of this study is not to assess how well refugees are doing in terms of these general indicators, it is important to understand refugees' material conditions, how these impact on their overall settlement experiences and how the knowledge service providers use to design and adapt programmes is generated. Below is a discussion presenting findings from Australian research on employment, housing, education and English proficiency, and mental health. An account of these choices is provided below and further explanation of the methodological process for my study is given in Chapter 4. It has already been established that most of the raw data comes from the LSIA data set generated over ten years ago and

that the number of researchers looking into the area is limited; both of these factors impact on the production of knowledge in this field.

3.3.2. Employment

"Understanding how immigrants fare in the labour market over time is central to assessing the immigrant settlement process" (Cobb-Clark 2001, p. 468). Overall, studies conducted on employment, regardless of their size or methodology, paint a similar picture for refugees, especially first generation and new arrivals, and not an overly positive one. The small scale qualitative studies included in this literature review were chosen because they explored more than the employment index, they attempted to ascertain how refugee participants felt about their employment situation in Australia. Successful employment is not merely having a job, arguably, it is about feeling a sense of achievement through meaningful occupation.

Refugees are consistently identified as underemployed and more likely to be unemployed after arrival in Australia; they are likely to have to overcome language barriers and racism (Pittaway & Muli 2009). Barriers to employment range from the lack of information on education and training programmes, difficulties having overseas qualifications recognised, and racism and discrimination during interviews, to a lack of Australian workplace experience (AHRC 2010). Yet there is evidence (Hugo 2011) to suggest that employment outcomes improve over time and over consecutive generations.

Cobb-Clark, using participation rate data from LSIA 1 and 2, at wave 2, notes that "[t]he sole exception to the trend in improving labour market outcomes is the substantial fall in the participation rate […] of men and men and women holding Humanitarian visas" (2004, p. 8). Harris and Marlow (2011), citing the immigration update from July to December 2008 from DIAC (now DIBP), state that the median income for a Sudanese person is less than half (46%) of the median income for an Australian-born. Research into the employment patterns for other humanitarian entrant groups has focused on previous waves from Europe and Asia and is not always comparable to the situation that newer humanitarian entrant groups face. As discussed earlier, only a handful of scholars and organizations produce most of the research looking at new humanitarian entrant waves and their employment trends.

The Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA) reviewed well-known Australian literature based mainly on the LSIA data, the Adult Multicultural Education Services, and studies such as Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006; 2007; 2008), and Khoo et al. (2002) (all cited in this review) on the economic, civic and social contributions of refugees. Somewhat in contrast to Cobb-Clark (2001) they conclude there is evidence to suggest refugees achieve better employment outcomes over time. They do, however, similarly state that short term barriers to employment, such as language barriers, structural barriers relating to employment service provision and requirements, paperwork, and a lack of validation of overseas qualifications, need to be recognised (RCOA 2010). This review was conducted as a part of the 2011 Hugo report into the contributions of refugees, discussed below.

Cobb-Clark (2001) however, argues that there lies a danger in the current approach – especially as it relates to LSIA data – as it implicitly assumes that immigrants who arrive at different times and under different policy regimes are similar and that differences in outcomes can be explained by variations in the lengths of time they have been in Australia rather than the impact of external forces that may disadvantage them.

Fozdar (2012) and Colic-Peisker (2006) both worked on a large scale Australian Research Council (ARC) funded study of employment market integration of skilled refugees in Western Australia. This research focused on those refugees who came with good education and work skill levels, defined as having completed high school and holding a professional or trade qualification (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007). The study conducted face-to-face questionnaires with 150 working age refugees from the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, and Africa, as well as 40 semi-structured interviews with employers and employment agents (Fozdar 2012, p. 172). The findings, published by Fozdar and Colic-Peisker individually in different publications, reveal that the majority of the refugee sample was unemployed or working below their qualification level; many reported discrimination as a barrier to work and almost half the sample reported experiencing discrimination in the job market due to accent, name, language ability, and appearance (Fozdar 2012, p. 172). This study found that religion and religious practice was not a significant factor impacting on employment which could mean that refugee status overrides religion (Fozdar 2012, p. 174). Employers, however were generally found to be unaware of the problems faced by refugees and attributed the reasons

for the lack of employment options as a response to the client/customer demands of a market driven system (Fozdar 2012).

This research is in line with other studies conducted in relation to employment; Correa-Velez, Barnett and Gifford (2013) for example mention that a segmented labour market exists where visible difference determines labour outcomes. Hugo's (2011, p. 110) findings, however, would indicate that low employment trends for refugees seem to change with the second generation. Although evidence in his research supports this claim, he has included all refugee-humanitarian entrant groups over a very long period of time in the same study. Such a strategy bolsters the claims of contributions over time but ignores the cultural specificity of certain groups and the different reactions of the mainstream to different ethnic groups.

In the 1999 report drawn from the results of the three waves of LSIA 1 (Vanden Heuvel & Wooden 1999) the labour force experiences of migrants were consistent with the general trend presented above. As indicated in other Australian research, discussed above (RCOA 2010), outcomes improve for migrants over time. However, there are differences between visa categories, for example unemployment was lower for those migrants who had come on a job-related visa compared to those who had entered on a family or humanitarian visa (Vanden Heuvel & Wooden 1999).

Entrants with humanitarian visas were concentrated in the unskilled job sector and they were the least likely to use the qualifications they brought with them (Vanden Heuvel & Wooden 1999). Results were similar for LSIA 2, with participation rates improving for all migrants between waves 1 and 2 while participation rates for humanitarian entrants increased from 16% to 32% (DIBP c. 2003). The main occupations for the primary applicants were still mainly in the labourer and related work areas; no participants in either wave were engaged in managerial or administrator occupations (DIBP c. 2003). Available information for LSIA 3 states that, compared to previous LSIAs, the unemployment rate was lower for most categories of migrants and that participation rates were higher (DIBP c. 2007). However, LSIA 3 did not include refugees in its sample.

Though the employment outcomes for first generation refugees and some migrants often seem bleak, the trend appears different for the second and third generations (Hugo 2011; Khoo et al. 2002). Khoo et al.'s (2002, p. iv) study looked at the 1996 census data to examine

the social, demographic, and economic outcomes for second generation Australians. Khoo et al. (2002) found that second generation Australians outperform their first generation counterparts in most areas measured. However, second generation Australians, in that study, were defined as any person who was born in Australia with one or both parents born overseas. This definition is therefore broad enough to include those who were born to one parent of UK or New Zealand origin, making the results seem more positive than they really are. In addition, a considerable part of the sample were still either of school age or were part of the education system, making it difficult to assess their employment outcomes (Khoo et al. 2002, p. 71). However, for the remaining part of the sample, those who were 25 or older, at least 90% of men in all the second generation groups were employed while the women of Asian heritage had an employment rate over 80% in the 25-34 year age group (Khoo et al. 2002, p. 82). Women from Eastern or Southern Europe had high rates of employment, as did those from the UK or Western Europe (Khoo et al. 2002, p. 82).

Arguably, including second generation Australians of Anglo-Saxon descent in assessing the employment outcomes of migrants ignores the reality of visible difference and racism that is part of the resettlement journey of some migrants (Correa-Velez, Barnett & Gifford 2013). This measurement strategy, in turn, renders those problems invisible and further perpetuates invisible forms of disadvantage.

Small studies have tried to fill the specific gaps in knowledge about the refugee experience in Australia. For example Correa-Velez, Spaaij and Upham (2012) conducted a mixed methods study on the experiences of social exclusion of 233 resettled male refugees living in urban and rural Queensland. They report that when comparing these two locations, men in regional areas were more likely to be unhappy with their job (Correa-Velez, Spaaij & Upham 2012). A different report noted that men in these circumstances were likely to find the wages poor and the kinds of work belittling (Johnston, Vasey & Markovic 2009). This needs to be understood in light of the government push towards resettling refugees in regional areas which has been a policy since roughly the late 1990s. The logic behind this push was to address the requirement for less skilled labour in regional economies and also reach early employment outcomes for resettled refugees (McDonald et al. 2008).

According to the SONA report most humanitarian entrant households are Centrelink payment recipients (85%) with a very slow decrease over the five year period of service provision (ASR 2011, p. 20). The SONA report was generated on behalf of the then DIAC, with its primary purpose being to generate a better understanding of what variables contribute to successful settlement; data collection was through a paper-based survey and the total sample was 20,000 participants belonging to the humanitarian, family, and skilled migration streams (ASR 2011).

By and large employment is a problem area for refugees (Richardson et al. 2002), whether it is the consequence of lack of recognition of prior qualifications or extended periods in refugee camps without access to education, for most refugees the prospects of employment are small and even then they imply a deskilling that will see them in jobs lower in status than their previous occupation. This has implications for all other areas of resettlement, given the financial constraints that unemployment brings. These implications become most visible, perhaps, in the realm of housing which is one area of concern that has been researched by government via census data and through the LSIA, as well as by other government and non-government agencies.

3.3.3. Housing

Housing is a key indicator for future successful settlement for migrants and refugees (Audit Office of New South Wales 2012; Richardson et al. 2002). According to some scholars (Atem 2011; Broadbent 2007; Forrest et al. 2013; Fozdar & Hartley 2013; Fozdar & Hartley 2014; Power 2014) there is limited research into the housing experience of refugee cohorts specifically. Australia, with its welfare system and social housing schemes, could be said to cater fairly well to most people, though the presence of larger extended family networks within African humanitarian entrant groups is one aspect that cannot be ignored (Khawaja & Milner 2012; Pittaway & Muli 2009). The AHRC notes that new migrants and refugees are amongst the most disadvantaged in terms of finding housing that suits their basic needs (AHRC 2010, p. 24).

Data from the LSIAs would suggest that refugees are more likely to live in public housing and move to poorer housing over time (Vanden Heuvel & Wooden 1999). They are more likely to

be living in flats or units and renting, rather than owning, their accommodation. Refugees use over a third of their gross income to pay rent (DIBP 2014d) a higher proportion than other migrants. Data from the LSIA 3 report states that between wave 1 and 2 there was some progression for both skilled and family stream primary applicants, as fewer respondents in wave two were living with their sponsor and more were paying off their home (DSS 2007).

Hugo (2011, p. 79) reveals that key informants and groups raised issues with housing and were especially concerned with the situation in non-metropolitan settings. This resonates with the data on regional employment reported by Johnston (2009) and Correa-Velez, Spaaij and Upham (2012) who note that refugees were less happy with their employment situation and more likely to be underpaid. According to Hugo (2011, p. 191) the much debated issue of 'ethnic enclaving' is not a deliberate phenomenon of refugee communities, but rather a result of affordable housing availability, housing requirements and other external factors.

Arguably there is a link between refugees' ability to fully participate in society and their median income; this would be even more evident in a regional setting. Foundation House[7] reviewed existing Australian government generated literature and identified that there is limited suitable long-term housing in regional areas of Victoria (McDonald et al. 2008). Humanitarian entrant families are more likely to have more difficulty finding appropriate housing due to the lack of public housing available and the nature and size of those families (Francis, S & Cornfoot 2007). Lack of appropriate housing and other systemic issues with resettlement are risk factors for the overall levels of psychological distress that refugees experience (Marlowe 2009).

Housing is a key challenge for the successful settlement of refugee communities (Pittaway & Muli 2009, p. 51). However, it is important to understand that housing is not simply a matter of access to accommodation, having appropriate and safe accommodation can impact on other aspects of a refugee's life. Notably, data in *We Have a Voice* (Pittaway & Muli 2009) indicated that a lack of appropriate housing led to family breakdown which, in turn, led to very high levels of emotional strain for parents and children alike (see also Lewig, Arney &

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[7] Foundation House, the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture Inc, is a not-for-profit organization based in Victoria, Australia that works with refugees and asylum seekers who survived torture or traumatic events. For further information visit http://www.foundationhouse.org.au/

Salveron 2010; Renzaho, McCabe & Sainsbury 2011; Williams 2011). Similarly, the AHRC report *In our own Words* pointed out that the difficulties that newly arrived refugees faced were compounded by the discrimination that participants reported when looking for a home (AHRC 2010, p. 24). Refugees in that study stated that they were simply not ready to look on their own and racial discrimination in the private rental sector was a real concern (AHRC 2010).

Refugees' ability to meaningfully participate in their new host country is determined by a range of factors, of which housing is an important one. However, other factors are also significant: their previous qualifications or education levels, family links and the presence of other family members in Australia, and their ability to express themselves and conduct a life in a language that is not theirs, to mention but some. Measuring how well migrants and refugees can speak the new language has been at the core of all LSIAs and other large and small scale studies. Below is a summary of the literature on education and English proficiency.

3.3.4. Education and English Language Proficiency

The impact of low education levels and poor English proficiency on settlement outcomes has been widely accounted for (Cranitch 2010; DIBP 2014d; Johnston, Vasey & Markovic 2009; Oliver, Haig & Grote 2009; van Rensburg & Son 2010). Research stretches back to the 1970s and this is probably the most frequently researched settlement outcome area as it is the most evident and pervasive barrier that non-English speaking migrants and refugees face (Harris & Marlowe 2011; Riggs et al. 2012). As noted above, English proficiency levels have been identified as a barrier to employment and access to services (ASR 2011; Hugo 2011; RCOA 2010). Yet despite its importance in a polyethnic society, English proficiency is often examined as a part of broader settlement outcomes in research projects and, as Chiswick et al. (2004) argues, has not been systematically analysed alone. The teaching of English is connected to the issue of education more broadly. It has been pointed out that the "difficulty of being culturally inclusive while having to deliver a rigorous curriculum and meet diverse student needs signals one of the most pressing challenges in contemporary tertiary education" (Harris & Marlowe 2011, p. 192). There are also considerable differences between cultures on modes of engaging with the learning process (Hebbani, Obijiofor & Bristed 2010).

Early research in Australia by Martin (1979) and Meade (1983) looking at the impact of English as a second language as a possible indicator for disadvantage found that there was little to suggest that having parents who did not speak English would impair English proficiency for the following generation. This early research was looking at the children of post-war migrants, mainly from Europe. More current examinations of the educational conditions and outcomes of African youth suggest that they are already behind by about two years, or have had little or no schooling, when they join mainstream education (Dooley 2009). Such a difference in the expected outcomes may be related to the length of school disruption of refugee children. New arrivals come with children who at age ten are already lagging behind in school whereas the children of the 1950s refugees only had temporary interruptions to schooling due to war (Hugo 2011).

For first generation non-English speaking migrants, research shows that there is little improvement for those who are at the lower end of the English proficiency spectrum (ASR 2011). The LSIA relies on self-reporting by respondents with LSIA 1, wave 1, revealing that English proficiency varied between visa categories. Significantly, less than one per cent of refugees reported that English was the language they were most comfortable with (DIMA 1997). Not unexpectedly, the LSIA 3 reports that 83% of all PAs say they can speak English well or better (DSS 2007). The SONA results indicate that, of the sample selected for their research, 75% arrived with some secondary or primary level education. Similar to those refugees who speak no English at all, those who arrive with little or no education are not likely to gain any education once in Australia and of those with some education at the point of arrival, about half further their education in Australia (ASR 2011).

The picture is slightly different when looking at young people specifically. In a mixed methods study Gifford (2007) followed 120 young refugees aged 11 to 19 years, from a range of countries, over five years to determine the social determinants of wellbeing. Research revealed that the picture changes with time, in the first year attitudes towards schooling are much more positive than in the second year; according to the authors these changes are linked to experiences around discrimination and integration (Gifford 2007). It is important to acknowledge that there is a lack of flexible models for learning English that acknowledge the complex lives that refugees, and women especially, live (Akua Saffu 2010; Riggs et al. 2012).

SONA classified the most common tertiary field of study for refugees as 'society and culture' which includes English language and childcare, the second most common was 'health' which includes nursing (ASR 2011). This trend is in line with the identified lines of work that many refugees occupy. However, rather than these work choices being a temporary solution based on a need for employment, refugees are positioning themselves as a main source of labour for these areas; areas that are traditionally considered undesirable.

Overall, refugees who have lived in camps for extended periods of time have lower levels of English proficiency and educational attainment, regardless of their age group. For those who are older, English and educational levels remain below average, while younger refugees achieve better outcomes as they go through the educational system in Australia. The AHRC (2010) noted that the available 500 teaching hours for English language training were not enough to achieve functional levels of English proficiency and that women with children are systematically disadvantaged due to the lack of childcare options.

Everyday life considerations such as employment, education and housing, discussed above, have a direct impact on health, especially mental health, making the measurement of mental health indices an important part of the settlement outcomes research available (Savic et al. 2013).

3.3.5. Mental Health

Examining mental health outcomes for refugees, while a well-known area, remains challenging due to the reliance on self-disclosure and culturally constructed notions of good versus bad health. *We Have a Voice* (Pittaway & Muli 2009) points to an urgent need for services that specialise in addressing the mental health needs of refugees. The participants in that study disclosed that wait times were too long and that often the service provision was not culturally appropriate so that it became detrimental to the desired outcome (Pittaway & Muli 2009, pp. 58-60). The AHRC report reveals that social isolation and the absence of family networks impacted vastly on the overall health of refugees (AHRC 2010, p. 18). Participants in the AHRC study noted that a lack of information about services was a barrier to access desired health services, wishing for culturally appropriate health services (AHRC 2010).

The relevance of culturally appropriate models of health care, and the impact of Australian health care's biomedical explanatory model can be seen in the treatment of depression (Kokanovic et al. 2008). Kokanovic et al. conducted comparative research into the accounts of depression of Anglo-Australian and East African refugees, with individual interviews of the Anglo-Australian population and focus groups of thirty Ethiopian and Somali refugee men and women; the interview schedules for the cohorts were similar yet not identical (Kokanovic et al. 2008). The findings reveal that for the refugee cohort, talking about depression was a complex matter given the large number of languages spoken within their larger community, the differences between urban and rural populations, and the impact of armed conflict (Kokanovic et al. 2008). In this study, depression for refugees had a collective aspect that was not reported by the Anglo-Australian population. In terms of solutions, the refugee population focused on community and culture, yet tended to ignore the possibility of depression being present within their communities (Kokanovic et al. 2008). The impact of family breakdown on the mental health of refugees must be taken into account, given the structural problems they encounter with family reunification schemes and the loss of extended family due to conflict.

Marlowe (2009) looked at literature from the medical and psychological fields, exploring the intersection between trauma and resettlement, and concludes that while the effect of trauma is well documented in the literature, an exclusive focus on trauma pathologises understandings, fails to recognise the structural forces that determine individual's daily lives, and neglects to recognise traditional forms of healing. Marlowe's (2009) published research is based largely on his doctoral research study with Sudanese men who had resettled in Adelaide. His participants, even when they had suffered the traumatic experiences of forced migration, most often reported current concerns with the "practicalities of daily living rather than from past traumas such as forced marches, torture or life in refugee camps" (Marlowe 2009, p. 142). Marlowe's research establishes a link between trauma and present circumstance rather than simply attributing trauma to past experiences.

Comstock et al. (2008) reveal a similar understanding of the impact that western forms of counselling have on women, people of colour, and disadvantaged minorities. They argue that notions of individualism, hyper-competitiveness, self-sufficiency, and the myth of the virtues

of merit permeate western approaches to therapeutic relationships. This approach is not appropriate for communities that place a high value on relational aspects and it can end in disconnecting individuals from other cultures as they do not receive the support they require (Comstock et al. 2008).

Furthermore, chronic exposure to disaffirming stimuli like negative race, class, and gender stereotypes entrenches self-doubt and ongoing feelings of unworthiness that inhibit individuals' ability to generate meaningful empathic connections with others (Comstock et al. 2008). This is due to the fact that "movement towards connection […] is made in relational contexts that have been 'raced, engendered, sexualised, and situated along dimensions of class, physical ability, religion or whatever constructions carry ontological significance in the culture' " (Comstock et al. 2008, p. 279).

Another qualitative study looking at the impact of family separation on the mental health of Sudanese refugees concludes that separation was perceived as having a negative impact due to the concerns resettled members had for their family left behind (Savic et al. 2013). This study conducted in-depth interviews with 20 key informants: Sudanese community representatives and health care workers, none of whom were refugees themselves (Savic et al. 2013).

Issues of depression and mental health are a well-known aspect of humanitarian entrant life. A systematic review of the literature, argued by the authors (Lindert et al. 2009) to be the first of its kind, compared depression and anxiety in labour migrants and refugees. This review included 35 articles published in peer reviewed journals between 1990 and 2007, in English, with a number of the keywords associated to mental health research. The authors conclude that although their research on depression is exclusively limited to the prevalence of depression in the reviewed studies, its incidence was almost twice as high in refugees as in labour migrants (Lindert et al. 2009).

What is known, or at least widely discussed, within health research is the impact of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) on the lives of refugees (Marlowe 2009). The result of forced migration due to armed conflict is, arguably, a defining characteristic of modern refugees. Yet the variety in experiences and individual levels of resilience are not often accounted for. Marlowe (2009) critiques the western biomedical model for three reasons: it mainly focuses

on individual psychology and pathologises people; secondly, it fails to recognise the structural limitations present in people's lives; and lastly, it does not consider traditional forms of healing. Instead Marlowe (2009) suggests a model based on resilience, recovery, and growth that allows people to move past overburdening definitions of trauma.

On the whole, there seem to be two distinct positions within the literature on mental health and refugees: firstly, the traditional biomedical model that emphasises trauma and the individual, secondly, a more holistic approach that strives to account for culturally embedded notions of health and healing and the role of familial networks and community. Positioning refugees squarely within a space of helplessness, victimhood, and trauma does not allow for the complexity of the resettlement experience to come through. Ignoring the importance of family and the added stress that uncertainty brings, as well as its impact on mental health, is equally disempowering. Service provision of any kind should take into account the individual and collective needs of its client cohort, even more so when positioned within a multicultural service provision framework. Refugees, just like other migrant cohorts, are in a constant process of negotiation with the broader community and among themselves. Looking at the factors that impact on refugees' ability to negotiate with other members of the nation-state is, probably, the next logical step in the analysis of resettlement experiences.

3.4. Economic, Social and Civic Contributions

Moving away from what is mostly a literature of deficiency, Hugo (2011) presented the only large scale study on the contributions of first and second generation refugees. The aims of this study included: making a comprehensive assessment of the labour force involvement of refugees; assessing to what extent they had developed their own businesses; establishing what their engagement in volunteer work is; and how connected they are to their communities and Australia more generally (Hugo 2011). This was accomplished by a mixed methods study that took a birthplace group approach using various data sources. This approach was used because it is impossible to identify all persons who entered Australia under the humanitarian program since its inception, as visa category is not a standard data collection category. Hugo used an index of dissimilarity between birthplace and that of all other categories of migrant groups; the index establishes quite clearly that refugees have distinct birthplace distributions (Hugo 2011, p. 13).

Hugo recognises that this approach is less than ideal, but given the complexities of including the second generation into the study it was a necessary step to present a long term view of refugees' contributions. This approach yielded 37 countries of origin for refugees, accounting for all countries whose citizens have received Australian humanitarian visas since the 1950s, with the exception of Russia, Poland, and China, due to their contribution of skilled and independent migrants since the second half of the 20th century (Hugo 2011). To identify the second generation Hugo used the ancestry question of the 2006 census; if someone indicated that either one or both their parents were born in one of the countries identified as yielding refugees, then the second generation person would be allocated to one of the birthplace groups (Hugo 2011, p. 22).

Hugo (2011) anchors his methodological decisions on the shortcomings he sees in other major research projects on migration, specifically the LSIA. Despite its status as a landmark study, LSIAs 1 and 2 did not include onshore migrants and LSIA 3 did not include refugees. The survey refers to immigrants arriving over a decade ago and lacks the long term data that allows for the discovery of other features that only come with time (Hugo 2011, pp. 25-6). Hugo (2011, p. 28) notes that the refugees who took part in the LSIAs are not representative of the entire humanitarian entrant population due to attrition rates and recruitment difficulties.

Hugo's study draws from a combination of primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources include the Movements Data Base managed by DIBP, the Settlement Data Base (SDB), ABS census data, and the LSIA data. An interesting feature of this study was the use of linked data; the 2006 census data was linked to the SDB data, however it was not possible to achieve a gold standard due to confidentiality concerns (Hugo 2011, p. 23). Primary sources include surveys and qualitative interviews (Hugo 2011, p. 31). Originally the plan was to use addresses from the SDB to survey humanitarian entrant households, however this was not possible as many of the families had moved. Therefore the strategy of contacting key organizations who provide services to refugees to assist with the research was put in place (Hugo 2011, p. 32). Respondents had to be 18 or over; have arrived as first generation refugees or be the children of them; have been in Australia between five and 25 years; and have sufficient English to complete the questionnaire (Hugo 2011, p. 33). The questionnaire was in English and had eight parts with mainly multiple choice questions (Hugo 2011, p. 34). In total 649 families were interviewed (Hugo 2011 36). While the study attempted to cast a wide net, Hugo (2011) is clear that language barriers, gender bias of respondent sample, and access to long term refugees were limitations for the study.

Qualitative interviews also presented their own problems. The original design called for focus groups, but the author reports that it became evident in piloting that participants did not open up in the focus groups, so in-depth interviews with key informants were used as an alternative (Hugo 2011, p. 38). Key informants were recruited from organizations and groups that provide services to refugees as well as peak multicultural bodies. A total of 73 key informants were interviewed across QLD, NSW, VIC, and WA (Hugo 2011, pp. 299-300).

Demographic dividend is the term used to account for the increase in the population due to immigration and the birth rates that those migrant populations bring with them (Hugo 2011). In the case of refugees, the combination of a younger humanitarian entrant intake and their child bearing rates provide Australia with a considerable dividend (Hugo 2011). Not only does this demographic dividend simply increase the overall population, it has a positive economic impact in the long term and may offset the effects of an ageing population (Hugo 2011). Put simply, more people means a larger labour base to stave off against the demands of a population that nears retirement age.

There is evidence of upward mobility over the course of one generation, despite the fact that many first generation refugees spend extended periods of time in low paid, low skilled jobs (Hugo 2011). An interesting feature of the Hugo report is the recognition of the entrepreneurial exploits of many refugees; humanitarian settlers have a greater likelihood of becoming business owners and being self-employed when compared to Australian-born or other migrant groups. Possibly this relates more specifically to refugees that came in earlier waves around the 1970s, yet there is some evidence of new wave refugees setting up businesses (Hugo 2011). There is also evidence to suggest that the second generation have higher home ownership rates than the Australian average (Hugo 2011, p. 157).

In terms of social and civic contributions, which Hugo argues are equally as important as economic and demographic ones, refugees have made considerable efforts. Refugees strengthen communities and provide assistance in the form of volunteering: unpaid work, either formally or informally. These are important features that are difficult to quantify due to the lack of standardised data across Hugo's sources (Hugo 2011). Refugees are highly connected to their own communities, providing a solid base for the new arrivals that continue to come today. Second generation refugees are ahead of the curve when it comes to educational attainment, they have "significantly higher levels of education compared with the first generation" (Hugo 2011, p. 141). They have also become a fundamental part of the wider community they live in, through setting up businesses, participation in the workforce or volunteering.

Yet regardless of all the above, in his concluding remarks Hugo notes:

> While it is important to recognise this major contribution of humanitarian settlers, it is crucial that the dominant motivation of Australia's policy of including a strong refugee-humanitarian stream in its migration program should remain the national humanitarian concern for people who have been forcibly displaced from their homeland. This is important not only to Australia's global role but it is part of an Australian culture of concern for people in distress and for giving people a 'fair go' (Hugo 2011, p. 263).

Ultimately the recognition that the humanitarian entrant program is an inherent good is probably the most important aspect of the Hugo report. Whether or not refugee and

humanitarian entrants make contributions is not more important than the concern any wealthy nation should have for human beings who are affected by circumstances beyond their control. This is a welcome shift from the literature reviewed thus far, which generates a picture defined by deficiency that further entrenches refugee populations as potentially problematic.

3.5. Summary

This section presented a broad view of the resettlement research done in Australia since the mid-1990s to the present. Settlement research has been defined by large scale studies such as the LSIA and the SONA report and most of the knowledge that is disseminated in new research comes from the data of the LSIA. While this has meant that the knowledge base in Australia is a consistent, though limited, one it has reduced the picture exclusively to measurable outcomes such as housing, employment, and English proficiency. Settlement, as a direct consequence of immigration for population growth in Australia, has been researched largely to create evidence that supports the idea that migration brings with it demographic and economic growth.

The challenge of populating mainly through immigration is the weakening of 'traditional' social bonds. Social cohesion and social capital are at the heart of any debate about migration as they are at the heart of individual perceptions of migration. This section included research on social capital and social cohesion to provide a context from which to view resettlement as more than simply having basic needs met. The Scanlon Monash reports are the most consistent on this issue and reveal the conflicted nature of migration in Australia; the reported perception of Australia being stronger due to immigration is not in accordance with the decreasing levels of social cohesion described by participants. These reports do, nonetheless, speak to the importance given to diversity as an economic advantage for the long term (Markus 2012, 2013, 2014).

For most, but not all studies, resettlement is understood as the accomplishment of a set of quantifiable measures: housing, employment, education, health, and some kind of civic participation. The LSIA was an attempt at generating enough reliable data to guide the efforts of government. Despite the initial optimism surrounding the LSIA, it became clear that there were limitations to the data and what it could effectively show. Overall, the indicators all point to the same thing: first generation refugees do not fare particularly well when compared to their Australian counterparts but this changes over time. It remains to be seen if this is the case for new migrant groups that are setting up homes in Australia.

The one outstanding variation from this narrative of deficiency is the Hugo (2011) report. This report is an attempt to generate a different knowledge base about refugees; it was designed to reveal the civic, social, and economic contributions that refugees make which are often ignored. While this was a move in the right direction, the report grouped all refugees in the same category and considered new arrival groups as well as more traditional humanitarian entrant groups together. This tended to obscure the difficulties that new arrivals, especially those who are visibly different, face when coming to Australia. Hugo (2011) argues that the first generation often do poorly but that this improves considerably over time and go on to make enormous contributions. This study acknowledges that this is the case for many groups but it would like to make the point that success is not understood in the same way by all people. Reducing success to economic or demographic contributions is a reductionist view of the human condition.

Overall there are few differences among the results of the reports and studies analysed in this section. These similar findings present a largely negative picture for refugees across all major outcome indicators such as housing, English proficiency, and especially employment. This emphasises that there is still a long way to go in terms of securing basic needs for one of the most vulnerable groups in the population. These findings are an important barometer for public policy and public spending. However, none of the large scale studies delve deeper into the individual experiences of refugees resettling in Australia. Indicators are presented at the expense of a more complex exploration of the resettlement journey for refugees. It is worthwhile noting that some scholars argue for the inclusion of the emotional sphere in the study of resettlement (Wood, McGrath & Young 2012) however, this trend has not permeated mainstream Australian scholarship.

While this literature review did come across small scale, qualitative studies that attempted to fill the gap generated by the general overwhelmingly quantitative approach, these studies were disconnected from one another and did not attempt to form a unified knowledge base. Perhaps the unifying trait for all studies, large and small, is the negative picture they paint for first generation refugees in Australia. The qualitative studies – especially those conducted by the AHRC (2010) and by the Centre for Refugee Research (Pittaway & Muli 2009) – show that resettlement is more than the sum of its parts, it is defined by the possibility of maintaining

not simply a notion of cultural heritage. Rather, the familial ties that define African communities would go a long way to improving overall rates of successful settlement. Resettlement is, of course, linked to systemic issues such as housing and employment, but even when those markers are achieved, settlement is not entirely successful until refugees feel they are part of the broader community. It would be safe to say that, for refugees, success is not a matter of the individual.

Multiculturalism in Australia is deeply linked to the historical events described in Chapter 2. Understanding the ideas that underpin the imagined community of the nation is fundamental to understanding the way in which Australian multiculturalism, or the Australian way of doing multiculturalism, is constructed as a coherent 'top-down' narrative that can be articulated and disseminated by government to the people. Such a historical precedent created an Australian multiculturalism that is deeply entrenched in notions of production, demographic gain, and diversity advantage. I argue that the economic rationalist argument is the main, if not the only, argument deployed to justify multiculturalism. This has been transferred to a field of resettlement research that has focused almost exclusively on measurable outcomes, levels of contribution, and structural issues to provide empirical backing for the continuation of the programmes and policies associated with migration as a whole and refugees as a subgroup (Hugo 2011; RCOA 2010).

These factors must all be taken into consideration when exploring the impact that Australian multiculturalism has on refugees and migrants that come to Australia. Newly arrived communities will only feel as welcome as the host community makes them feel. The limits of this welcome are contoured by the dialogue between individuals, the community, and the government narrative on migration. If the research production continues to frame the worth of refugees and migrants in purely economic terms, the broader understanding of the value of diversity will never move beyond the purely numeric.

Resettlement, and the systems that support it, are part of a much broader and pervasive attempt at shaping individual and collective subjectivities. Those who wield power use policy, public opinion, and research to further their beliefs and justify their measures. The link between power and knowledge is at the core of this study and the predominantly Foucauldian theoretical framework that has been used. The following chapter delves deeper into this;

Chapter 4 presents the ontological, epistemological, and methodological basis for this study. It renders the theoretical framework that operates within this study and details the process by which it arrives at its findings.

4. Methodology

The previous two chapters have provided the necessary context for the current study. Chapter 2 explored the historical path of Australia as a specific example of a nation-state that implemented a multiculturalism policy framework and reviewed current research on settlement and migration. Chapter 2 highlighted the impact of government discourse on race and migration as a fundamental starting point from which to explore national feelings and perceptions about migration, migrants, and refugees, which then become the source of available identities and therefore experiences provided to refugees and migrants.

Chapter 3 presented research on resettlement and showed that most, especially that commissioned by the government, takes a quantitative approach seeking to measure the structural outcomes of the settlement of refugees and migrants, with little or no regard to the process by which individuals achieve those outcomes. Consequently, there is considerable data on employment, housing, education levels, and health indicators (Hugo 2011); yet only limited sources on issues of community cohesion and integration (Markus 2012, 2013).

The previous chapter highlighted the nature of most large scale research studies; there has been a heavy reliance on paper surveys by both the government (DIBP 2014c) and by influential studies such as the Hugo (2011) report and the yearly Community Cohesion (Markus 2012, 2013, 2014) reports. To reiterate, this has meant that the knowledge production around migration and migrants to Australia has had a distinctly quantitative focus at the expense of more subtle aspects that are also a fundamental part of resettlement. The existing research has generated a clear picture of the housing, employment, education, and health situation for migrants but little understanding of the processes of integration and connectedness, or the personal meanings that migrants and refugees attach to their experiences in their new home. The experiences are a marker for identifying if Australian multiculturalism is, in fact, creating the level of integration it seeks to create.

Research into migration has neglected to focus on refugees as a specific subset with their own needs (Hugo 2010, 2011) nor has it looked at the role of resettlement workers in the resettlement experience (Robinson 2014). In other words, resettlement has mostly been

understood as a system that produces more or less successful outcomes, i.e. migrants, but it has not often been seen as a system that produces certain types of results that are a direct consequence of the way in which it has been set up. Nor has the system or its composing parts been thought of as objects worthy of study.

This chapter provides the rationales for the study's research design, its multimethod qualitative approach, the sample, data collection methods, and analysis. This study lies within the postmodern tradition of content and discourse analysis. The chapter begins by restating the research question and the ontological and epistemological positioning of the researcher and the research. This is followed by a description of the methodology and methods used in the data collection. The final section probes the ethical considerations of researching refugees and the formal ethical process that was required.

FIGURE 4.1 - ONTOLOGY, THEORY, AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. The Research

The research question for this study asks:

> What is the lived experience of resettlement for African refugees in Melbourne and what can this tell us about Australian multiculturalism?

This study further aims to:

5. Explore the concepts underpinning Australian multiculturalism and how they impact on the settlement experiences of refugees from Africa.

6. Identify the relationship between the discourse of multiculturalism, (re)settlement policy, service delivery and (re)settlement experiences

7. Identify how individual knowledge, opinions and understanding of '(re)settlement' and 'multiculturalism' determine the practice of settlement workers.

8. Explore resettlement as a locus for understanding the impact of Australian multiculturalism.

This study explores these aims by analysing qualitative data collected from African refugees and settlement workers augmented by some complementary quantitative data from settlement workers.

4.2. Ontological & Epistemological Positioning

How do individuals know that what they know is true or, at the very least, makes up part of reality? Understanding the process by which individuals generate truth is important, not simply because it allows others to critically assess the knowledge that is generated, but because it sheds light into how knowledge connects and shapes research. Ontology is understood as a position on "what exists, or the fundamental nature of reality" (Neuman 2013, p. 94).

Within ontological studies there are two positions that are the most debated: realist and nominalist (Neuman 2013). Realists believe that there is an external reality that exists independently from the viewer and nominalists argue that reality is mostly shaped by subjective factors such as culture (Neuman 2013, p. 95). Ontology has primarily been a concern for philosophers and lately of sociologists, yet the preoccupation with the validity of the truths one espouses has been permeating academic circles, and particularly social science research, for some time now (Montero 2002).

This study sits in between these two perspectives. It acknowledges that there are external structures that exist independently of the viewer. It also seeks to account for the impact of subjective experiences on the understanding of those structures and the way this shapes individual experience, experience that is understood as reality for the individual. This position is often called critical realism (Neuman 2013, p. 94). That is to say, Australia has a specific resettlement programme with policy guidelines. It is embedded into the system of government and exists independently of its participants, yet it is set up in a specific way that is related to the particular conditions, history, and beliefs that are part of the Australian collective imaginary (Anderson, B 2006). Workers and refugees are agents and subjects respectively in this system, both are subjected to it and both are constantly adapting how it is operationalised.

In simple terms, if a hundred people experience the same stimulus there would be a hundred different interpretations of that stimulus. Yet when those people are asked about it, the stories and explanations they provide show that there are traces of common filters used to understand and make sense of the stimulus (Andrews et al. 2004). The personal does not erase the collective but rather the collective contours the personal; the scripts that are

accessed to generate meaning have come from somewhere and thus understanding the interplay of the personal and the collective reveals the blind spots (Andrews et al. 2004). This means that resettlement can be apprehended as a manifestation of multiculturalism and used as a springboard to understand the Australian way of doing multiculturalism, and to assess how successful it has been.

This positioning breaks away from the positivist line of thought that has characterised much of the scientific inquiry of modern and recent times (Thyer 2001). Positivism is characterised by the belief that reality is external and independent to the individual (objective), that it is measurable and quantifiable and that, in certain cases, provided the conditions were the same, patterns or results could be repeated (Neuman 2013). This study acknowledges that there is a reality. That reality is external but it is not absolutely independent from the individual and though it is measurable, it is not always reproducible. This positioning follows the postmodern schools of thought that were a result of the 'linguistic turn'[8] of the twentieth century (Lafont & Medina 1999).

This shift towards linguistics, or rather towards language as an object of study, was the result of a change in perception about the function of language. Arguably, it was Ferdinand de Saussure (2011) who made the most important contribution to the shift towards language with his general course in linguistics. Saussure (2011) proposed that words had a dual composition of signifier and signified, this means that a single word encapsulates the object which is referred to and the ideas associated to it. A classic example used to demonstrate this is the word *home;* there is an almost universal understanding of the word, but the images and meanings that come to mind differ between countries, cultures, groups, and individuals.

This variety within a single concept accounts for the differences in different languages' concepts and how these shape reality for speakers. This 'turn' meant that language ceased to be understood as a purely representational aspect of the human mind, that is, language does not simply mimic – or simply and accurately capture – the external world; it shapes it, as well as being shaped by it (Foucault 2002). If language is no longer pure mimicry and unity of

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[8] This phrase became popular with the publication of Richard Rorty's 1967 anthology *The Linguistic Turn* though the idea of making language a central component of social interaction had been introduced earlier (see also Saussure 2011).

Reason cannot be guaranteed, subjectivity and cultural relativity become legitimate avenues in the search for meaning (Lafont & Medina 1999).

If reality, then, is placed somewhere between external and internal realities, how does research access it? How can it be known? Classic methods include surveys, questionnaires, laboratory experiments, and ethnographies. For the purposes of this study the shortest answer to this question is through, and by, language. The linguistic turn not only means turning the gaze onto language but onto all forms of language based productions. Texts become the objects that contain reality; texts refer to any cultural production that evokes meaning in the individual. The way in which these texts relate to one another and to the individual is a marker for how society generates meaning. This relational approach is called intertextuality. This study subscribes to Kristeva's definition:

> Intertextuality is a way of placing us, readers, not only in front of a more or less complicated and interwoven structure (the first meaning of "texture"), but also within an on-going process of signifying that goes all its way back to the semiotic plurality, under several layers of the significant. Intertextuality accesses the semiotic, that trans-verbal reality of the psyche from which all meanings emerge (2002, p. 9).

In other words, the subject is created by language and through language in a never-ending practice that Kristeva (2002) terms 'the subject in process'.

Neuman argues that there are three main currents of epistemological standing: positivist social science, interpretative social science, and critical social science (2013, p. 96) each with its own set of beliefs and associated with specific ontological positions. This study's epistemological position can be called interpretivist, whereby social phenomena have to be captured, respecting differences and accounting for subjectivity (Grix 2002). This ontological and epistemological standing, recognising that the individual is in a constant process of self-creation through language, allows for the recognition of the role played by institutions in shaping and determining the way in which individuals and collectives experience the world. The ontological positioning of this study places the research question within the postmodern framework of the interactions of knowledge, power, and discourse and it allows for the free examination of the links between them.

116

'Reality' is somewhere between subject and object; it is mediated through language and language is mediated by institutions. Consequently, the subject is bound not only by her own subjectivity but by language, cultural specificity, socioeconomic determinants, structural limitations, and systems of belief. These factors, which determine the way in which the subject accesses reality, differ in importance depending on the context (Dallmayr 1980).

This may mean that in personal life crises, individuals might place more importance on systems of beliefs over structural limitations, whereas during collective crises they might place higher importance on culturally specific considerations. In the case of refugees fleeing their country, matters of survival and self-preservation would, arguably, be at the top of the list. Understanding the shifting nature of the paradigms used by individuals translates into awareness that all studies capture only parts of reality; parts that are influenced by varying factors and are not meant to be taken as whole-world representations.

These limitations are part of any research project that wishes to account for and make meaning from the subjective experiences of individuals and groups. Knowledge production is based on partial knowing, by both the subject and the researcher (Montero 2002). For the purposes of this study, for example, it is important to consider the impact that English as a second language might have on participants' ability to articulate sophisticated understandings of their resettlement experiences. This language barrier might extend to their own understanding of how structural determinants might affect them. It would be necessary to give consideration to their access to services and interactions with workers. In other words, this study acknowledges that it is capturing a part of reality that, while small, is laden with complexity and rich in detail. Postmodernism and intersectionality allow for the creation of knowledge that is not hierarchical, that is bottom up, and that validates the personal and collective stories of research participants.

4.3. Theoretical Framework

The methodology for this study rests on two main underpinnings, that of intersectionality (Buikema, Griffin & Lykke 2011; MacKinnon 2013) and a Foucauldian theoretical framework (Wells 2011); both of which will be examined shortly. This is in part due to my own personal academic formation and positioning, my ontological view, and most importantly the appropriateness for the topic. The data collection for the study is led by the theoretical framework (Patton 2002). That is to say, the concepts that are presented in this section are used to derive meaning from the data and determine the data collection methods, in a process that is ongoing and based on language and cultural productions.

The subject of resettlement is one that is mediated by external and internal factors. Refugees who resettle in Australia become part of a highly structured system that permeates most areas of their public and private lives (DSS 2014c). There are service providers for housing, health, education, government benefits, and a whole array of alternative services such as those offered at community centres and by other groups (DSS 2014c). Refugees become part of a system that is mostly unknown to them, that was not present in their home countries, and that is confusing at best and disadvantaging at worst (Jansen, BJ 2008).

These external forces interact with individual refugees' own ways of generating meaning about the world that surrounds them; not all refugees are the same or have been through the same experiences. It is this intersection between the broader government structures and the personal experiences of resettlement that shine a light on how multicultural policies actually affect people's lives. It is not enough to look at the discourse embedded in government documents and assume that things will work out as intended by the government. In the real world, it is necessary to look at the 'junctions' where they come into the lives of those affected.

4.3.1. Intersectionality

Intersectionality is originally a Black feminist concept that recognises that the individual is not simply bound by a single item or idea but rather "systems of race, gender, and class domination" (MacKinnon 2013, p. 1020). For the purposes of this study, it translates to the awareness that research participants function within and between dynamic structures that

have different levels of importance, depending on the situational requirements. That is 'refugees' and 'settlement workers' function within and outside of those labels, function in relation to those labels, and can be placed inside those labels by other parties. Individuals adopt different positioning within the structures of power to obtain what they want or to become intelligible to others. At the same time they are limited to the roles assigned to them by structures of power and confined to these roles (Foucault 1978); for example settlement workers can be seen as the gatekeepers of goods and services whilst refugees are the receivers of assistance. The tensions between these different positions of agent and subject are the locus for the conformation of identity.

This is why intersectionality is a relevant approach because it is "moved by the energy of the synergistic interaction of the variables whose relations it exposes, intersectionality pursues an analysis that 'is greater than the sum of racism and sexism' (Crenshaw 1989, 140)" (MacKinnon 2013, p. 1024). The approach is even more pertinent when considering the samples for this study. Race is deeply intertwined with the ideas associated with refugees and displaced people. These categories no longer bring to mind Caucasians from southern Europe but rather the displaced populations from the Middle East and Africa (ABS 2012).

Noting the structures that individuals resettling in Australia live in is a fundamental part of understanding the ways in which they relate to the power structures that are present. Accounting for refugee stories, both in terms of their diversity and similarities, is a fundamental part of understanding how they relate to a system, based on a policy of multiculturalism, which is designed to resettle them in a new home.

Given the fact that intersectionality has been used in many different contexts since it first came into use, it is relevant to note, as Staunaes and Søndegaard (2011, p. 52) suggest, that the original intersectionality concept's strength lies in recognising that one form of oppression cannot be understood without the interlocking systems and reciprocal relationships that make up the individual. Intersectionality is relevant to this study because it accounts for race as a factor that is defining for the individual and the collective. Though race, in this study, is not a factor being analysed, it is nonetheless a defining characteristic of the selection criteria – *African* is not a racial category but a culturally constructed one related to

a certain racial profile – that I purposefully selected to illustrate the complex interrelations of race and diversity management.

Using an intersectionality framework allows me to account for the unequal relationship between the categories of refugee/humanitarian entrant, mainstream, and government. Not only are refugees vulnerable people subjected to forces outside their control but, when resettled, they come into a system that has already assigned a specific set of characteristics to the refugee category. Intersectionality accounts for the problematic nature of the *neutral* systems that refugees enter once they have already resettled (Verdonk & Abma 2013). Education, health, and welfare systems may reproduce problematic ideas relating to racial categories and the *natural* place of things (Verdonk & Abma 2013; Viruell-Fuentes 2012).

Though this study does not have the scope to consider all the factors that determine the resettlement experience of African refugees or the interplay of this with multiculturalism as the official diversity management strategy, it does bear in mind that these are not irrelevant. Using an intersectionality framework is an attempt at recognising that systems of oppression work on many levels, even if they are not accounted for in this study, due exclusively to time and availability. While these are equal in importance to factors which were taken into account, the aim of this research is to provide in-depth accounts of the views and subject positions of some of the key players, as the visible faces, within the resettlement system.

How these systems of oppression are identified is an important concern of this study: who is looking at a certain phenomenon is as important as the results they find. It would be naïve to assume that individuals have no bias. Given that in Australia multiculturalism has been, since its introduction, a state led initiative it seems appropriate to examine how this diversity management strategy has been constructed by the government. As noted in the previous chapter, it was not until 1973 that Australia changed its immigration law. This was a move that came from the 'top down', not the result of a grassroots movement (Mann 2012, 2013; Uberoi 2008). This unique set of circumstances determines the way in which multiculturalism has been operationalised and on what principles it is built. This extends to what features of multiculturalism receive more prominence. As shown in the literature review, the government uses migration's economic advantages and its capacity to fill labour shortages as the biggest reason for continuing multiculturalism as a national Australian policy. The

discourse that is generated by the structures of the state and how these determine individual and collective behaviour and attitudes towards migration become a central component of resettlement experiences and require further examination by means of a coherent system. Given that this research has placed considerable emphasis on language, it follows that language, in the form of discourse, will be looked at.

4.3.2. Foucault

Much has been said about Foucault and discourse (see for example Angermuller 2014; Fairclough 1992; Garrity 2010; Graham 2011; Hook 2001, 2007; Jansen, I 2008; Kendall & Wickham 1999; Wickham & Kendall 2008). It has been argued that his is not a methodology but rather a critique (Wickham & Kendall 2008) or that his poststructuralist position makes his work too loose for any real application (Jansen, I 2008). Yet, despite the varied commentary, Foucault and his approach remain deeply connected to academic disciplines that strive to unravel the workings of power (Hook 2007). The focus in this research is on the power exercised by a nation in relation to immigration, refugee intakes, and population control. This study has opted to use a Foucauldian framework, discussed in detail in Section 4.5, because it is based on the principle that "truth is contingent upon the subjectivity of the reader and the fickleness of language" (Graham 2011. p. 666). That is, truth is not simply something we know, it is something we practise every day when we interact with the world; we are 'languaged' into the world in ways that are not of our own making but rather a product of institutions and discourses.

This study aims to explore the ways in which multiculturalism, as a discursive practice, determines how individuals practise and experience resettlement. Refugees and workers are parts of the system but the system exists prior to the individuals and strives to determine the way in which individuals will come to act and think. The concepts that underpin multiculturalism are just as important as the individual beliefs that refugees and settlement workers bring into the resettlement journey. Experience is not something that happens outside the realm of language; it happens within and through language and language then becomes the place where negotiation and accommodation is made visible.

Given that refugees are a discrete group of people who are hosted by a new country and society, it is both relevant and important to analyse how the mechanisms of power influence the relationships of a dominant majority and an immigrant minority (Dawson 2011; DeSouza 2014; Hardy 2003; Kazmi 1997; Ong 1995; Riikonen & Dervin 2012). This is especially so in Australia, where refugees are singled out by the media, put up as a subject of public debate, and regularly described in negative terms. Such examination is even more relevant considering that in Australia multiculturalism did not come about as a spontaneous demand from the general population, but rather a top-down decision that is still rippling through the collective consciousness (Collins 2013). Evidence of this is clear in the current treatment of asylum seekers being processed offshore ('The wrong solution; Australia's boat people' 2011; Amnesty International 2015; Asgary & Smith 2013) or the rise of right wing nationalist protesters (AAP 2015; Jefferson & Zervos 2015).

Foucault's system for analysing social phenomena can be abridged to three central ideas that work together to establish a way of thinking: knowledge, power, and discourse.

i. Knowledge

Knowledge, according to Foucault (2001), is to be understood as the set of ideas that form an organised way of creating further knowledge. Foucault used the French concept of *savoir* which includes not only the theoretical knowledge produced by a discipline but the ways in which this discipline operationalises the knowledge that it generates: that is, the institutions, political and economic requirements, and mechanisms of social regulation (Foucault 1978, 2001). *Savoir* could be equated to the English concept of technical knowledge, yet this translation falls short as *savoir* expands further than purely technical knowledge and into the domain of ideology.[9] It is the way in which knowledge generates *truth* that Foucault is truly interested in, *truth* in turn both enables and justifies the use of institutions and mechanisms of control.

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[9] Foucault's preferred *savoir* was that of psychology. For two of his seminal works see (Foucault 1972) (Foucault 1963)

In modern industrialised societies *truth* has, according to Foucault, five traits:

- it is centred on and presented as scientific discourse and the institutions that produce it;
- there is a demand for truth to justify economic production and political power;
- it is diffused and consumed at a large scale through the apparatuses of information;
- it is produced and transmitted under the control of political and economic apparatuses; and
- it is the issue of political and social debate (Foucault 2001, p. 131).

In other words, *truth* as it has come to be known is produced by a limited set of institutions, such as universities or media, and serves a purpose, that is either political or economic, is massified and consumed by the population, and is likely to be debated within the public sphere. Understanding the production of *truth* in this way is simply acknowledging that that the ideas that we have come to think of as *natural* are the product of a system that generates certain ways of thinking. Or as Foucault argued:

> "Truth" is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements […] "Truth" is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it – a "regime" of truth (2001, p. 132).

This understanding of truth is inextricably linked to the concept of power.

ii. *Power*

For Foucault, power cannot be separated from the knowledge/truth production dyad (Jessop 2007). Power is linked to what *governs* statements and the way in which they *govern* one another; how the politics of scientific statements organise the internal mechanics of power. The question, then, is how and why the regime of power undergoes a global modification (Foucault 2001, p. 114). In the Australian case the question is, then, why did a nation state that is defined by a racially bound legal framework favouring a single race change to a policy of multiculturalism that favours polyethnicity? This study focuses on what *truth* was deployed to justify the new regime of power and its consequences.

It would be possible to view power as a hugely repressive force, if power is understood as a force that is produced by and produces *truth*, yet Foucault (2001, 120) is very clear on this matter and argues that power is a productive force that creates and that runs through the social body. It is in this creative place that subjectivities come into existence. This capacity for creativity is at the heart of this study, which recognises that power is not simply a word, that subjectivities can be challenged and shaped, and that there is still room for individual creativity. Much has been researched about the indicators for success in refugee and migrant resettlement, not much has been said about how entering the resettlement system impacts on the ways in which individuals make meaning of the experience.

iii. *Discourse*

Discourse, in Foucauldian terms, is not simply narrative, it is not the mere production of stories that the individual engages in. Discourse belongs to the realm of the supra-linguistic (Foucault 1983). It is the organised production of truths that are diffused through the social body. It is most frequently associated with state produced documents but extends to any organization that has its own rationale and organised set of principles (Wells 2011) such as the DIBP with its framework for resettlement, or the DSS with its guidelines for the HSS scheme.

In this sense discourse becomes the visible, and therefore subject to study, face of the power/knowledge spiral. That is to say, discourse allows one to look behind the veil of *truth* so as to discover the inner workings of power and how it is being used to manage the population. In terms of this study, the discourse of multiculturalism and resettlement are the visible face of the power/knowledge spiral. Australian multiculturalism is deployed by government to justify not only the systems that control the refugee population coming to Australia but to justify keeping the global refugee and migrant population at bay outside.

The individual, simultaneously a member of the collective and the particular, becomes the locus where the tensions between these three interrelated concepts play out. This makes the comparison between discourse, at the level of institutions, and narrative, as the individual configuration of the subject, a necessary prerequisite for any kind of in-depth understanding of how power operates within the social body.

4.3.3. Ready-made Subjectivities

It is only when the personal, as the political, and the general, as the institutional, come under scrutiny that meaningful turning points can be generated. This Foucauldian thinking fits well with the paradigm of intersectionality as subject position is an important part of Foucauldian discourse analysis (Wells 2011, p. 89). It follows the ontological standpoint of this research as it allows for reality to be both internal and external at the same time. As Wells argues '[Foucauldian discourse analysis] emphasises how discourse makes certain positions and *ways of being* available to individuals' (emphasis added) (2011, p. 90). It stands to reason then that Australian multiculturalism would make certain ways of being available to individuals. The category of settlement worker or refugee comes with ready-made subjectivities that individuals are 'opting into' when they become part of the resettlement system.

It is important to note that a focus on the state as the origin and the bearer of power is fundamental when thinking about a nation such as Australia. Foucault spoke at length about the role and importance of the state in relation to power. He developed a concept termed *governmentality* (Foucault 1978). The question of who governs, what is governed, and how one governs are central to governmentality. In modern times this relates directly to the nation-state but Foucault (1978) extends it beyond the state and into institutions and corporations. In terms of this study, service providers and government policy frameworks reveal something about Australian governmentality.

Foucault considers that government is not merely about imposing laws on the population but:

> [r]ather of disposing things, that is to say to employ tactics rather than laws, and if need be to use the laws themselves as tactics. To arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved (1978, p. 13).

That is to say, in Foucauldian terms, the art of government is the accomplishment of goals rather than the good of the people; the state is not there to ensure the wellbeing of the population, it is there to manage the population. Foucault argues that this management is realised by means of discipline, discipline of the body and discipline of the mind, that is "the management of the population in its depths and its details" (Foucault 1978, p. 19). In Australia this would be seen most clearly in the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 which determined

that anyone who did not belong to the appropriate racial category would be barred entrance into the newly federated nation (Hawkins 1989). This had an effect on the constitution of Australia's racial profile and in the minds of Australians who considered that the only acceptable Australia was a White Australia (Mann 2012). As discussed in Chapter 2, although the White Australia policy was revoked in 1973 there are ongoing racial tensions (HREOC 2007). Tensions evident in contemporary Australia can be seen in the emergence of right wing nationalist groups, and especially in the heated debates over sovereignty and irregular maritime arrivals which receive considerable media coverage ('The wrong solution; Australia's boat people' 2011; AAP 2015; Amnesty International 2015; Bagshaw 2015; Borrello 2015; Bourke 2015).

It is in this way that one arrives at the next triad of the Foucauldian episteme: the sovereignty-discipline-government triangle. This study takes the exercise of power by the state not as a benign or benevolent function of the state but rather as an important part of why the state exists in the first place; the state is neither neutral nor without bias (Foucault 1978). Therefore when state multicultural and settlement discourse is examined, this is done under the presumption that it carries a certain set of *truths* that the state aims to maintain as current. This study holds the conviction that:

> [o]ne should study power where it is exercised over individuals rather than legitimated at the centre; explore the actual practices of subjugation rather than the intentions that guide attempts at domination; and recognise that power circulates through networks rather than being applied at particular points (Jessop 2007, p. 36).

Intersectionality and Foucauldian discourse analysis complement one another in terms of a theoretical approach to the generation of knowledge. Both acknowledge the relational nature of knowledge production while allowing for the interplay between external and internal reality. This fits well with a post-positivist ontological and epistemological standing. They complement certain data collection methods over others. A purely quantitative survey based study would not yield the textual complexity that intersectionality and postmodernism require to generate intricate, nuanced understandings of the ways in which structural conditions affect the individual and vice versa. This is why data collection methods that focus

on language are a preferred option when conducting research that is bound in language. The data collection methods for this study were chosen with this in mind.

4.4. The Study

Qualitative research has become a popular choice in recent decades. This renewal of interest is a product of the development and expansion of methods and fields of study (Thyer 2001, p. 257). This may be in part due to the move away from purely positivist understandings of phenomena towards recognising the importance of subjective experience in revealing the systematic production of meaning (Gilgun 2005). Polkinghorne (2007) notes that this shift began in the 1970s under the epithet 'qualitative inquiry'; it was a reform movement that wished to recognise that important aspects of the personal were not being recorded by traditional data collection methods. It is vital to recognise feminist studies' impact on the paradigm shift from positivist to post-positivist research (Buikema, Griffin & Lykke 2011).

Qualitative research aims to discover and develop hypotheses about the world rather than seek to prove or disprove any one theory (Thyer 2001, p. 258). Qualitative research focuses on "what it means to be human and the meanings that human beings attribute to the events in their lives" (Gilgun 2005, p. 41). As noted in Chapter 3, most resettlement research in Australia has utilised a quantitative approach and has therefore left unexplored understandings of the complex subjective nature of resettlement as a process that, for some, might never end.

Incorporating subjective experience into research validates individual stories as a source of knowledge. As noted above, this study concedes that reality is not a purely external phenomenon, it resides internally as well, and it is mediated through language in a constant ongoing process. It was necessary, therefore, for this study to incorporate those beliefs as a theoretical/ontological framework and embed them into the research design and data analysis.

4.4.1. Level of Research Design

According to Neuman (2013), the level of research design relates to the purpose of the research project. Within social research there are three distinct types of research: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. Exploratory research aims at providing information on a phenomenon that has not been studied in depth or that is new to social sciences. Descriptive research is the next step from exploratory, once the basic facts have been

established. Descriptive research projects aim to provide a detailed picture of the phenomenon. Explanatory research can be the last step however it does not need to be; explanatory research seeks to test theories about certain phenomenon to either endorse or refute explanations and extend theoretical understanding (Neuman 2013, p. 38).

These guidelines place this study within the bounds of exploratory research. Though resettlement and multiculturalism are not new phenomena, looking at them from a perspective where they are interdependent has not often been done. Seeking an understanding of multiculturalism through the resettlement *process* is a different viewpoint to most studies that have focused on structural outcomes and mostly measurable indices. Looking at resettlement as the *locus* where the interactions between government, agencies, and individual refugees play out is a unique focus for research. This intersection is where the "the concrete nature of power became visible" (Foucault 2001, p. 117).

Taking an exploratory approach will allow for the phenomenon to be studied as it comes without the burden of trying to establish causality or disprove theory. It allows for the research to probe the links between multiculturalism and resettlement and reveal any important relational elements, generating new knowledge. This freedom to pursue the phenomenon as it presents itself has its limitations: how to balance the personal with the collective, how to capture this particular slice of reality, and how to ensure that it is not completely biased. Such a design requires data collection methods that allow for subjectivity and the complexity of experience to come through, while maintaining a degree of rigour. This is best presented in mixed methods research.

4.4.2. Mixed Method Research

For the past decade or so mixed method research (MMR) has undergone a kind of unifying push to generate a common theory for itself (Greene 2012; Onwuegbuzie, Johnson & Collins 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2012). This push has been spurred by the desire to solidify MMR as a legitimate system for research and to provide it with more than simply a basis in methods alone. MMR is, arguably, a trend on the rise gaining considerable popularity. Not all those who use MMR believe that solidifying it in theory is a good idea. Some are concerned that "the wonder that is possible in mixed methods will be reduced to procedures and techniques"

(Greene cited in Teddlie & Tashakkori 2012). MMR is, and will likely continue to be, a system of data collection that allows for the incorporation of complexity through divergent methods of data collection.

Teddlie and Tashakkori (2012) have identified nine core characteristics of MMR. They note that there is still some controversy over whether these commonalities amount to a unifying theory. Of the nine, they explore four together: methodological eclecticism, paradigm pluralism, iterative, cyclical approach to research, and the set of basic signature designs and analytical processes (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2012). These revolve around logistics as well as MMR's philosophical underpinnings.

It is not the intention here to provide an exhaustive account of the many branches of this discussion, yet it is important to acknowledge that MMR is not merely a *way to conduct research* it is an intellectual positioning accounting for the complexity and variety that permeates the mechanics of research. MMR is not a mechanical method but rather an intellectual positioning that aligns with the ontological foundation of this study.

In MMR an effort is made to account for differing forms of collecting valid data. This plurality of methodology has been considered beneficial for its ability to:

> […] contribute to our knowledge base in six areas: the objectivity of the findings, the generalizability of the findings, the reductionist properties, the differential use of theory, the number of words they use, and the flexibility of the research techniques (Thyer 2001, p. 478).

MMR can balance out the natural tendency of either methodology to be blind to alternative data sources. That is to say, this study does not seek to present itself as objective but uses MMR as a mechanism to attempt to reduce bias. MMR is a way of providing participants with different avenues in which to express their opinions; it is a way of actively engaging with different aspects of the varying systems that make up the resettlement sector. Using an MMR approach broadens the ways in which individuals can and wish to participate in research.

There are different ways of incorporating quantitative and qualitative methods in a study. This study will use a dominant-less dominant model (Thyer 2001, p. 481). The dominant-less dominant model is a study that has a single dominant research approach "with another

smaller component of the overall study drawn from the alternative approach" (Grinnell 1997). Typically the dominant-less dominant model gathers limited information with the less dominant method. Or as Morse states "a project must be either theoretically driven by the qualitative methods incorporating a complementary quantitative component" or vice versa (1991, p. 121).

This study has a dominant qualitative approach with limited information being gathered through a quantitative online survey. This choice was made because it allows for a deeper exploration of personal and collective subjectivity. The Foucauldian and intersectional approaches seek to explore phenomena through subjective experiences and use these to understand the relational nature of meaning making from the bottom up. This study presents a break from what has been the dominant pattern of quantitative resettlement research in Australia.

Refugees are resettled through the mechanisms that the state has created to ensure 'successful' resettlement. They also resettle themselves through the daily negotiations and adaptation processes they endure. It was important to account for this duality in the data. Resettlement is not only a personal process; it is a process that is mediated by government and governmental institutions that are embodied in individual workers who follow the official guidelines with every new client. The resettlement system limits what and when a humanitarian entrant can access services and it establishes a clear position within a social hierarchy. It became clear that data from both resettled refugees and settlement workers was required to generate a more holistic picture of how resettlement experiences are understood and felt.

4.4.3. Sample

Settlement workers and refugees are two physical, embodied actors in the resettlement system. Settlement workers are bound and guided by the requirements and limitations of the resettlement process. They must comply with government imposed procedures when providing refugees assistance upon arrival. Refugees are on the opposite side of this dyad; they are under the protection of the state and receive assistance from when they arrive.

Although these two actors are not in confrontational opposition it would be remiss to ignore the uneven power distribution that determines the relationship between worker and humanitarian entrant. These two actors experience the system from two radically different focal points yet are equally integral to the existence of the resettlement system. Such differentiation of a similar experience is a focal point to explore the effect of state multiculturalism on resettlement experiences. In other words, how workers and refugees view the shared experience of the resettlement system can shed light on the different realities a single system can generate for individuals. Both are bound by the limitations that their positon gives them and both make meaning of this experience from personal and systemic understandings. Refugees can provide a bottom up perspective while workers can provide a top down view.

- ***Availability Sampling***

Chapter 3 revealed that there is limited knowledge on non-quantifiable settlement outcomes for migrants, and even less for refugees specifically; that data is often collected using purely quantitative methods; and that broader examinations of multiculturalism are rare. This study aimed to remedy some of these gaps by accounting for complexity and incorporating subjective experiences of resettlement. This is why the study used a nonprobability sampling approach (Neuman 2013; Thyer 2001) even though such an approach is not generalizable.

Nonprobability sampling is a technique whereby random samples are not sought; nonprobability samples are not representative of the total population and are not statistically significant due to their smaller size. Nonprobability sampling is a staple of qualitative research and can take, for example, the form of convenience or quota sampling (Neuman 2013). Convenience sampling uses accessibility as a criterion, the sample is chosen because participants are available to take part in the research; it is also an acceptable sampling technique for exploratory studies like this one (Neuman 2013). The study used purposive sampling (Neuman 2006; Patton 2002) and is therefore not considered representative of the population of settlement workers or refugees as a whole.

This sampling strategy is appropriate due to the insight that the sample groups can provide for the phenomenon studied. It was determined that the goal for settlement workers would

be N=50 for online surveys and N=10 for in-depth interviews, and refugees would constitute N=30. The guidelines for an ideal minimum total number of participants in qualitative research ranges between authors. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006), after reviewing over a dozen texts on guidelines for qualitative research in the health sciences (Bluff, 1997; Byrne, 2001; Fossey et. al., 2002; Morse, 1995; Patton, 2002; Sandelowski, 1995; Trotter, 1991 to name a few), notes there is consensus that a total of twelve interviews should suffice.

The selection criteria for settlement worker were: any person who was employed by an organization, government or otherwise, to work with refugees; delivering or managing services in direct or indirect ways. As settlement programmes function with both paid and voluntary workers, the study included both paid and voluntary positions in the sample. The humanitarian entrant selection criteria were any person from Africa who was lawfully living in Australia under any of the humanitarian visa streams.

This study agrees with Hugo (2011) in his assertion that given the difficulties of establishing visa eligibility in a population that has English as a second language and that may be unlikely to want to disclose sensitive visa information, the assumption will be that anyone who comes from Africa, excluding South Africa and Zimbabwe, will have a humanitarian visa. Hugo (2011) bases his argument on the information provided by the ABS on country of origin and visa stream. This study recognises that in the last few years the migration trends for arrivals from Africa have changed somewhat and now include small numbers who have come through the skilled visa stream (ABS 2016).

Given the complexities of accessing a population such as refugees, it follows that the sampling technique accounts for this. Refugees are a population that has been studied in the past who present difficulties around language barriers, availability, and identification (Hugo 2011). Refugees are considered vulnerable populations although what is understood as vulnerable still invokes differing views and interpretations (Liamputtong 2007). One way of looking at vulnerability is to consider potentiality or likelihood (Pitts & Smith 2007). Vulnerability is thus linked to the likelihood that an individual or a community is disadvantaged for possessing a characteristic that is intrinsic to that individual or group, more so than their average counterparts. This affects access to social goods such as health, employment, safety, inclusion, and education to name a few.

Refugees have been shown to be more likely to be unemployed, have unstable or unsuitable housing, or be affected by racism (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006; Fozdar 2012; Hebbani & Colic-Peisker 2012; Hebbani, Obijiofor & Bristed 2010; Kivunja, Kuyini & Maxwell 2013). This would support the idea that they are vulnerable in terms of structural outcomes. Yet humanitarian entrant populations are not only vulnerable, they are marginal. The idea of marginality implies a sense of dislocation. Marginality implies the edge, the border, the fringes of society. However, "[b]eing central or peripheral to a particular concern or issue is by definition relative. It depends not so much on an objective reality but on the power of the people or institutions framing the concern to position specific populations or groups in specific ways" (Pitts & Smith 2007, p. 6).

Universities as institutions that produce and validate knowledge, and researchers as representatives of those institutions have a responsibility then to ensure that they do not further perpetuate ideas of marginality or disadvantage that could harm the very people they are trying to assist. Researchers should, in every way possible, ensure that participants are not overlooked or excluded, directly or indirectly, due to being difficult populations. They should ensure that participants are given the opportunity to reject taking part. They should allow for difficult negotiations to happen between people, as they would in other scenarios.

4.4.4. Recruitment and Data Collection

- *Settlement Workers*

Group one, settlement workers, were recruited through the researcher's professional networks: other service providers and non-government agencies that provide services to refugees. These networks received an invitation via email with a brief description of the study and a link to an online survey, the email was then circulated again by the initial recipients. First recipients were encouraged to pass on the email as many times as they saw fit to ensure the highest possible impact. Once workers completed the online survey they were asked about their interest in participating in the second part of the study, the in-depth interview. If they agreed, they clicked on a link and were redirected to another webpage asking for contact details. Using this redirection method meant it was not possible to link the completed survey responses to the contact details provided.

The settlement worker online survey was live from April 2013 to April 2014 and was available to be completed throughout that 12 month period. *Survey Monkey* (www.surveymonkey.com) was chosen as an adequate server for this. It allowed for a simple and direct survey link that could be distributed via email to relevant networks and stakeholders. I had used it for other research projects and had found the interface friendly for both participants and researcher alike.

Using an online survey was deemed appropriate for this group of participants as they have both access to and competence with computers, even volunteer staff are trained in basic computer skills and generally have access to the same facilities as paid workers. It was estimated that it would take participants about thirty to forty minutes to complete the online survey and approximately five minutes providing contact details. Since the invitation to take part in the research was sent to individuals' work email addresses, it was expected they would have time to complete it within work hours or, if they chose to, access it from private home computers outside work.

The use of social media was also an important contribution to recruitment. Facebook and Twitter were used to target agencies that work with or provide services for refugees. Given the contested and politicised nature of the humanitarian programme under the then current Abbott government, I noticed that many agencies and service providers had taken to social media to raise awareness on this issue and provide alternative sources of information.

This spike in social media activity presents researchers an opportunity to access participants through a medium that is new and more instantaneous than emails or information flyers can be. Evidently this immediacy is limited to those with access to technology and the skills to use it, so not all potential participants were contacted this way. This means proved useful to contact stakeholders who had no direct contact with refugees but were part of the overarching structure such as the Refugee Council and other think tanks. These indirect service providers were open to assisting the research and offered to disseminate the information through their own networks.

The online survey served a threefold purpose: it aimed to gather general information on the characteristics of currently working settlement worker; it asked participants to rate the

resettlement system;[10] and lastly it was an unobtrusive way to recruit settlement workers for in-depth interviews. The desire to get participants to rate the system via the anonymity of an online survey was so those ratings could be compared to the responses of the in-depth group. Would respondents rate the system better or worse when asked in anonymity? Would responses be less likely to be negative when in person?

Settlement workers embody a system made up of mostly intangible elements: policy guidelines, budgets, programme outcomes, key performance indicators. Workers are the ones who materialise this system for refugees. Settlement workers and refugees bring in the human element. The intersections that determine access to services for refugees and client loads for workers are important because it affect the tangible outcomes for both. This interface also establishes a particular type of relationship that will, in turn, determine the view each holds of the other.

Settlement worker participants who agreed to take part in the in-depth interviews were contacted via their nominated communication channel and provided with the explanatory statement. A time and place was agreed for the interview on an individual case by case basis. Of the total interviews (N=12), one was done at the worker's home, one was done via Skype, three were done in public cafes, and the remaining seven were done at workers' offices. On the day of the interview, participants were reminded that they could opt out of the interview at any time. Participants were asked to sign a consent form that would be stored on site at the university for a period of five years as required by Monash University regulations.

Thirty seven different organizations were contacted via email to inform them about the study. Emails were sent to inform them of the settlement worker survey and later to request assistance with the humanitarian entrant focus groups. This meant that most groups were contacted more than once. Many of the organizations and their contact points were familiar to me. This was an important factor in obtaining assistance. Larger umbrella organizations

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[10] Workers were asked to rate the resettlement system using a five point Likert scale and the descriptions published on the Department of Immigration and Citizenship's website dedicated to explaining the Humanitarian Settlement Scheme (HSS). This website has since been taken down as the HSS portfolio has been moved to the newly created Department of Social Services, this has meant that the wording on what is delivered has changed and the original version that the survey was created on is no longer in existence. This is due to the change and redistribution of responsibilities.

such as the Refugee Council distributed the information I provided about the study to their staff and networks. Organizations such as the Association of Neighbourhood Houses have over 200 outlets which received the information. Unfortunately there were no responses from these neighbourhood houses, which may be partly explained by the impersonal nature of the connection made. In total there were 50 online responses, 12 offers for in-depth interviews, and 12 face to face in-depth interviews conducted. The settlement worker individual face to face follow up interviews began in June 2013 and ended in April 2014.

The settlement worker interview schedule (refer to Appendix II) was a continuation of the online survey. These interviews probed into areas of resettlement which were raised in the online survey. They were of course more complex, and required time and the opportunity for elaborate responses. The interview schedule was a semi-structured interview with five open ended questions, with the first a general one to start off the conversation. I chose open ended questions were because they capture participants using their own words (Patton 2002, p. 21). It allows participants to describe what is meaningful and salient to them about the research topic, without being stereotyped (Patton 2002, p. 56).

Standardised open ended interviews ensure that time is used efficiently and analysis is facilitated by making responses easy to compare (Patton 2002). Allowing participants discursive agency is in line with the principles of intersectionality and Foucauldian discourse analysis. Participants were asked about themselves and how they began working in the area. This fostered a sense of getting to know one another and allowed an assessment of any potential reservations on the part of participants. It aided rapport and as I had worked in the field I could also relate some of my personal experiences to participants. The remaining questions explored their views on humanitarian entrant needs, integration, and connectedness.

- **African Refugees**

Group Two participants, African refugees, were informed of the research via local service points in different areas of Melbourne by means of a flyer. These locations were chosen due to the presence of relevant service providers rather than the population numbers of African refugees. This choice was made taking into consideration the requirements from the Human

Research Ethics Committee (HREC) that the researcher does not contact African refugees directly, rather allowing them to 'opt in' to the study. The flyer contained information about an upcoming location, dates, and times for a proposed focus group. This effectively generated a drop-in model for refugee participants. It also meant that I had little input into when and if the focus group was actually going to take place. At the time this strategy was in line with concerns around potential coercion. There was a requirement of two people to start a focus group and if participants arrived after the start they could join in if they wanted. The flyer contained the contact details for the researcher in case any potential participants wished to ask questions or check up on the validity of the research.

If prospective participants attended the scheduled focus group they would take part in a brief 'meet-and-greet' session (about 30 minutes) that was also a screening process to ensure that they were suitable candidates and to assess their English proficiency. Prospective participants would be offered drinks and light refreshments as a way of generating some rapport in a more informal and relaxed environment. During this time they would be given further information on the research and what it entailed. Prospective participants would be asked the screening questions as a way to ensure English comprehension. If participants could not understand or answer the questions, they would be deemed unable to give informed consent and would not take part in the interview.

Participants could have a support person (e.g. a friend, relative or community member) with them who did not need to participate but minimised stress and uncertainty for those who were unsure about participation on their own. After the meet-and-greet interested participants who decided to stay would be given an information sheet and consent form. These would be explained and participants would be provided with answers to any questions. Participants would then be asked to sign the consent form and once this had been done the focus group would begin.

After roughly six months of piloting the drop-in recruitment strategy it became clear that it was not effective with the target population. I contacted workers in the organizations where the flyers had been posted and the general feedback indicated potential participants in this cohort were simply not reading them. Workers noted that previous research projects they had assisted with had more success with a more direct approach, as it reduced levels of

uncertainty for participants. Workers suggested that the study recruit participants directly from current groups being run within their organizations who had potential participants from the target group. The study sought an ethics amendment to cover the new recruitment strategy; it was approved on January 16, 2013. This strategy proved faster and much more effective as it built on groups that had existing group dynamics. It also allowed me to attend group sessions so that potential participants got to know me in person before making a decision.

An unexpected outcome of the recruitment strategy was two 'groups' going ahead as individual interviews with refugee participants. As I contacted agencies and set up times to meet already established groups where I could find potential participants I made appointments with groups of refugees for later dates to conduct the focus groups. As per my ethics approval I was not allowed to collect identifiable information so I was unable to ask for phone numbers to keep in touch with participants. This meant that I had to trust they would turn up at the agreed time and date. On three occasions this meant that there were no focus groups at all, but on two other sessions only a single participant attended. This presented a problem that I chose to solve by going ahead with the interview, once I had made sure they actively consented, as a way of recognising that those participants were exercising their right to choose participation in the study and as a show of gratitude on my part to honour their generosity.

The first data collection session was held in August 2013 and the last in March 2014. In total five focus groups were conducted and two individual interviews. The extended time required for this portion of the data collection was due to the initial recruitment strategy failing and the subsequent ethics amendments required. It was also due to the complexities of coordinating groups of people to meet at the same time and place. In total 24 individuals took part in the study. However, four of these were ineligible as they were illegal maritime arrivals, who had not been approved under the humanitarian stream. In fact they did not know if they would be allowed to stay or be deported.

I proceeded with that focus group despite realising, after participants answered the first question, that the whole group of four was ineligible, because these participants had volunteered their time and were very interested in sharing their stories. I felt that it was

important to acknowledge their stories and bear witness to what they had to say in relation to a system that impacts them directly. Though they did not fit the selection criteria for this study, asylum seekers are part of the resettlement scheme the government manages. Their stories are no less important. While none of the stories are directly recorded in this thesis, the general context they provided became part of the study's background and was in my mind as the data analysis took place.

The questions for refugees were based on the Australian settlement research literature reviewed (such as the LSIA, SONA, and Scanlon report), and the research question, augmented by my previous professional experience working in the settlement sector. I decided that the data gathering would be in the format of a focus group as the pressure of being one on one with a stranger asking questions might be stressful to handle for refugee participants (Liamputtong 2007, 2010). However, as noted, due to the nature of the recruitment process there were two particpants that took part in individual interviews. Focus groups are interviews with small groups of people on a specific topic (Patton 2002, p. 385), the advantage of this model lies in participants hearing each other's answers which in turn provides them with an opportunity to further add information yet without the pressure of agreeing with one another (Patton 2002, p. 386).

As noted above, open ended questions were chosen to allow participants to express their own ideas in their own terms (Patton 2002). I hoped that the study design would allow participants to feel enough at ease to want to take part in the research that they would feel supported in having other participants that had the same or similar experiences, and that they would feel listened to and acknowledged whilst participating. Neuman (2006) observes that focus groups present some advantages, such as participants querying one another and explaining their answers – which is a positive when participants have English as a second language – and the natural setting allowing people to express themselves freely. Whilst these specific advantages were not afforded to the individual refugee participants, as they were on their own, it important to recognise that these participants expressed a clear interest in taking part in an individual interview for the study.

While focus groups have traditionally brought participants with similar backgrounds to a study (Patton 2002) it is important to note that African refugees are not a homogenous group, they

do not have similar levels of education, and do not necessarily follow similar trajectories in their journey to Australia (Hugo 2011). The commonality for African refugees in this study is that they have all come to Australia due to their refugee status and under a humanitarian entrant visa.

Yet in any research project it is important to ensure that the knowledge generated is not purely reliant on one view of reality. It is important for research to hold itself accountable to the possibility of bias; research as a knowledge generating process has a responsibility to ensure that there are systems in place to generate the necessary confidence in the research results.

4.4.5. Trustworthiness

As noted above, it is not intended that this study be generalizable. Yet all research, and the knowledge that is created from it, is subject to scrutiny in terms of its trustworthiness (Loh 2013). Neuman (2013) discusses the validity and reliability of field research, mentioning that reliability is achieved when there is internal and external consistency. That is to say, examining the plausibility of data to ensure they form a coherent whole and fit with all else that is known elicits internal consistency. External consistency is achieved by a process of cross-checking with different sources (Neuman 2013, p. 467).

Such seemingly clear criteria for the assurance of trustworthiness are at odds with the complexity of conducting research that takes language as its data source. Loh (2013) proposes that the issue of trustworthiness, or rather that trustworthiness is an issue, is linked to a certain inability of the qualitative research field to come to a single understanding of how to achieve it. He examined and compared qualitative research methods literature of the constructivist paradigm from 2002 to 2012 (Loh 2013, p. 5). Loh (2013, p. 12) concludes that researchers who focus on narrative should use quality procedures; should choose some of the known techniques for establishing trustworthiness; should analyse the data from various perspectives; and make sure it has verisimilitude and utility.

In particular, in this research I strove for external and internal consistency. The literature review has presented a clear picture of resettlement for migrants and refugees; this picture resonated with my own anecdotal experience working in the resettlement field so it was not

subject to further scrutiny. The online survey and semi-structured questionnaires engaged with that general knowledge and explored it further by individual face to face interviews with settlement workers and focus groups with refugees. The data gathered was in line with the general knowledge on refugees.

Polkinghorne (2007) describes the validity of statements as the believability of statements, that is to say that assertions do not carry validity in their own right but rather that validity is granted to statements. This means that validity is a function of intersubjective judgement, that it is a process, and that it rests on the consensus of a community (Polkinghorne 2007, p. 474). Validity then is external to the statement and can be discussed. This view of validity sits well within the Foucauldian theoretical framework and intersectionality as it allows for the constant creation of consensus through language. It accounts for the personal experience of participants and researcher and it places validity back in the hands of those whom we research.

This study aims to acknowledge the fundamental importance of those who took part in the research. Without participants who were willing to tell their stories it would have been impossible to achieve the depth and richness of data that was collected. No doubt, there would still have been one data set available. Yet all the subtlety would have been lost. This recognition is important due to the ethical considerations of working with vulnerable populations.

4.5. Data analysis

This study uses an inductive data analysis process, that is to say it observes what is being presented by the data and comes to establish certain propositions, or general statements, that relate to what has been discovered (Grinnell 1988; Grinnell & Unrau 2011). This allows for a more detailed observation of a real world phenomenon (Neuman 2004) and moves the research away from the need to prove or disprove a theory. This approach is pertinent in relation to the study's research level. Because this is an exploratory study (Neuman 2013) it does not require a hypothesis. It is important to note that while this study is of an inductive nature it is not part of the grounded theory paradigm (Neuman 2004). The results do not aim, at this point, to generate a theory of resettlement but rather aim to deepen understanding of the ways in which multiculturalism and resettlement, as an expression of that policy, interact in the experiences of African refugees.

4.5.1. Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis (TA), while difficult to define, is widely used within the qualitative research field (Braun & Clarke 2006). TA can be best described as a "method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 79). While this definition may seem to be self-explanatory many authors argue that the lack of accurate or detailed reporting of the steps of thematic analysis has clouded and confused the limits of TA (see for example Aronson 1995; Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun & Clarke 2006; Tuckett 2005).

This study draws heavily from Braun and Clarke (2006) and their approach to TA. They argue that while TA is often deployed in qualitative research, it is not always identified as TA as such. This study explicitly uses a TA approach where a theme is understood as an idea that "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 82).

This study can be said to have a theoretical TA approach as there is an explicit theoretical underpinning in the research. This is possible because, as Braun and Clarke (2006) argue, TA is not wedded to any pre-existing theoretical framework. It can be used within a range of different theoretical frameworks. TA can be essentialist, realist, or constructionist and can

examine the ways in which discourse operates within society (Braun & Clarke 2006). This study, therefore, will use TA within a Foucauldian theoretical framework, as has been outlined above, and will focus on the patterns that emerge from the data in relation to the use and reproduction of the discourse on multiculturalism and resettlement.

- ***Steps to Conducting TA***

A comprehensive account of the steps for TA is provided by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87) who have delineated a six step process, as shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 - PHASES OF TA BY BRAUN AND CLARKE

Phase	Description of the process
Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set, generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Braun and Clarke (2006) note that in Phase Two coding can either be more 'data-driven' or 'theory-driven' depending on the specific questions the researcher might wish to code to. This study sits somewhere in the middle of this continuum as I have an active interest in both what the raw data is presenting – as a reflection of reality – and how participants are reproducing a discourse – as a result of a particular way of being understood in the sense of a Foucauldian theoretical framework.

This study adheres to the Braun and Clarke process. However, some further considerations need to be mentioned. For Phase One, all interviews and focus groups were audio recorded. While all the interviews with settlement workers were transcribed, it was not possible to fully transcribe the refugee focus groups. Contemporaneous discussion in other languages, and the limited English proficiency of participants paired with the, sometimes, chaotic nature of the focus group dynamic itself made it impossible to transcribe the audio from the interviews

verbatim. So, rather than attempt an exact word-for-word transcription I have familiarised myself with the data through extensive note taking, and transcription of valuable quotes. Notes taken during the interviews and focus groups were added to the general notes generated in Phase One. Another difference, while only a technical one, is that there is no report as such and the results are presented in Chapters Five and Six.

Phase Two, initial code generation, was done for each participant group (refugees and settlement workers) separately. Given the study's prime purpose, I opted for this strategy to examine if there were codes that appeared in both groups simultaneously but independently. That is to say, I wanted to know if refugees and settlement workers gave similar answers to similarly themed questions. Using this approach is in line with Neuman's (2013) approach for internal and external consistency, discussed earlier in this chapter, to ensure the trustworthiness of the data. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 91) following Patton's (2002) internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity, observe that data should cohere together meaningfully yet clear and identifiable distinctions between themes should be retained. Generating the initial codes for both participant groups separately and then comparing and contrasting them was another way of ensuring that there was internal homogeneity within the data.

After all codes had been generated from the data, and they had been compared across both groups, the codes were then collated into potential themes (Phase Three). It was important to consolidate codes between participant groups where possible, yet even at this stage there were too many codes to feasibly include in the final results chapters. The search in Phase Three for themes allowed for the most meaningful codes to be taken further into the analysis and for those codes that, though interesting, did not serve to answer the research question to be put to the side. Phase Three yielded over 40 codes, which were then grouped into potential themes. During this phase, six main themes were created which upon further review – Phases Four and Five – were consolidated into three prime themes with different sets of final subthemes and codes, as Figure 4.2 below shows.

Figure 4.2 - FINAL MAP OF PRIME THEMES, SUBTHEMES, AND CODES

Codes	Subthemes	Themes
One size fits all service delivery	Service delivery	Systemic Constraints
	Housing	
	Employment	
	5 year period	
Raising children in Australia	Refugee expectations	Expectations
Stereotyping		
Strengths based service provision	Worker expectation of service users	
Meeting needs		
Unworkable expectations		
The antidote		
	Trusting the other	Relationships
Racism	Empathy	
Understanding the refugee experience		
The ones who make a difference		
Loss of family	Connectedness	
Bridging the gap		
Connecting new and old		
The impact of policy		

There has been an ongoing process of reviewing the codes, subthemes, and themes to make sense of them in relation to one another and to the literature review. This level of flexibility makes TA a highly worthwhile method to apply to qualitative research. It fits well with the principles of intersectionality as the flexibility of themes and the iteration of analysis account for multiple factors that come into play when participants provide answers. It is highly

146

effective to use with a Foucauldian theoretical framework due to TA providing space for the inclusion of theoretical underpinnings during all phases of the analysis.

It is said that due to the richness and fluidity of TA there is little difference between this method and others that are concerned with narrative and discourse. Taylor (2001), for example, when describing his discourse analysis methodology states that "themes were grouped together, and then checked for emerging patterns, for variability and consistency, and for the function and effects of specific discourses" (Taylor & Ussher 2001, p. 297). This fits very consistently with the process described by Braun and Clarke (2006).

4.5.2. Applying a Foucauldian Theoretical Framework

The question of how to use a Foucauldian theoretical approach is best answered by Graham when she states that:

> when 'doing' discourse analysis within a Foucauldian framework, one looks to statements not so much for what they say but what they *do*; that is, one question's what the constitutive or political effects of saying this instead of that might be? (Graham 2011, p. 667)

Texts, namely the cultural productions that individuals hear and repeat, are a practice that is enacted at a discursive level between individuals, collectives, and institutions. In this study I strive to identify the nature of the relationship between the questions asked and the speakers; what the questions evoke and how these relationships can be seen as markers for the broader relationships between refugees, workers, and the resettlement system, to further examine what this means with regard to Australian multiculturalism.

As Figure 4.3 illustrates below, *truth*, in the Foucauldian sense, can be said to lie at the intersection between the two triads of power-knowledge-discourse and sovereignty-government-discipline.
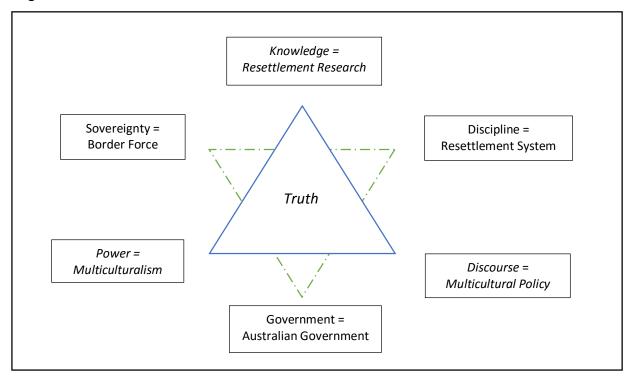
Figure 4.3 - FOUCAULDIAN TRIADS AND THEIR REAL WORLD EQUIVALENTS

In terms of this study these Foucauldian triads have equivalents in the real world and *truth* is located at the intersection of these equivalents. Looking at refugees and workers as parts of a discursive practice located within a specific *truth* is a concrete way of exploring the resettlement experience and, as it were, lifting the veil to reveal its *truth*.

Taking a stand that actively acknowledges that the resettlement system is a system designed to subtly discipline refugees and migrants, and looking at resettlement research as an attempt to validate this particular form of discipline is taking an intellectual position that actively and openly acknowledges that Australian multiculturalism is a form of social engineering. It is not possible to research resettlement without going beyond what the discourse of resettlement is saying and looking at what it is doing.

Truth is used in the Foucauldian sense:

> Ultimately, the value of poststructural work is intellectual and conceptual. The critical relationship to truth enabled through Foucauldian problematisation does not mean that there is no truth—it means that truth is always contingent and subject to scrutiny. Truth is

no longer immutable and this opens the door to powerful possibilities for change. Ultimately, to be able to see truth as a kind of fiction, as something we busily construct around ourselves means that we can come to see 'truth' as something less final; as something we can (re)make 'little by little ... [by] introducing modifications that are able if not to find solutions, at least to change the given terms of the problem' (Foucault, 1994, p. 288). If anything this is the most honest and ethical approach to the analysis of language for, as Barthes (1977a, p. 148) points out, 'the unity of a text is not in its origin, it is in its destination' (Graham 2011, p. 667).

In this study I look at the nature of the subjectivity which is being constructed using a thematic approach to examine the data, and viewing those themes as manifestations of discursive practices, rather than having a focus on the very specific linguistic detail. In other words, I explore the relationship between words and things, how the words are used to conceptualise and communicate the objects that are being spoken about and how those words re-produce the very objects that are mentioned (Graham 2011).

Hook (2007, p. 102) argues that Foucault wished to centre the analysis of discourse within the arena of political critique. Discursive practices both enable and inhibit choice, furthermore "the effects of discursive practices is to make it virtually impossible to think outside of them; to be outside of them is, by definition, to be mad, to be beyond comprehension and therefore reason" (Hook 2007, p. 101).

In tracing, in Chapter 2, the process by which Australia moved from a racially based immigration system, with its own discursive practices of Whiteness, to a multicultural society, with a new set of discursive practices of migration, the study has set a framework of how resettlement has come to be. Understanding how the Australian discourse on migration and multiculturalism places refugees and workers within a relational dynamic, even before the individual agents take part, is the second step in this study. Refugees and workers are already a part of the power-knowledge dyad; it is a priori to the subject.

Once individuals become part of institutions their subjectivity is, theoretically, confined to the limits of the discursive practices that were already a part of the resettlement system. African

refugees are recognizable as refugees because they embody the characteristics of refugees. The discourse on humanitarian settlement constitutes a subject that is *defined* and *definable* as a refugee.

The last step in this study is uncovering whether and how refugees and workers recognise each other as parts of a discursive practice. Hook (2007, p. 108) argues that Foucauldian discourse analysis is not concerned with asking what is exposed by authors in their texts but rather what possible subject positions are made thinkable within such texts. In this study I aim to explore the relational aspects of multiculturalism, settlement, and refugees. To do so I rely on the texts generated by both participant groups, through the online survey and the face to face interviews and focus groups, which embody and shape the humanitarian settlement experience. Because the texts generated by both participant groups are situated within the discursive practice of multiculturalism and the resettlement system, they are taken and examined to assess if the texts re-create the discursive practice or if they generate any new subjectivity that has not been accounted for.

4.6. Limitations

As stated previously, given the data collection methods the study is not generalizable. While the findings might be in line with the previous research done on refugee resettlement it is not possible to take this study as representing the whole of the refugee population experience. The refugee sample size and gender composition give the findings a particularly gendered perspective. This is also true for settlement workers, who are in the majority women, both those online and the smaller face-to-face subset; this is in line with the gender distribution of the service sector (Workplace Gender Equality Agency 2015).

The data collection strategy may have unintentionally excluded groups or individuals either through the use of technology or the way in which information about the study was disseminated. Online surveys, while easily accessible, require access to computers and the internet as well as basic user level computer skills. This automatically excludes potential worker participants who have neither or only one. This study did not have participation from community volunteers who work as part of the resettlement service. These are members of the broader community who offer their time to support refugees resettling in Australia. Their contributions could have shed light on community views about refugee resettlement in Australia.

Another issue to consider is that while the diffusion of the survey online was high, reaching wide networks, there is a likelihood that workers would simply not be inclined to answer another survey. Settlement workers are already pressed for time when fulfilling their scheduled duties so asking them to take more time to participate in the study is a considerable request. It would be reasonable to assume that some potential participants came into contact with the online survey but did not end up participating.

It is important to acknowledge the limitations generated by conducting research in English rather than the mother tongue of participants. The cultural, and therefore linguistic, diversity of Australia has already been alluded to; accessing research in one's own language would be a great advantage for any piece of research. This is even more important when researching African refugees who are, generally speaking, more likely to have lower levels of English proficiency. This limitation is owed to the limited funding available for PhDs. There was no funding for the use of interpreters or translators.

However, the use of translators and interpreters does have some disadvantages. Owing to my professional experience, I knew that translation would not have been at all feasible as it is not possible to predict all the languages of the participants that would be present in the focus groups. Professional experience had also shown the reluctance of certain participants to talk about personal matters in front of an interpreter, for fear that their personal business would then be passed on to the community. Some African communities are still very small in their total numbers and interpreters, though qualified, come from the same communities as the participants. This has the potential to generate some suspicion amongst potential participants. The use of interpreters does not always guarantee higher levels of participation or full disclosure.

Nonetheless, conducting the study in English inevitably means that the idiosyncratic nuances and cultural tones of speaking one's mother tongue are lost in translation. The data could have been richer and more complex in the ways it conveyed answers had there been the option of participants responding in their mother tongue. Relying on English also has the unintentional effect of privileging those with better English proficiency and more confidence to respond, inadvertently silencing those who are less confident. The use of focus groups with refugee participants was an attempt at capturing, if not the exact meaning, the mood and tone of the participants' answers. Data does not come only from verbal cues; it comes in pauses, silences, and body language.

The use of focus groups to access the resettlement experiences of African refugees may have made accessing individual stories of resettlement harder. Some refugees were willing and able to fully share their stories during the focus groups yet others relied heavily on collective answering and did not always participate actively. This may have generated a picture that is characterised by the views of those participants who had the ability to clearly communicate their views. However, I am sufficiently comfortable with the level of discussion between all group members, which the questions generated, in participants' own language during the focus groups. I cannot say the same for the two individual interviews I conducted but my observations/field notes indicate that both of the individual participants were articulate and highly engaged with the interview process. It is a limitation of this study that there were

insufficient funds to engage the services of translator that could listen to the audio recordings and translate that which was incomprehensible to me.

As I have consistently argued, refugees and workers are the two main participants in the resettlement system. However, it is not possible to discount the role that a third participant plays: the community. In choosing to study refugees and workers, the study limited its involvement with the broader community who are also inextricably linked to the resettlement experience. Refugees resettle in a country that already has a population that lives complex lives; the many community voices were not heard in this study due to the enormity of the task that such an approach would entail.

Likewise, focusing exclusively on African refugees ignores the realities of other groups and communities that resettle in Australia as part of the humanitarian intake programme. I have previously noted that African refugees were chosen specifically because they sit further away from the centre, compared to other refugee groups and this is arguably a good barometer to measure the impact of a policy direction that is designed for everyone. However, the perceived increase of issues with Muslim communities points to a change in status for African communities in Australia.

Finally, my own views and experience as a migrant in Australia contour the ways in which the research is framed and conducted. My own ontological and epistemological positioning, and my political views all shaped the way in which the data was collected and the selection of the theoretical framework that was used.

4.7. Conclusion

This study uses a combination of different but related ontological and theoretical positionings to generate a holistic method of studying a phenomenon that affects a specific group of people. Taking a critical realist approach allows for the incorporation and exploration of external and internal realities (Neuman 2013) as they impact on the individual. The resettlement system in Australia exists independently of its actors but is constantly being redefined by them. The limitations in place are reinterpreted and renegotiated on a regular basis by workers and refugees alike. Capturing a snapshot of this system allows the study to incorporate the effects it has on the resettlement experience of both groups.

Using an intersectionality approach paired with a Foucauldian understanding of discourse gives this study the depth required to analyse the texts produced by all three actors: the government, resettlement workers, and refugees. Language is the common thread that binds these three actors together. It is the place where workers and refugees make sense of their experience and where they interact with one another. Analysing the common themes that come from the stories produced by workers and refugees allows the study to generate understandings that go beyond the quantitative research generated before it. Taking the time to look into how two separate but related actors experience the same system provides a window into the real world application of Australian multiculturalism.

While this study's strength lies in the depth and complexity of the qualitative data collected, it lacks the large scale nature of the major studies conducted in Australia. This by no means invalidates the findings; it is simply recognition that this study is a small scale research project that aims to find complexity rather than quantity. This study is a departure from what has been the most frequent way of researching settlement in Australia and therefore has the potential to contribute some much needed depth to the resettlement debate.

5. Results – Part I

Introduction to the Findings

As established in the preceding chapters, this study is interested in the narrative arcs, the stories, which emerge from its participants. Each has experienced resettlement individually, but when individual experience is understood as part of a broader whole it reveals common elements that serve as markers creating a comprehensive picture of the resettlement journey for both refugees and workers. A Foucauldian theoretical framework and Intersectionality both aid in the understanding of these stories as a result of, not only actual lived experience, but of the processes by which individuals create meaning. Using an Intersectionality approach reminds us that individuals are subject to competing forces, externally and internally. Every new situation is an intersection at which choices have to be made and meaning is constantly being created and re-created.

The results for the study are presented in two chapters, 5 and 6. Each chapter contains prime themes identified through the TA method described in Chapter 4; these prime themes and their subthemes relate back to the research question by presenting the practical and personal aspects of the lived experience of African refugee resettlement. Given the complexity of the resettlement experience and this study's exploratory aim, it is important to capture as much of this complexity as possible. Presenting the findings in themes, and with detailed quotes, allows for a deeper and richer presentation of the resettlement experience. Quotes are, where possible, verbatim. I have decided to keep the language intact, as it was spoken or written, to retain the original quality of what was said. Where the grammar or spelling interfered with clarity, minor adjustments were made to make the quotes intelligible.

Chapter 5 sets the scene by presenting the findings that relate to the systemic aspects of refugee resettlement; it presents the demographic data that was collected for both groups, which gives context to the findings. Chapter 6 furthers the exploration of the lived experience of resettlement by delving into its process – both the individual and relational – providing more personal aspects. The resulting personal and collective stories reveal how systemic aspects of resettlement impact on refugees' personal lives and emotional wellbeing. Chapter 6 also explores relationships between individuals and how this impacts on service provision

and the overall resettlement journey, providing feedback on the subsidiary aims of the research question.

The findings are supported with direct quotes from: the 12 individual interviews with settlement workers, labelled with the markers SW01 to SW12; the five focus groups with African refugees, labelled HEG01 to HEG05; and the two individual interviews with refugees, labelled HEI01 and HEI02.

The supporting quotes are presented, in most cases, contrasting and juxtaposing the quotes from workers with those of refugees (for survey instrument as well as interview and focus group questionnaire please refer to Appendix I to IV). This format is used to make the similarities and differences between groups clear and to emphasise the points at which both cohorts' comments and perceptions overlap. This format emphasises the fact that refugees and workers share the experience of the resettlement system; they are agents and subjects. Examining how the discourse of multiculturalism shapes the collective, and individual, subjectivities of these cohorts is an important aspect of using a Foucauldian approach to examine multiculturalism.

The findings for this study suggest that resettlement does not have a clear endpoint – it is a process; a highly relational one that is multifaceted and multi-layered. Resettlement extends over time differently for different people and typically does not have a definitive end. Both participants groups have contrasting views on the importance of different factors for this process but share similar desires for its positive long-term sustainability. The findings suggest that resettlement is more than the sum total of measurable indicators; that even when all the systemic indicators are achieved, relational aspects can help or hinder the resettlement journey. These findings have significance for the policy and research field. Overall, resettlement research would benefit from expanding its understanding of successful resettlement.

5.1. Situating Participants and their Context

As contended in Chapter 3, resettlement research to this point has mainly focused on quantitative markers, such as the ones presented by the LSIA and the SONA reports (see for example ABS 2010; ASR 2011; DIBP 2014d; Hugo 2010; Khoo et al. 2002). That research indicates that, overall, refugees do worse than their Australian counterparts – and other migrants – in all markers of successful settlement, especially in terms of employment and housing. Hugo (2011) argues this trend disappears over time, with successive generations doing as well as or even outperforming Australian-born peers. Generally speaking, however, refugees remain vulnerable populations that are more likely to be unemployed or have long term issues with housing. What these quantitative indicators mean for refugees can best be shown by qualitative research, such as this study, to provide a deeper and richer understanding of the human element of resettlement.

The way in which such quantitative measures are obtained also contributes to the perpetuation of similar exclusively quantitatively measurable outcomes. As noted in Chapter 3, the vast majority of the large scale resettlement research is conducted using extended multiple-selection questionnaires and paper-based surveys (DIBP 2014d; Gartner 1996; Hugo 2010). They also routinely ignore certain refugee perceptions of process, for example the measure for employment does not necessarily record employment satisfaction. Furthermore, research tools such as these ignore the complexity of the choices made to achieve such measurable outcomes.

This study aims to redress some of the aforementioned gaps by accounting for complexity and incorporating the subjective experiences of resettlement. That is, this study attempts to include the process by which refugees, and workers, negotiate the demands of resettlement as well as identifying the circumstances under which these negotiations occur. Up to this point resettlement research has focused almost exclusively on outcomes and not on process. All major studies have replicated this model of understanding resettlement. If the longitudinal study on refugees being conducted now is any indication, this research trend remains (Khoo 2012; Maio et al. 2014).

Accounting for process should mean accounting for as many parts as possible, this is the reason for the inclusion of settlement workers in the study. Settlement workers are not only the gatekeepers of services, they are the conduit by which refugees come to understand the way in which Australia functions. Resettlement is also a relational experience that is intersected by many different aspects.
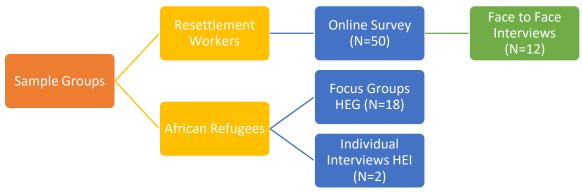
This chapter presents the findings for the first prime theme, systemic constraints, and a description of the participant groups for the study: settlement workers and African refugees who resettled in Melbourne. The chapter begins with a description of both participant groups and provides contextual information for both. The demographic data for worker participants derives from the online survey and is therefore more detailed than the data on African refugees. No further demographic data was collected from worker participants during the face-to-face interviews. For refugee participants only casual demographic data was collected; when they voluntarily disclosed any demographic data it was recorded. One of the limitations of this study is that no personal or identifiable information on refugees was able to be requested. Thus the limited demographic data means there is little possibility of any comparative analysis between African groups.

The findings on the systemic constraints of the resettlement system show that resettlement services and workers are under increasing pressure to generate outcomes at the expense of personal and long term working relationships. Such systemic constraints contour the lived experiences of resettlement by demarcating the limits of what it is possible to do and what is understood as appropriate settlement. Systemic constraints shape the experience for workers and refugees by determining, explicitly and implicitly, the limits of resettlement and cultural accommodation within the Australian multicultural paradigm.

5.2. Participants in the Study

As stipulated in Chapter 4, this study has two participant groups: settlement workers from the humanitarian service sector and African refugees who had resettled in Melbourne (refer to Figure 5.1 below). Both group were chosen because, while at opposite sides of the service provision dyad, they are the main executors of the resettlement journey.

Figure 5.1 - SAMPLE GROUPS

5.2.1. Refugees

In total, 20 refugees took part in the study: 16 women and four men in the final sample. Participants were from the Horn of Africa region, countries included were Eritrea, Sudan, and Somalia, among others. Eritrea and Somalia are among the top ten countries of birth for the Australian refugee intake for 2013-14; Africa remains one of the three priority regions – the other two are Asia and the Middle East – for the offshore humanitarian intake (DIBP 2014a).

Table 5.1 – REFUGEE PARTICIPANTS

Group identifier	Number of Participants	Gender Distribution	Country of Origin
HEG01	5	Female	Eritrea
HEG02	6	Female	Somalia and Sudan
HEG03	2	1F 1M	Unknown
HEG04	3	Female	Sudan
HEG05	2	Male	Unknown
HEI01	1	Female	Sudan
HEI02	1	Male	Sudan

As indicated in the above table, the nationality of some participants remained unknown as this was not a component of the focus group instrument. Refugee participants were not asked to provide demographic data, in order to ensure that there was the highest level of anonymity

possible. The 20 refugees were interviewed in seven different settings, two individual interviews and five focus groups. Of these five focus groups, four were already established as groups; that is, the participants in these groups were part of a class or community group that met regularly prior to being part of the study. These groups had an existing dynamic that they brought with them to the interview; the participants were comfortable with each other and assisted one another with translation and clarification. As noted in the limitations section of Chapter 4, participants would often discuss the question and the answer collectively, in their own language, before providing me with an answer in English.

The collective discussion of each question meant that at times only one participant would provide a verbal response, while the rest would nod or murmur in assent. This group response dynamic, as well as a concern for refugee participants' anonymity, played a part in labelling refugee focus groups as groups rather than as individuals. Taking these collective responses as valid data is a way of recognising that the high levels of individuality that permeate western understandings are not always relevant to all groups (Comstock et al. 2008). It also recognises that the already existing group dynamics signal a high level of trust amongst participants, and this should be respected when recording responses.

The two largest groups had six participants and as previously described there were two individual interviews. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the interviews were a result of other potential participants deciding that they were not going to take part after the first meeting with groups of possible participants. This decision was not made evident until the agreed date for the focus group, when they did not attend. As I was not able to collect identifiable data from possible participants it is not possible for me to identify the exact number of refugee participants who changed their mind. My anecdotal observations of the data collection period indicate that it was mostly men who changed their mind and chose not to participate. I did not, however, keep any records of this. A reflection on this, with thoughts about alternative strategies for recruiting and retaining men, will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

Though the research design stated that two participants were required to start a focus group it was clear that the individual participants wished to take part, having travelled a

considerable distance to meet me. As mentioned in Chapter 4, upon confronting this situation it did not seem ethical to inform them that their interest, time, and effort had been wasted. It seemed clear to me that there was a need to balance the research design with the appropriate amount of care for those participants who expressed an explicit desire to take part. To ensure that these individuals really understood what participation in the study meant, I provided them with several explanations of the consent form and interview format and clarified whether they were still interested.

As is evident in Table 5.1 above, the refugee participants in the study were mainly female; this is not representative of the gender distribution of the refugee cohort overall. The gender distribution for all refugees coming to Australia is approximately a 50-50 divide, and has been since 2010 (DIBP 2014a). The information on specific gender distribution is murky at best and unavailable at worst. Hugo (2011) claims that there is variation between African countries, with some suggestion of higher numbers of female headed households, but the inclusion of South Africa into the count of countries from the African region skews the data, given that country's number of white European descendants. One thing is clear, this high preponderance of female refugee participants certainly colours the findings and gives them a noticeably gendered hue. This is a factor discussed in Section 4.6 of Chapter 4 which will be examined in more detail in Chapter 7.

5.2.2. Settlement Workers

Over the 12 months the survey was online, from April 2013 to April 2014, 50 settlement workers responded. These participants were able to answer or ignore whatever questions they chose; subsequently some questions have no responses. However, most participants responded to most questions. Unsurprisingly, the least popular questions were those to be filled in by typing a response (Neuman 2013, p. 333). Most respondents (N=44) are from Victoria, with four from New South Wales, one from South Australia, and one where the location is not indicated. The majority are females (N=38, 79.2%) with 10 males (20.8%), which is similar to the overall gender distribution of workers in health care and social assistance in Australia (Workplace Gender Equality Agency 2015). Just under one half of respondents are either of CALD background (N=7) or were born overseas (N=14); and 40.8% (N=20) speak a
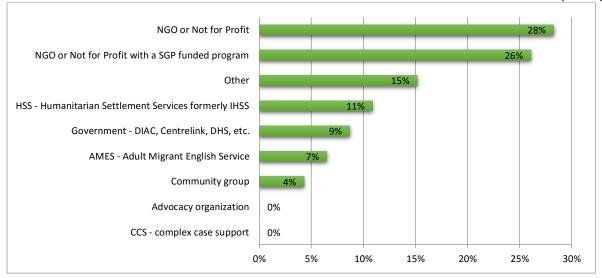
language other than English. This is in line with the ABS data on cultural and linguistic diversity in Australia (DIBP 2014e) and with what is generally know about workplace diversity, as there is no industry specific breakdown. Of the survey participants, 87% reported direct contact with refugee clients (N=41); of the face to face interview participants, all but one had current and direct contact with refugee clients.

Of the 50 online survey participants, 12 volunteered for and took part in face to face interviews. Again, the gender distribution (eight women to four men) is not atypical for the settlement sector; no further demographic data were sought during the interviews, and therefore other factors such as age or education cannot be commented on. The interview times varied in length from 25 to 90 minutes. Some workers were more eager to talk about the issues than others, though all were invested in making a contribution to the area. Since many described having worked in the sector for over 12 months they were very well informed on resettlement issues. The study was fortunate to have two participants who were members of the African community in Melbourne; their perspectives were valuable given their level of connectedness with the community and refugee resettlement at large. All of the face to face interview participants were either social workers or had a background in community service. The only interview participant who did not meet this was a medical doctor who had been working in refugee health for over 10 years.

Given the variety of services available through the HSS and SGP schemes, it was important for the study to try and capture this diversity, to generate a more holistic picture of resettlement. The current organization type of settlement worker participants are presented in Figure 5.2 below. The online survey managed to capture a wide range of settlement workers from across the system. Narrowing the study to those who work directly under the HSS, or only have direct contact with clients, would have lessened the richness of the results. While policy makers and high level managers have no direct contact with refugees they nonetheless shape the experiences of those refugees that resettle in Australia.

The worker participants for this study had, in the majority, direct client experience as part of their current daily tasks or as part of a previous position. Roughly one fifth of the workers (N=14) reported that their previous job was also in the resettlement sector making their job at the time of the survey their second position within the broader resettlement system. This

means that the workers who took part in the study were highly experienced, had been in different areas of the system and had therefore a wide ranging view and high level of expertise.

FIGURE 5.2 – ORGANIZATION TYPE OF SETTLEMENT WORKER SURVEY PARTICIPANTS (N=46)

More than one half of respondents identified they work in the NGO (28.3%) sector or as part of SGP NGO (26.1%). The reason for this distinction comes from an attempt at capturing what portion of the participants work directly under the HSS system and what portion supplements it. It is clear that just under half of respondents who work with refugees do so outside of the official boundaries of the HSS. This is telling as it is, in line with the generalised views of the settlement workers who participated in interviews, that HSS is not only limiting, but that it fails to meet the needs of newly arrived refugees. This is discussed more fully in Section 5.5 below.

The 'other' category, which at 15% is quite high, indicates respondents who work in hospitals, registered training organisations (RTOs), Red Cross, and schools. The range of people in the 'other' category reflects the variety of posts related to cultural diversity. Just fewer than 45% of respondents had been in their current occupation between one and three years and 21.3% reported five years or more. Slightly less than a third of respondents (29.8%) reported being in their position less than one year. Survey participants in this study therefore represent a group who can be considered to be well experienced in the field, as it is well known that high turnover rates are common within the NGO sector (Robinson 2014).

163

The vast majority of respondents work in a metropolitan setting (73.3%). In terms of client engagement most (63.8%, n=30) respondents work directly with refugees, while 23.4% do sometimes (n=11). As indicated in Figure 5.3 below most respondents indicated that their clients were either from Africa or the Middle East; this is in line with the ABS data on humanitarian entrant arrivals (ABS 2012).
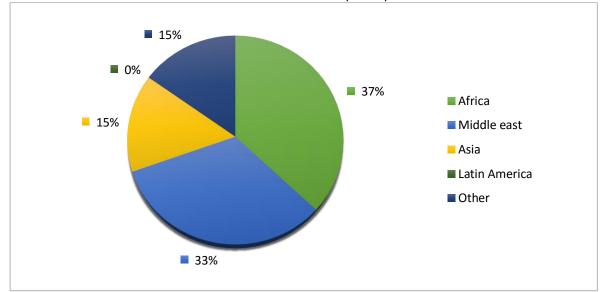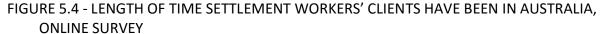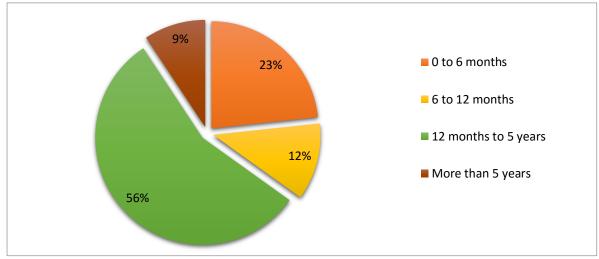
FIGURE 5.3 – GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF REFUGEE SERVICE USERS AS REPORTED BY SETTLEMENT WORKER SURVEY PARTICIPANTS (N=46)

More than two-thirds of workers (68.9%) reported working with non-refugee visa clients; this means they work with those who came via a family or special humanitarian entrant visa. In the Australian context the term 'refugee' can be confusing since, as identified in the introduction, Australia has a humanitarian intake programme that resettles more than UNHCR labelled refugees. Family reunification and special cases are also part of the humanitarian intake programme; there are a small number of people from refugee countries coming under skilled visa streams. This is important as visa categories are essential to service provision. This difference in service provision was something that female refugee participants, who had come on spouse visas, identified during the focus groups.

Chapter 1 mentions that all people who come under the humanitarian intake programme have a period of five years to access settlement services. For refugees their length of time in Australia determines the level of assistance they receive. Figure 5.4 below shows that most of the survey participants' clients were within the prescribed five year period for HSS services,

with the majority of those having been in Australia between one and five years (56%). Around one quarter of survey participants reported working with clients in Australia less than six months which is when the most intensive supports are active. Nine percent report having clients in Australia more than five years; this means that a small number of settlement workers were helping clients who no longer were eligible for services. This is an important distinction as there is debate around how long it takes to really resettle. Some research shows that five years is not enough time for people to be fully settled into their new life in Australia (RCOA 2015a). The fact that workers would ignore the timeframe speaks to the nature of their clients' needs and their desire to assist them.

FIGURE 5.4 - LENGTH OF TIME SETTLEMENT WORKERS' CLIENTS HAVE BEEN IN AUSTRALIA, ONLINE SURVEY

Overall, the online survey respondents are a comprehensive cohort with a wide ranging set of jobs within the resettlement system. These are experienced workers whose clients are typically from Australia's main refugee donor regions, the Middle East and Africa, and have been in Australia for at least a year. The settlement worker participants who took part in this study all had experience with African refugees. This study managed to capture a settlement worker cohort that is knowledgeable and practised; this makes their insights solid and grounded in a lived experience of the resettlement system.

5.3. Arriving at the Findings

As detailed in Chapter 4, the first step in analysing the data was examining it using a thematic approach. That is, the data were examined for emergent patterns, in the form of themes present throughout the data sets. This step was repeated several times over until no new themes emerged from revising the data. Upon further examination it became clear that the patterns that emerged from both data sets were consistent. This process of repeated analysis of the qualitative data allows for the identification of the discourse, in the Foucauldian sense, that permeates the stories collected.
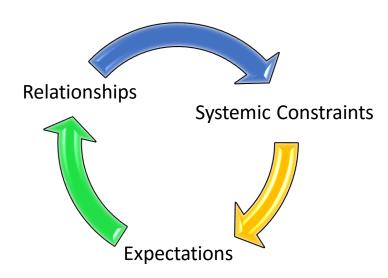
Once the themes from refugee and settlement workers were compared and the equivalencies established, the data were analysed once more as a single data set of themes. It became clear that the themes that had been identified in the patterns could be further abstracted and grouped in larger, more comprehensive themes. This was a process of working from the specific examples towards a global understanding of what themes were emerging. In the end the three prime themes were: systemic constraints, expectations, and relationships (see Figure 5.5 below).

As this study focuses on the lived experiences of African refugee resettlement, I was especially interested in the individual opinions and stories that participants would convey, given the open ended nature of the interviews and focus groups. Focusing on individual experience is the only way to truly answer a research question that focuses on the lived experience of resettlement. As previously noted, this was not always possible with refugee participants, due to the collective nature of some of their responses. However, some refugee participants were able to articulate individual accounts, these have been reproduced in this and the next chapter. Settlement worker accounts provided a good contrasting point to corroborate data provided by refugees and to compare the points at which experiences differed.

The prime themes are, in a manner of speaking, the three pillars that determine the resettlement experience for workers and refugees alike. These three core concepts operate relationally and in opposition to one another. They feed one another back and forth, balancing each other in different ways, depending on the contextual needs and circumstances of refugees and workers. Identifying the commonality of experience for refugees and workers

furthers the idea that people cannot be excised from the process and that the process impacts the participants in varying ways. The creation of meaning is not a standardised process it is culturally bound and contextually dependent.

FIGURE 5.5 - PRIME THEMES

Relationships

Systemic Constraints

Expectations

Because this study uses a Foucauldian theoretical framework it is important to remember that texts, specifically the cultural productions that individuals hear and repeat, constitute a practice enacted at a discursive level between individuals, collectives, and institutions. This study strives to identify the relationship between the questions asked and the speakers; what the questions evoke and how this evocation can be seen as a marker for the broader relationships between multiculturalism, refugees, workers, and the resettlement system. As Hook (2007, p. 108) argues, Foucauldian discourse analysis is not so much about asking what is exposed by authors in their texts, but rather what possible subject positions are made thinkable within such texts. In terms of the study, this means looking at what subjectivities are made possible within the framework of Australian multiculturalism and resettlement.

Further to this, the study aims to look at the *truths* that are reproduced and disseminated by and from the resettlement system, as understood within a Foucauldian theoretical framework. Ultimately this study aims to explore the relational aspects of multiculturalism, settlement, and refugees and to do so it relies on the texts generated by both participant groups who embody and shape the humanitarian settlement experience. Seeing as the texts

generated by both participant groups are situated within the discursive practice of multiculturalism and the resettlement system they are taken and examined to assess if the texts re-create the discursive practice they come from or if they generate any new subjectivity that has not been accounted for.

While many of the issues indicated in this study have been mentioned in the broader settlement research literature, this study's results point to the need to understand resettlement as a process. Importantly, this process is seen to be defined primarily by personal relationships for refugees and systemic constraints for workers. The level of importance given to any of the three core issues is determined only by the circumstances surrounding a specific consideration that may come into play; for example systemic constraints may be central to housing issues, placing relationships and expectations in second place; however, relationships might be central to coping with the effects of a lack of appropriate housing. Each prime theme contains subthemes specific its nature. Below is a detailed exploration of the theme of systemic constraints and its subthemes.

5.4. Systemic Constraints

How a government policy of polyethnicity is captured by the institutions of the state reveals something about the underlying assumptions made by that system and determines the foreseeable courses of action taken by the individuals that make up the system. How a system operates is important for both the individuals receiving assistance and those dispensing it. What constraints come into play are important markers of what individuals are allowed to do within the confines of the system.

Concerns about systemic constraints were expressed in different ways by workers and refugees as the understanding that individuals have of what is and what is not possible is determined by the role they play. Workers were, of course, very attuned to these; it is a consideration they grapple with on a daily basis. It is a concrete determinant of the daily practice of their job. Refugees experience the resettlement system mainly as passive recipients, yet, within this recipient role they create their own understandings around what can and cannot be done. The issues disclosed in the interviews and focus groups can be seen as individual matters, but, when looked at within a broader systemic setting, they can be said to be indicative of the conditions, and problems, of the resettlement system.

Education, housing, and employment, as the core issues identified in previous research, are only some of the aspects that the resettlement system deals with. Systemic constraints also include issues that relate from work practices to service delivery; this involves matters relating to funding, as well as language instruction. In sum, any issue that relates to a service within the service list of the HSS, whether from the workers' or the clients' view was coded to systemic constraints. The idea of constraints was chosen to describe this theme due to the negative aspects disclosed by participants. While all issues were important, not all under this core theme were mentioned by both groups. This is expected as workers are the ones with 'inside' information. However, refugees are aware that constraints exist on how things work. Although their descriptions of the issues may have been less sophisticated, they still reveal important aspects of how implementation can impact on the person and the community. The following section explores the four major subthemes identified by this study.

5.4.1. Service Delivery in a Context of Increasing Bureaucratisation

The online survey asked settlement workers to rate the quality of the services the HSS provides. Overall, workers were quite positive about the services under the HSS. Consistently more than one half of respondents rated the quality as good or very good, as shown in Table 5.2 below. This rating is in opposition to what the interview data, detailed further in this section, reveals about the demands identified by settlement workers. Perhaps the ambivalence workers spoke about in the interviews is reflected in the high levels of neutrality shown in responses to this question. Even when workers are not directly involved with an area, they are still connected into the broader settlement network, a lack of information is not a likely explanation for neutrality.

TABLE 5.2 - EVALUATION OF THE COMPONENTS OF THE HSS PROGRAMME, SETTLEMENT
WORKER SCALED RATINGS

	Very Good	Good	Neutral	Bad	Very bad
On arrival reception and induction	10	15	10	1	1
	68%		27%	5%	
Assistance with locating short term and long term accommodation	8	12	13	3	1
	54%		35%	11%	
Information about and referral to mainstream agencies	9	13	11	4	0
	59%		30%	11%	
Information about and referral to other settlement and community programmes	9	11	8	9	0
	54%		22%	24%	
Onshore orientation programme	7	12	12	5	1
	51%		32%	16%	

Despite this generally positive rating, the qualitative data gathered in individual interviews indicates that increasing bureaucratisation with limited resources hinders workers' ability to carry out their functions as well as adding pressure which strains relationships with their clients. SW11 paints a gloomy picture, describing case managers who have on average 50 families to support, that is, 50 families with at least two members. These case managers have to locate services for each individual, education, accommodation, and specialised assistance if they require it. This is not made easier by the fact that, as SW01 indicates, the DIBP has been reducing the number of complex cases[11] that are approved, requesting that workers

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[11] A complex case is understood as a refugee with exceptional needs; usually these needs refer to a co-occurrence of the following: mental health, disability, physical health, family violence, grief, and children or young people (Department of Social Services 2015c).

adhere to timelines more strictly than had been the case under the IHSS. SW11 also experienced this diminishing number of approvals and indicated that in her organization workers have been managing by trying to resolve the issues themselves. As described by SW02 below, the impact of this is transferred to refugees. The workloads are so high that participants feel it has become almost impossible for workers to do anything with their clients or to spend any time with them.

SW02
There's a lot of paperwork and paperwork just kills everyone because of the mismanagement thing and all that sort of stuff. And that gets really, you crave for some organization but you don't crave to be over organised […] I think the HSS programme, again because it's structured in basically six months, becomes a lot of box ticking stuff that doesn't really help people. It doesn't link enough into other SGP programmes once people get out of that. The fact that HSS is a monopoly basically, I don't think that is a healthy thing.

As SW03, SW05, and SW12 remark, changes in the service system have put added pressure on workers to become creative and 'bend the rules' for clients in order to actually help them.

SW05
Putting a timeframe is definitely an ineffective […] puts a lot of strain on a lot of the community service providers as well, because you know we're all bending our rules to try and meet, you know, the needs that are there.
SW03
I think [the resettlement system] looks at those basic needs: food, shelter, clothing. Then I think it depends on the individual worker as to whether anything other than that gets looked at.
Sometimes you'll get a case worker, and I have seen it happen, who's a little bit freely interpretative with the policy and will, you know, work around it a little. Or you get some management that's pretty open in their thinking and they'll provide some leeway for people. So you can sometimes interpret policy in a way that is a little bit better for the client at the end of the day.
I think DIAC [now DIBP] probably has some nice ideas. I think their intention is nice, it's a good intention. I don't think they, I think they are actually trying to do their best. But at the end of the day any policy is interpreted pretty subjectively.
SW12
Even when we have kids who have, have got their visas and that sort of thing, it was still very, kind of, what can you say? Kind of segmented, if you like. Like, they didn't really understand who did what, where they should go for certain services and even if they got to the right place, then the waiting was just huge or the workers were just too overwhelmed to actually be able to do anything useful with them. Like if you didn't know how to get a job yet, then you needed to work that out and then we can help you find one. Like, you know, "We can't sit down with you for hours and actually do what needs to be done." It's just kind of, you're doing most of this, 'cause they're so like overrun with work.

SW08 was one of the interview participants with the longest and most varied professional experience in the resettlement sector. She spoke clearly to the way in which the changes to

the policy were forcing workers to focus on outcomes, also emphasising that the changing nature of the client base was not being addressed by the resettlement system. She presented the view that settlement workers have become irrelevant to client needs because of the new needs clients have. This is mainly, in her experience, because most refugees these days are single men who come with employment needs but who are educated, resilient, and highly skilled. This new client base makes a resettlement system that is focused on families, housing, and welfare obsolete. This is not to say that there are not families coming through the humanitarian entrant programme; rather it reflects the fact that the resettlement system was designed in the 1950s as a response to the consequences of WWII and later to the Vietnam War (Koleth 2010-11).

SW08
Back when humanitarian entrants were mostly families … to be honest, I was, maybe it was because I was young and fresh, but I loved working under IHSS. And I like to think that we were delivering high quality services, with hi-, high levels of satisfaction. And there were always issues for clients, like isolation, intergenerational conflict, just coming to terms with being in a family, sorry, being in a new country but, I did feel that we had, greater capacity to, to meet the needs which is funny because caseloads were higher for us back then, but there was less of an admin burden, in the programme. And I felt as case managers, we had more freedom to be creative, spend time with the clients who need it. Don't spend time with the clients who don't, who don't need it as much. Well, when the programme shifted to [HSS], the money became a lot tighter, the admin burden became higher. And part of the reason for that was, in the old programme we would get paid per client, basically. In the new programme, we get paid per outcome, so there's a lot of pressure in the new IHSS, uh, sorry, HSS [...] to be thoroughly reporting and invoicing. And it- there's a lot more of a focus on, what actual services are we delivering, so that we get paid for those individual services. Well it used to be, we'd get a set amount per client [...] So everything else, all those, you know, supporting people with, you know, public housing forms, ... supporting people with various medical, ... emergencies and assisting with interventions where there was family breakdowns. That was all, extra that we do, because we were good social workers who wanted to do our jobs well and had built relationships with the clients [...] I'm afraid that we're breaking down the work with clients [...] rather than treating them as individuals who have needs that unfold [...] So, in that way, I think that we've become a lot less relevant to the client need.
[...] most of our clients are single men who really need nothing from us because they're clever and independent. And they need other things, that aren't on immigration's pay list. So, you know, they might need help getting into uni, or need help finding a job and they're not a part of the settlement programme. They're things at other programmes with other services ... Or you know, uh, helping the men to sponsor their wives. They're not things that settlement services are paid to do. And there're always gonna be things that case managers want to help clients with, but there's not the support from government or management, to assist the clients in doing that.
I guess, people change faster than the systems do and then, there's always like this delay that you're dealing with. But I think some, I, probably my experience would be that there are a lot of problems that would be intrinsic to the system, not being able to cope with change, but also that the system is also generating a lot of its own problems, around that lack of creativity and by constraining workers to do very kind of narrow, sort of activities, as well.

This increase in bureaucratic demands has meant that workers have become more and more accommodating about the scope of what they do in their efforts to assist their clients. That is, workers have been forced to extend what they do for clients and go beyond their brief. This is not necessarily a positive outcome but rather a coping strategy to mitigate diminishing service provision for the humanitarian programme.

i. One Size Fits All Service Delivery: A Consequence of Increasing Bureaucracy

SW03 describes the process that unfolds upon arrival. She recognises that all refugees must go through an orientation and that it does provide information that is vital; yet there are services that do not run orientations, given that the cost does not justify the benefits for the number of people present.

SW03
Definitely everyone goes through the same routine as mandated by policy. So yes, people turn up and they have essential service registration, they have a case worker go to their house and show them how to light the stove and use the heater and all those things. And assuming then that the service provider runs it there should be an orientation programme that covers, you know, law in Australia, culture in Australia, all the different ideas that they need to have some sort of conceptual understanding of. But, sometimes the service provider may not run that orientation programme within the first six months because there mightn't be enough people in a cultural group and they have to pay for an interpreter. So, essentially, those people are missing out on some pretty essential information that they have absolutely no other way of accessing.

These constraints were correspondingly observed and described by refugee participants, though they were coded in different language. For example, the participants of HEG04 all agree that while workers were 'good to talk to' they rarely effected any change. They feel that they talked to workers, they filled in the forms, they did what was asked of them but that the only 'concrete' thing that workers did was listen and take notes. A participant from HEG02 described how she only had one hour a week to talk to her worker and that this was not enough time to go through all the things she needed. HEI01 mentioned that some of her friends do not like the staff at the local MRC; she explains that this is a misconception on their part because they do not understand that the workers are sometimes busy, or in a bad mood, or have other priorities for the day. She understands that it is not a personal matter and that the workers' job is a demanding one. Her friends however, describe the staff as rude and unwilling to help.

HEI01
All the MRC they know me, they say I'm famous in this MRC but I got one of my friends in my community they don't like the MRC. They say they're too rude, they're not helping. So you just have to be friendly, and you have to understand, like, MRC people sometimes if it's too much work, too much stuff they not in good mood. If you come one day and some person is not in good mood that's not mean, like, he's the bad person he doesn't like you. Everyone have this time, even myself sometimes I have bad mood. If you come to me and I'm in bad mood I will just put it on you. If you come, like, I'm happy I'm going to say yes, why not […] this person today he's not happy with me, he just changed, his behaviour changed. Oh, maybe because he have too much work. Maybe he have a bad day, so why not try another day? I can't just be happy 24 hours the whole year.

HEG04
Sometimes when they have listen you they bring the form and to talk to you about that one, but no help.

ii. Meeting Needs

In the online survey, workers were asked if they believed the HSS scheme addressed the needs of refugees (Q.21). A total of 36 participants provided an answer, with just over half (n=20) of the total respondents indicating that they believed the HSS met refugee clients' needs. The 16 respondents who believed the HSS did not meet the needs of refugees were asked to provide a reason in free text.

Table 5.3 - REASONS THE HSS DOES NOT MEET REFUGEE NEEDS, ONLINE SURVEY (EMPHASIS ADDED)

It partially addresses but not completely. The areas which need huge improvement are **capacity building**, creating **employment** opportunity, **linking** to the non-governmental mainstream services, **social connection** and networking and **making them feel at home.**
Humanitarian often require intensive services that relate to the **intersectionality of the problems they face**. Currently, HSS provides a superficial service which is best considered a shoulder to cry on.
The **needs of some clients are too complex** to be dealt with in such a short period immediately after arrival. More intensive support is needed for a **longer period**. For example, providing information about referral options is not enough. Given the mistrust, information overload and relational approach for this group, **supported referrals** are the only way to ensure that these clients access the help they need.
HSS services (in the area I work in) **rarely seem to partner with each other**, this reduces opportunities to advocate effectively as a collective for their clients with other stakeholders. The lack of willingness to work together sees resources wasted, **lack of continuity of care** and limits client pathways/opportunities and network building.
I think that humanitarian entrants generally need a **longer time period of support**, based on their individual needs.
They work with clients according to their limited knowledge sometimes stereotype, ideas such as providing English lessons while sometimes the individual is educated and know excellent English.
I believe that in theory humanitarian entrants are well catered for and needs are well met BUT in practice, **language and cultural barriers** are huge in some cases and complete understanding of information is often

not achieved. Some of my students get into all sorts of financial and other difficulties due to lack of awareness of services available even after they have been in Australia for several years.
The program is **inadequate in terms of what it delivers as well as how long it provides it for**. It is designed on a one model fits all and this falls short for most families and individuals.
One of the main identified needs is **employment** which is not a component of HSS service and is often a difficult area to address.
Time limit of 6 months for participants. **Poor links between HSS and SGP service providers**. **Process driven**, not individual requirements driven.
Too much responsibility is being placed upon the new arrivals themselves.
Focus is primarily limited to **basic essential needs** such as housing and income - often other needs are ignored.
In theory, the HSS program address the needs. The program address basic needs. However, **clients are usually overwhelmed** by the volume of information given to them in the month of arrival. They are at times forced to make quick decisions without fully understanding the information required to makes these decisions. For example, with housing, clients are only taken to 2 properties and they have to decide which area they wish to look and are given limited options. Also, case managers in HSS program have **large caseloads** which is challenging to tailor work with clients to meet individual needs.
Often clients' **mental health** is not addressed, many fall through gaps with English and others are illiterate in their own language but feel forced to learn English without understanding the basic foundations of a language. Housing, health, education and employment are all priority areas that **need more services to work collaboratively** and focus on specialised needs.
The needs are very diverse, and different, so the HSS scheme cannot address them all

As is clear here, while the free text responses vary, there are a number of trends which participants see as problematic: time constraints, lack of cooperation between agencies, complex and intersectional needs. This negative evaluation, added to the ambivalence that the current strategies generate, speaks to broader problems of configuration. What underpins the resettlement system is a series of beliefs that may, or may not, be in line with the current needs of new refugee arrivals.

The lack of a collaborative approach to resettlement denotes a malfunction about how workers from different agencies relate to one another. The increased bureaucratization of the resettlement system has seemingly resulted in worker communication breaking down due to the competitive nature of the current funding structures. Agencies tender out for different projects and compete with one another for the same pool of funding. This highly neoliberal market economy mentality privileges competition over cooperation and creates a sector that, in order to sustain itself, competes within itself.

SW03
But then, I see people who are remarkably resilient who face more challenges in their short life than most people will ever face. And who are able to appreciate the system for what it is, use it for what it's worth and get to where they want to go. And I do actually see people do that; but I wonder if that's more something inside that person than anything that is offered from a resettlement service.
Probably something that everybody needs to note is that just because people are coming here doesn't mean they necessarily want to be white, western people in the way that we would assume them to want. And they don't want that, they just want to be somewhere where no one is going to hurt them. They don't want to change their entire culture, they don't want to change who they are, they don't want to become western people […] and at the end of the day we probably have so much to learn from people from other cultures that we haven't even scratched the surface of; but the white western model is quite egotistical in that it assumes that everyone wants to be like us. And they don't nor should they have to be.
And I've seen case workers degrade people, not intentionally but just by not recognising that they've had a whole history that they didn't listen to. You know, I was talking to a man the other day who'd come from this great big city in another country; he'd gotten on a boat and gotten to Indonesia where he sat in a detention centre for three years while his wife and children were getting bombed in Pakistan. And he's survived all that, finally gotten his visa and out he comes and then this case worker says to him "now you be very careful crossing the road" and he looked at me 'cause he knew that I knew a bit of his history 'cause I'd asked and she hadn't. And I thought how frightfully demoralising for that man to be spoken to like he's an idiot and a child when he's probably one of the most resilient people you could possibly imagine.

The resettlement experience is a complicated one as a large part of the journey is the 'making sense' of it all. Refugees who come to Australia are confronted with a completely different mode of being; all the cultural knowledge they carry becomes almost entirely obsolete or has to be radically readjusted so that new local meanings can begin to take hold. In this sense workers' jobs are not merely about referrals and filling in forms, workers become translators for the new local cultural knowledge.

Workers constantly provide refugees with information, explicitly and implicitly, the latter type of which refugees take on without it always being decoded as it was intended. In other words, and as SW02 argues, if refugees receive everything from their workers, this not only generates an expectation, it sets up a personal narrative that will be taken into the future. If I am deemed hopeless and helpless, this narrative has the potential to take hold of my life. This, added to the expectations that refugees bring with them, generates a complicated scenario where communication has the potential to break down.

iii. Diminishing Funding

All of the issues above are in some way related to funding. Given the recent funding cuts, the welfare state has seen a generalised reduction in services that extends to the resettlement sector. The DIBP has, according to workers, been slowly reducing the types of services that it

provides for refugees. An example is the above mentioned reduction in complex case approvals. Issues of housing availability can be linked to the decrease in expenditure in public infrastructure.

SW02 likewise describes issues around funding but, expanding on this, he links the refusal to do things differently within the sector to sustained underfunding. Improving conditions is expensive so the government does not necessarily wish to make changes and services cannot. He describes his own programme as an exception, as they received funding for three consecutive years which allows them to focus on staff training and long term outcomes, but he recognises that this is not the case for all programmes. SW04 mentions a paradox by noting that alerting the DIBP to the failure of the current programmes risks ending all forms of funding. In other words it is better to do some things badly than to do nothing at all. SW04 asserts that funding cuts have extended all the way to the humanitarian health sector.

SW04 understands and describes this change as being the result of a conservative government coming into power, dismantling the services available to refugees and reducing official support for the overall programme. He describes general practitioners often picking up the excess that community health services cannot cope with, practitioners receiving no government support to do so. Issues with service delivery were not limited to specific resettlement services. The state of public housing and the possibility of providing long term housing for refugees was a major concern that worker and refugee participants spoke about. Workers are well aware of the systemic constraints they operated under and were quick to point out the negative impact of this general state of affairs. Overall, participants felt disempowered in the face of external problems that were out of their control.

5.4.2. Housing

Accessing and securing housing was described by both workers and refugees alike as one of the more pressing and critical problems with the resettlement system. These findings point to limited public housing options for refugees and private rentals that are not always viable due to their pricing, market conditions, and real estate agents leaving families with little option. SW01 observes that some families deliberately make themselves homeless to raise their priority status in the waiting list. This is a strategy that is problematic at best and

dangerous at worse. Half of the workers identify that there is little availability of suitable government housing for the increasingly large families that are coming through the humanitarian programme.

The online survey reveals a slightly different and contradictory picture. When asked about the quality of the assistance provided by HSS with short and long term accommodation, just over half of the respondents state that it is either good or very good, a third remain neutral, and 10 percent disagree or strongly disagree. However, when settlement workers were asked what the three biggest challenges refugees face, housing comes in the top three, under employment and English proficiency (as shown in Table 5.3 below).

TABLE 5.4 – THE THREE BIGGEST CHALLENGES FOR REFUGEES ACCORDING TO SETTLEMENT WORKERS

Q.17 What do you think are the three biggest challenges refugees face (N=45)	Percentage*	Respondents (N)
Employment	86.7%	39
English proficiency	68.9%	31
Housing	62.2%	28
Mental health	42.2%	19
Education	20.0%	9
Isolation	20.0%	9
Racism	8.9%	4
Health	2.2%	1
Being visibly different	2.2%	1

* When workers were asked to identify these challenges, each respondent was able to select more than one option. Thus the percentages add up to more than 100%, individual percentages were calculated against the total number of responses to the question (N=45).

These results are in line with the qualitative data gathered from refugees. The focus groups and individual interviews reveal a situation bordering on the critical. The stories this study manage to capture a pervasive housing problem with little hope for improvement. They also demonstrate the intersectional nature of the problem; it is not possible to isolate housing from other issues such as employment and family composition. These intersections determine outcomes. This study provides insight into some strategies used by refugees to cope with the problems associated with housing.

Housing problems are exacerbated by the fact that, as worker participants indicate, under the current circumstances public housing options are 20 to 25 years away. Explaining to refugees that public housing is going to take that length of time is a task that workers do not relish.

SW01
It's the lack thereof of affordable housing. I think Melbourne has the biggest number of refugees coming […] and a lot of people, even if they go to Queensland, or Adelaide they come to Melbourne because their communities are here… it's hard not to stereotype but some of the particular African groups have, within the communities, a higher expectation of getting public housing […] the waiting lists are ridiculously long. It's not even a long term solution for some people, they'd be waiting 20, 25 years for public housing. There is no point. And trying to explain that to some people […] it's frustrating because you're explaining time and time again "there is nothing I can do in this matter with your public housing".

Explanations are difficult when there is limited English and even when interpreters are present explaining to refugees that what they heard from friends or relatives no longer applies is not easy. Refugees do not access services as blank slates, they carry information provided to them by friends and family members that came before or live in other refugee receiving countries. In refugees' eyes, workers are tasked with the responsibilities of being the representatives not only of the resettlement system but the Australian government. To refugees this translates into a greater potential for action than is actually possible. Breaking down perceptions around workers' ability to effect change is difficult.

As mentioned earlier, refugee participants also disclose issues with housing. The participants from HEG04 all mention housing as the area in which they are most disadvantaged; one remarking it was impossible to buy a house and another mentioning the impossibility of paying all the bills and the rent. Another was actually homeless at the time of the focus group; she reports already having waited for eight years for a government placement. It is the view of these participants, all women, that it is easier to obtain housing with a husband.

Participants from HEG01 explain that it is very difficult to obtain a house from the government so they are forced to stay with their sponsors; they describe private housing as not financially viable for them with real estate agents routinely ignoring their rental applications. Given these difficulties, the assistance that church based organizations can provide becomes pivotal. HEI01 receives assistance from her church group to secure housing.

HEG04
I can't get the rent […] there is no job for me. That is when I go to government house and they tell me you waiting maybe. Now I'm waiting eight years, eight years no house. I go and tell [them I'm] homeless, I no house.
They tell me 20 years [to wait for a house]… 20 years! Maybe I die!
That one for the housing is very hard for every people, even [if] your husband is alive, and when you lie and say no I don't have husband the government don't give you. But when it's real your husband is die-ed they can't give you. Like me now, my husband passed away like one year and half and I still waiting for a house but I live with seven children.

HEI02 has been told that he would have to wait for 10 years for housing; since his arrival and up to the time of the interview (November 2013) he has been occupying a private rental. However, he mentions that the 10 year time limit was due to end in April of 2014 and that he was going to go and ask for his house because this is what he was advised. While not homeless, this participant mentions the difficulty of finding a house with five bedrooms to accommodate his large family. Private rentals, he explains, are very expensive, especially once the added costs of bills are incorporated.

HEI02		
We need government house, department, but long time. It takes a long time; they told me that ten years and we will help you […] but next, next April for 2014 I close ten years. 20 April, 2014 I close 10 years; and I will return back the department, government department.		
	SW05	
	[…] housing's a huge issue […] Particularly, you know, for larger families. You know that it also affordable, because not everyone can go into the, you know, public housing system so, for some of, say like, the widows that are here with five, six more kids, having to go into the private, you know, rental market, you know you're needing to get a larger house and […] But then also, too, you know, real estate agents are, you know, are biased in some sense and things like that.	
HEG01		
The big problem here in Australia, you can't get housing straight away and you can't get private. It is very expensive and maybe even after six months they tell you sorry, no.		

The other side of the housing problem is the one faced by single men without families. SW03 notes that in her region, a regional setting in Victoria, there is a rise in the number of men on their own. These men are difficult to house and are only found fit for meat processing jobs if they are under the age of 35.

SW06
They've got no housing. We've got a fellow […] who's on Christmas Island who's ... We're trying to get housing for him. We can't get housing. He's sleeping in someone's car. So, there's a real need. And his mental health is huge, you know, extreme.
Everything, you know, just to have some place to call home and a roof over your head and a few of your own belongings there, makes a huge difference. And a lot of these people are couch surfing and living in other people's houses, and they've got no, no place to call home, so they feel just lost. They're still lost.

5.4.3. Employment

Housing status is linked to employment options, employment status is linked to housing status in a back and forth cycle where unemployment and the lack of suitable housing feed into each other. Employment for refugees is, many workers and refugees note, almost impossible. The fact that many refugees come with little or no qualification is a determinant in employment outcomes. But possibly it is even more difficult for those who come with qualifications but are not able to have them recognised and therefore are left with unskilled occupations that are not well paid and erode their sense of accomplishment and their self-worth.

	SW03	
	I think it depends on the context of the person arriving […] 'cause the system works better if you plan to study and then get some sort of qualification before you actually look for a job, people who come as a settled family group tend to do better in the long term. People who come as single and leave family, spouses, and kids behind who then are just desperate to find employment and make enough money to sponsor their family; I think the system doesn't work very well for them at all. Because the financial support they receive is so minimal, to sponsor someone is just impossible unless you're working.	
HEG01		
It's hard to get a job if you are less than two years in Australia. Wherever you go they ask you about your experience. It's better to come by refugee visa.		
	SW03	
	At the moment I'm seeing quite a rise in Afghani, single Afghani men, coming and honestly their biggest need is employment […] because nine times out of ten they have a wife and three, four, five or six kids back in Pakistan which is hardly ideal as a place to leave your family. So their biggest need is employment and I don't think the system is meeting that need for that particular cohort at all […] you know they're educated and they had occupations, they are middle aged […] and they've had entire lives where they had whole careers behind them and they come here and all they are deemed fit for is meat processing work at the local abattoir; which must be absolutely demoralising.	

SW02 describes a link between the low levels of employment and the Australian system that requires certification for everything. According to SW02 the problem lies not so much in the

need for a certificate but rather in the proliferation of 'unscrupulous' education and training providers that do little to assure that their students meet the Australian standards which then leaves them unemployed, having spent time and money trying to get a certificate.

SW02
I think one of the really dangerous things […] is about this whole fixation we have on certificates for this or certificates for that. I think in theory if we have certificates that can ensure a standard quality of delivery of whatever and skill, I think they're great. But as long as governments have certificates but don't have monitoring or evaluation of different organizations handing them out we're creating huge problems. So an example we see often is say I'm a sub-Saharan African Muslim woman, I've gone and got my certificate whatever in baby care, my English is rubbish, I don't know what I'm really doing I haven't really had a placement, yet I've got my certificate because I paid my money, it's a shonky organization and there you go. I get an interview, I go there it's obvious my English is not good, they give me a written and reading English test, I'm totally hopeless, I haven't had the placement and I don't get the job. And there is [a] logical reason why I don't get the job, I'm not ready for the job. But when I walk away I've got my certificate, that's all people want, I can speak English, my English can't be that bad because I got the certificate, the only reason I didn't get the job is because I'm Muslim or because I'm black. And it creates huge problems because of that […] you're giving people expectations but you're setting them up to lose.
[The government] is creating real problems, where maybe the best intentions are there, but really follow up and analysis of it is not good. And it's all not helping with settlement issues.
We're actually creating jobs for bureaucrats and stopping jobs for people who really need the jobs. And then the process becomes more important than what the outcome is and then you're running into problems with employment and a whole lot of other stuff.

SW10 delves into the issue of unemployment from a different angle. In his opinion the problem is the lack of programmes that targeted African communities in ways that are tailored specifically for them. In his view the central issue of African unemployment lies in the fact that African applicants are not competing on a 'level playing field'. Their Australian counterparts have the social and cultural capital to get the jobs, while African applicants lack those skills and that knowledge. SW10 maintains that what is missing is the ability to develop employment projects for refugees that give them the skills and experience to compete on a more 'levelled out' field. That is, by assuming that all job applicants are alike, it is HEs that are disadvantaged. Ultimately all workers acknowledge the differences between the African cohorts and the mainstream; these differences cannot be ignored and will not solve themselves.

5.4.4. Five Year Period

The humanitarian programme is bound not only by visa requirements, it is bound by time constraints. Services for refugees are limited to a five year period. After arrival, refugees have

12 months of dedicated support and then another four years of programmes that are funded through the SGP (DSS 2014c). Workers are adamant that this timeframe is not sufficient for families and individuals with more complicated situations, as well as those who come from rural settings into highly built up urbanised environments. The timeframe impacts on those cases that are considered complex; time constraints are even more detrimental when complex case management has not yielded the desired results.

Both the literature on resettlement and the qualitative data gathered by this study show that many refugees arrive in Australia with limited or inaccurate information; they must adjust quickly to an environment that is highly bureaucratised where different organizations provide specific services. Paperwork and proper procedures can be a new and challenging concept for some refugees and all of this adds to the precarious nature of their housing situation.

SW11 explains this in terms of the trajectory that follows after arrival; if refugees are placed in a home, there is a honeymoon period where they are establishing a new routine. After some time, and this varies between individuals, they begin to understand that learning English is going to be difficult and that employment is a challenge, those who wish to bring their family clash with the realities of a visa system that is making it increasingly unlikely to bring people.

	SW01	
	A lot of the families that came through [complex case management] where the African families […] so the family has proposed them to come over and they said "we'll look after you, everything will be alright" and unfortunately it falls apart when they come. So a lot of the families […] have a lot of issues and it's not picked up until much later; and of course the cut-off for SGP and complex case is five years and the [DIBP] department is really pushing that, I've noticed in the last year […] anything after five years don't even bother putting in the referral […] the five year mark, look, it doesn't work.	
HEG04		
Some people in our country they born in the war and they grow in the war, no time for writing […] but me, myself if I will do this job […] to for my hands, no writing you can't get that one.		
	SW05	
	I think limiting [it to] a five year plan is quite ridiculous, particularly if you're looking at people who are migrating from African cultures where, you know, there's different concept of time, or they're coming from rural settings with, you know, you know, illiterate in their first language, and, you know, also with the post-traumatic stress and the effects of going through war and things like that […] In such a short timeframe that it's very overwhelming and I don't think that, you know, for a majority from ones that I have contact with, people I have contact	

	with, the sense of really understanding and navigating that, that um, the systems and the institutions, isn't there.

Five years are often not enough for services to identify the problems refugees might be facing. SW05 notes that it is especially difficult for groups that come from radically different cultures to adjust. The impact of extended periods in refugee camps or a lifetime in rural settings cannot be ignored, yet it is not really factored into service delivery. SW11 observes that after the expiration of the 12 month intensive support, refugees often take their concerns to MRCs which are not really equipped to deal with the needs of the cohort. Problems often become worse after the five year period expires as HEs become ineligible to receive specialised settlement services.

The online survey shows that settlement worker participants view the system as responsive to refugee needs in their early settlement period; a period that is the most intense in terms of service provision.

Table 5.5 - SETTLEMENT WORKER EVALUATION OF HSS SCHEME DURING EARLY SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA (N=37).

The Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) programme assists humanitarian clients in their early settlement period in Australia. (N=37)				
16	18	1	2	0
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	**Strongly disagree**

Yet when asked about tailoring of the system to individual needs (Table 5.5 below), findings indicate that they are not so sure that the HSS programme is as helpful as the above data may suggest.

Table 5.6 – SETTLEMENT WORKER EVALUATION OF TAILORING OF HSS SCHEME TO INDIVIDUAL NEEDS (N=37)

Support through the HSS is tailored to individual client needs, including the specific needs of young people. (N=37)				
9	8	11	8	1
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	**Strongly disagree**

While the disagreement is equal to the agreement levels for this question, the very high levels of neutrality may point to a higher level of ambivalence with the HSS than is explicitly stated in these results. Workers who evaluate the system can be said to be evaluating themselves and therefore may be more likely to be ambivalent or positive about their answers. It is difficult to evaluate a system with absolute objectivity when you are an agent of that system.

However, these results would indicate that the popularity of the current resettlement policies is not at an all-time high.

Similarly, refugees feel that the time constraints are detrimental to them. The participants from HEG01 note that, while there are differences between sponsored and refugee visas, as long as they have been in the country under five years they could access services. One participant from HEG02 explains that five years are not enough as not everyone learns what they need at the same speed, not everyone will get to the point they need to be in five years. She explains that not all refugees have gone to school or had an education; that some refugees arrive in Australia without knowing how to read or write, without knowing their birthday. This is a reality for many refugees who come from less urbanised settings or who have spent considerable time in refugee camps where schooling is scarce. SW10 also describes age as a factor, as transitions are seen to be more difficult for those who are older, they are less adaptable.

5.5. Conclusion

Up to this point in the study, the lived experience of African refugee resettlement is inextricably tied to the systemic elements of the resettlement system. Housing, employment, and service delivery all impact on the everyday lives of refugees and their ability to move into mainstream Australia. Conversely, workers' ability to assist refugees in their resettlement process is increasingly reduced to box-ticking and paper-pushing. These two experiences, when combined, reveal a resettlement system that is almost exclusively concerned with basic needs. When these experiences are taken as markers for a discursive practice, they reveal a form of Australian multiculturalism that is predominantly concerned with disciplining newly arrived populations.

This study gathered qualitative data from a set of experienced settlement workers, workers who in the majority have been in the resettlement sector for over a year. The settlement worker group occupy a wide set of positions within the sector, both under the HSS scheme and as part of the SGP programmes, providing the study with a comprehensive sample. This is a valuable asset as the study is concerned with the broader implications of resettlement and multiculturalism and the interplay between the two. Having participants who are 'on the ground' as well as at the policy evaluation level means that the experiences captured here provide a more comprehensive picture of refugee resettlement.

The workers who took part in the online survey provide interesting data on the nature of the demographics of resettlement work. There was considerable cultural and linguistic diversity, in line with the population distribution of Australia. The mainly female group is in line with the gender distribution of workers in the health and human services sector (Workplace Gender Equality Agency 2015). While there is no industry specific data on the levels of cultural diversity of the resettlement sector, anecdotal information collected during my time in the sector suggests an increasing number of CALD workers are being employed to boost culturally sensitive practice.

Refugee participants were, also, mainly female; this is not representative of the gender distribution of refugees in general (DIBP 2014a). While I did not identify the family circumstances of all participants it was clear that family and family connections were a pivotal

determinant in the resettlement experiences for all refugee participants. This group was a diverse one, from different African nations and had spent time in various processing countries. Some refugee participants had come to Melbourne as their secondary migration point, and some older refugee participants had been in Australia for over five years. Such diversity provides the study with a comprehensive set of resettlement experiences. The overall mixture of refugee and settlement worker participants is a strength of this particular study.

This chapter presents the findings on the first prime theme identified by this study, systemic constraints, and argues that to understand the lived experience of resettlement external factors cannot be disregarded. Resettlement is an intersection point at which policy, politics, the personal, and the institutional merge to generate phenomena and meaning making. What refugees and workers experience can reinforce or subvert subjectivities; it can mould workers into defenders of the state or it can make them question the validity of their jobs. For refugees, it can disempower them through homogenising service delivery or it can generate real hardship though homelessness and chronic unemployment.

This prime theme encapsulates the presented issues relating to implementation of the resettlement system. Worker participants are vocal about the constraints present in their work and how the increasing bureaucratization of the resettlement sector is reducing their job to ticking boxes and their clients to items on checklists. Most workers felt that things had gotten worse with the change from IHSS to HSS; that they had personally experienced a process of further bureaucratization within the time they had been in the sector. Worker participants all identified the same types of systemic problems facing refugees in Australia, namely housing and employment, which make the resettlement journey unnecessarily difficult. Settlement workers identified the time constraints on service provision as problematic, due to the ongoing nature of the process of resettlement.

I argue that systemic constraints are real and significant, they affect workers and refugees, and they represent a further shift away from the humanitarian spirit of the humanitarian intake programme. The qualitative data show that workers have little room to effect change at the systemic level, they cannot create conditions that foster deep and meaningful relationships with their clients when they need to comply with paperwork and secure the

little funding that is available. The present conditions force workers to take alternative routes to meet their clients' needs. For this workers take on more than their position entails or decide to reinterpret policy more creatively.

These constraints are not made any easier by the fact that housing and employment are two of the most problematic aspects in a refugee's resettlement journey. The settlement literature reviewed shows that refugees consistently underperform for employment measures, first generation refugees are either unemployed or employed in unskilled labour (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006; 2007; Correa-Velez, Barnett & Gifford 2013; Fozdar 2012; Hebbani & Colic-Peisker 2012; Mestan & Brotherhood of St Laurence 2008; Omar 2013). While this trend does improve over time, there are still issues with the kinds of employment second generation refugees can opt into (Hugo 2011). Perhaps the most insidious aspect of refugee unemployment is the impact it has on housing prospects.

The online survey and the qualitative data indicate that housing is critical for refugees, which was similarly identified in the settlement literature (Atem 2011; Broadbent 2007; Forrest et al. 2013; Fozdar & Hartley 2013; Fozdar & Hartley 2014; Power 2014). Worker participants made it clear that there is not enough public housing available for the current influx of refugees, nor is there suitable housing for large families. The waiting list for public housing goes well into a 10 to 20 year period and for some refugees this is far too long. Some workers spoke of clients who are already homeless or have decided to make themselves homeless to enhance their priority on the waiting list. Refugee participants are vocal in their discontent over housing, one was even homeless at the time of the focus group. Refugee participants did not articulate explanations about their housing predicaments, theirs is a descriptive and experiential account, and the significance of housing is explicit in their accounts.

Of some interest in the findings is the observation that, in a number of areas, the settlement worker data from the survey is at odds with the qualitative data, especially from the workers. This could reflect the specific cohort that volunteered to do the interviews. The evaluation of the HSS scheme is far more positive online than it was in the face-to-face interviews, so is the overall appraisal of the resettlement system generally (Q.19). There is more consistency when workers identify the main challenges faced by refugees, both survey and interview responses note the issues with employment and housing.

While English proficiency comes in second in the online survey, it is not discussed in depth in the interviews with workers, yet it is always mentioned as a contributor to the broader problems that refugees face. This may reflect the fact that I did not directly ask about English proficiency or it may be that most workers assume that low levels of English are a commonality amongst African refugees. This is supported by the mainstream resettlement research (Hebbani, Obijiofor & Bristed2010; Oliver, Haig & Grote 2009).

The data indicate that at a systemic level the resettlement experience is quite detrimental to the long term prospects of refugees. The lived experience of resettlement is marked by the ups and downs of systemic constraints. There are limited options and little time in which workers can really meet the needs of refugee clients. Recognizing the nature of the resettlement system provides the context to understand under what conditions the other two prime themes, expectations and relationships, unfold. It similarly generates a description of how the resettlement experience is marked by policy directives. Systemic constraints are a determinant for worker-client relationships and for the development and transformation of expectations. Providing a clear picture of the state of affairs in the resettlement sector allows this study to locate the other two prime themes within the particular milieu of the Australian resettlement system.

The following chapter presents the findings in relation to relationships and expectations, the other two prime themes identified by this study. These two themes are fundamental to understand the resettlement experiences captured by this study. How workers and refugees establish their relationships can be a marker for refugees' potential success resettling in Australia. The power of a solid and meaningful relationship between workers and refugees becomes clear in the next chapter, as does the negative effect of the lack of such relationships. The role that expectations play in these relationships also becomes clear in the next chapter.

Refugees and workers bring a set of personal histories, knowledge, and ideas as to what is going to happen and how it should happen. These expectations not only vary or clash from person to person but from person to reality and back. The role of expectations should not be dismissed, as it can directly impact on individual behaviour and influence the path that refugees follow after arrival. Individual expectations create a context for how individuals

interact. For refugees, this is a matter of wondering why their own stories differ from those they have heard from other refugees that came before. The dissonance between what refugees expect and what they actually receive can, sometimes, generate feelings of isolation and failure.

Looking at the lived experience of resettlement as more than covering basic needs like food and shelter allows for a deeper understanding of how multicultural policy, and multiculturalism as a government led initiative, shapes how settlement workers and refugees travel the path of resettlement. This chapter has already shed light on the systemic constraints of the resettlement system, constraints that exist arguably because of the underlying principles of the economic imperative of Australian multiculturalism. Chapter Six will show how expectations and relationships deeply affect how refugees and workers relate to one another, pointing to how these are already defined by the narrative of the wealth of the west and the Australian way of doing multiculturalism.

6. Results – Part II

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter provided the context within which expectations are played out and relationships develop within the systemic constraints of the resettlement system. How workers relate to their job and how they feel about it is important in how they operationalise policy guidelines. Relationships play a fundamental role in the context of limited housing options and unemployment impacts for refugees. Individuals do not interact in a vacuum nor do they remain unchanged by their circumstances. Workers and refugees generally experience the increase of bureaucratization as negative. The initial excitement that typically accompanies a new home or a new job fades away in the midst of little real change and decreasing service provision.

This chapter presents the remaining prime themes and their respective subthemes, expectations first, followed by relationships. Expectations are further subdivided into refugees' expectations and workers' expectations. The relationships theme is subdivided into refugees and trust, empathy, and connectedness. The findings are supported by rich quotes from the qualitative data. These quotes contrast both participant groups or give detailed accounts from a single participant. As was the case with the previous chapter, the quantitative data is complementary to the qualitative data. This chapter concludes with a brief reiteration of the findings for both results chapters.

While there is considerable research on the role of social capital as beneficial to refugee resettlement (see for example ABS 2006; Carrington & Marshall 2008; Elliott, S & Yusuf 2014; Fozdar 2012; Major et al. 2013; McMichael & Manderson 2004; Pardy & Lee 2011; Shrestha, Wilson & Singh 2008; Stone, Hughes & Australian Institute of Family Studies 2002), this literature focuses primarily on the role of bonding capital in the lives of refugees. Overall the general consensus is that higher levels of bonding capital are important for successful resettlement and that the levels of bridging capital for refugees are not particularly high due to language and other barriers (Markus 2012, 2013, 2014; Zubrzycki 1997). Social capital is heavily associated with the potential gains that reciprocal interpersonal relationships bring to

individuals lives. Though it is a well-established concept useful for the evaluation of resettlement it lacks the depth of the personal stories.

This study is most interested in looking at relationships from a human perspective of a lived experience rather than simply as sources of real or potential gain. In other words, looking at relationships from the social capital angle alone reduces relationships to a gain-loss dynamic. The findings show that relationships for refugees are important not only for the assistance they gain but because they anchor experience and provide the starting point for the creation of new ways of making meaning in a new country. Workers are important in refugees' lives for reasons other than the fact that they are the entry point to resettlement services. Workers are the gateway to understanding the ways of a new home.

Throughout the study participants have been understood as subjects within a discursive practice determined by discourses on multiculturalism and resettlement. How multiculturalism and resettlement shape personal subjectivity can be elucidated by the stories that workers and refugees tell and re-tell to make sense of their experiences. It can be argued that discursive practices both enable and inhibit choice, i.e. "the effects of discursive practices is to make it virtually impossible to think outside of them; to be outside of them is, by definition, to be mad, to be beyond comprehension and therefore reason" (Hook 2007, p. 101).

Focusing on the subjectivities that are created is a way of turning the focus around, it is a mechanism to explore the underlying assumptions and how these feed back into practice and experience. Examining resettlement in this way allows this study to begin to understand the resettlement experience from an interpersonal perspective as well as looking at the intersection between policy and the discourse of multiculturalism.

6.2. Expectations

As previously discussed, individuals craft subjectivities within a specific discursive practice. At a practical level this means that what we know, we know because it belongs to a discourse that shapes our thinking in a specific direction. In Australia, multiculturalism is deeply intertwined with the idea of economic gain and diversity advantage (see for example Access and Equity Inquiry Panel 2012; ACPEA 1982; Australian Population and Immigration Council, MacKellar & Australian Ethnic Affairs Council 1979; Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012; OMA 1989). This translates to an internalised belief that multiculturalism is good for the nation because it ensures generalised economic gain and long term prosperity. Outwardly, this translates into a vision of Australia as a wealthy nation with abundance and opportunities to spare as well as being an example of successful multiculturalism. The image is of a welcoming and open nation that has no racial tension.

How refugees, globally displaced people, interpret this discourse; what they hear from other refugees who have resettled in Australia before, and what they learn from the representatives of the state who process them overseas all shape the expectations they bring with them to Australia. At the same time workers who enter the resettlement system are trained into the 'appropriate' mode of service delivery, they are provided with guidelines and reasons for the performing of their job. Arguably though, workers who join the resettlement sector do so because of a specific *a priori* set of values they wish to embody. At the point of entering the resettlement system both workers and refugees are already loaded with personal subjectivities shaped by experience and the available discursive practices they were part of. This section outlines the interplay and tensions between the old and new subjectivities of workers and refugees.

6.2.1. Refugee Expectations

Data from refugee participants indicates that they have their own notions of how things could or should work for themselves and other refugees who have come to Australia. All refugee groups speak about their expectations in comparative terms, in relation to either their homeland or the countries where they have spent time waiting for visas to be processed. Many commented that in Australia things took more time and were harder to make happen;

these remarks often relate to their ability to make new friends or meet people who do not belong to their community. Likewise they are made in relation to service provision and housing.

Many refugees had spent time in Egypt, waiting to be assigned a resettlement country, and state that there they had known their neighbours. They had expected this to be the case in Australia and are somewhat surprised to see that social neighbourly relationships do not come easily. When I phrased statements about these shortcomings of Australia, participants did not openly agree, nonetheless they were emphatic about the differences between 'here' and 'there'.

HEG01	
Not really but we heard about Australia because of course we ask when you [are waiting for resettlement]. How's Australia? How's German? How's Saudi? You know?	
For me, when I first come, the only way I get help is from the community health centre. So they refer me to whatever I need, you know, like social groups which is very important if you come and you don't know anyone. If you want to socialise, if you want another service. Even though the husbands are here […] most of the time you are at home and you are alone by yourself.	
HEG04	
Sometimes when the white people they don't like you, you can't go because some people they don't like our skin. But when you get the person to like your skin and like your family we go.	
HEI02	
When I arrive from Cairo, there is a lot of people [in Cairo] but when I came here I got the different. I look the place, all the street, there is no people. No people, only people going by car, but in Cairo nowhere to go. Really, really, really lot of people. I got the different a little bit when I was coming in Australia. But Australia is very quiet, it's very quiet, yes.	

	SW05
	I think just to what it's a personal thing that, you know, if they feel connected in some way … I guess, because quite a lot that I speak to say it is quite different, whether … Even, if, say, the time that they spent in Egypt coming here before, you, settling in Australia, it felt much more connected there … than it does here. I think because, you know, with that westernised, sort of, cultural thing where it's much more impersonal. You know, you don't sit out on the front fence and, you know, have a coffee with the people on the street.

One of the aims of the study was to identify the impact of state multiculturalism. That is, the study was trying to ascertain how far the discourse of Australian multiculturalism travels. This proved to be a difficult task. All refugee participants were asked if they knew anything about Australia before they arrived, the unanimous answer is that they knew very little or nothing

at all. This response is not factually accurate as, throughout the focus group interviews, they either hinted at or explicitly stated that 'someone' had said 'something' about Australia. Participants from two separate refugee focus groups mentioned the orientation video that is part of the offshore orientation all refugees receive before coming to Australia. One participant from HEG02 declared that it had given her some basic information, and explained that she did not need to invite her neighbours over for coffee whenever she made it: this was patently different to her own experience at home where she would invite all her neighbours over when she made coffee. A second participant from the same group described the orientation video as 'confusing' but did not elaborate further on this.

HEI01 described the orientation video as providing her basic information on general issues, such as what people looked like and the role of eye contact. However she did not equate this video, or any of the information it gave her, with having 'knowledge' about Australia before she came here. This participant pointed out that when she and her family arrived in Egypt they did not know where they were going but she felt that "it's better to come here [Australia] than stay there".

This misidentification of information about prior knowledge of Australia could indicate that, for refugee participants, there is a definitive difference between 'hearing about' and 'knowing' something. All participants talked about how, with time and experience, they came to know Australia and its ways. In other words, information was transformed into knowledge through first-hand and collective lived experience. Until it is lived it is only data; when it becomes part of the self it becomes knowledge. This section reveals that refugees arrive in Australia with expectations and ideas that are often not aligned with the real conditions of resettlement. These expectations often play out in the different realms of everyday life and service provision, this section aims to crystallise the examples that were cited by refugee participants and settlement workers.

i.   *Stereotyping*

For refugees, the place of women comes under closer scrutiny in Australia. African women, when faced with more personal and professional development possibilities, can clash with the more traditional expectations of women's roles and abilities. SW05 asserts that one of

the more positive aspects of her job is the ability to show young African women ways they can enact their rich cultural heritage as well as modelling other modes of being not necessarily part of the traditional repertoire for women. As indicated below, while workers describe tensions between connectedness levels and loss of cultural heritage, there seems to be ample room for both.

SW05
Particularly, you know, I think for, you know, one particular woman, she's a young woman, but she's, you know, she's, she's very academic and she's, she's wonderful, but, you know, she's not married, so the other women are kind of like, you know, "When are you getting married? Well what are you doing?" You know, so, you know, I was talking to her yesterday and saying, "Let's stick with it because you'll be such a shining example for the younger girls that are coming up to say, you know, if there's something you want to do you can do it, you know?" "You don't have to marry young and ..." And so she's trying to, you know, fight that cause, or so what she's doing, but I, I think it's a wonderful thing ... you know, by being able to, to support, you know, and give guidance, so that the community can really get together and really have their own voice and represent themselves.

This example speaks to how change is catalysed, this is a key aspect of positive resettlement outcomes for refugee participants. If this example is compared to the demands, described below, made about child rearing practices, the impact of process and the relational nature of change are made visible. Cultural practices, like all practices, are in constant change so the question is: what brings about change?

SW07 herself, first arrived in Australia as a refugee and went through the settlement system. Her insights reveal subtle stereotypes that run through the resettlement system; stereotypes not always mentioned by workers, who are more concerned with providing basic needs. SW07 recounts her experience with job seeking, where the systems in place were not really what she needed as she is highly educated and was ready for work. She experienced a system that did not give her any room to act as an independent and self-reliant individual needing some assistance, but rather placed her in a category of almost complete disadvantage.

This experience was not simply unpleasant but it made her question why anyone would treat her that way. The disregard for her personal experience denotes the disempowering effect that homogenous labels have on individuals. As described in the previous chapter, the resettlement system often seems to operate on the assumption that all refugees are the same, have the same problems, and want the same things.

SW07
Like, they treat us as if we don't want to work. But it's not the case. I finished my degree in Queensland. I have a degree, but when I came here [to Melbourne], they decided to send me to the job hunt, and they decided to make like ... they have this small courses. How to write a resume, and it goes for, for, let's say, a month or something. However, like, the people I was with, they don't have qualifications. They were kids of maybe people who like alcoholic, like why would they do that? Like, so, they're trying to help but the way they're doing it is wrong.

Refugee participants are aware of the considerable differences between living in Australia and their homeland or the temporary placements between there and here. Yet many of them speak of the differences with surprise; they are not just a mere fact of living in another country, the differences are unexpected. Participants from HEG04 state that even if a woman is a widow they still do not receive help faster, whereas they expect the state to take on the role of the husband if the husband is not there. To say that African customs are traditional would be to ignore the fact that they do not only determine the everyday distribution of labour, they determine expectations around the institutions of the state.

One of the most obvious ways these differences crystallise for refugees is in how resettlement in Australia limits their ability to parent. While intergenerational conflict is well documented in the resettlement literature (Lewig, Arney & Salveron 2010; Renzaho, McCabe & Sainsbury 2011; Williams 2011) the insights gathered by this study point to child rearing as another important locus where cultural accommodation – and therefore the limits of Australian multiculturalism – is being tested.

ii.   *Cultural Accommodation: Raising Children in Australia*

Australia, as a liberal nation, has its own set of parameters for child rearing. Physical punishment is no longer accepted as a path to disciplining, which has been encoded in law. African refugees coming to Australia are not aware that the state has such a high level of control and interference in the private sphere of domestic life. African parents are not always equipped to navigate these differences and children are often stuck between two completely different parenting worlds. While many of the refugees that took part in the study talk about this, HEI01 is the most articulate when explaining the problems she encountered with her own children growing up in Australia.

HEI01
There is something very serious, I don't like it here, just the freedom for the teenagers […] here in Australia they think, like, over 18 he's fine, he can do whatever he want to do. But […] I'm thinking teenagers, they not free, they not smart like what they saying, he's not growing up. It's just hormones for his body to show him "oh, I know what I'm doing"; but definitely they doing all the stuff it's wrong. I think they need more encouragement, more control, not to control them but to give them ideas. But you know, because the teenagers, even the kids at home, they say I can't wait to be 18! Because they know 18 is freedom. So I can go outside, come back late. I can smoke, I can do whatever I want to do because the government say I'm free. So, mum you can't encourage, you can't say anything to me. You can't talk to me like that because I'm old now, I'm 18. Even the 12, when you control them "you're not allowed to go outside" you have to very careful he'll say straight away "I can't wait to be 18". I can't wait to get my freedom. That's why a lot of teenagers they get drunk, they get killed; they not listening, they get too much drug […] that's the thing, I'm not happy with it but I can't change it. I try just to control mine, not like in Africa they have no choice, you just have to tell them straight away, it's really strong and they will listen. We try it here, even myself I just try it here, but not like the way I'm doing in Africa; the smart way. Just sit to them, talk to them, always my example is I say "you know what, in Australia they freedom, exactly like the channels in the TV. There is good channels, there is bad channels, there is worse bad channels. You got the remote in your hands, you press the good channels you will watch good stuff. You press the rubbish you will find the rubbish, if you follow the rubbish you will end [in the] rubbish. If you follow the good you will end [in the] good. So the freedom is when they turn 18 I give you the remote. So you press whatever you want, because you guys say you are free, you can't talk, I can't tell you anything, you know everything. But in my opinion you didn't know anything". So that's the only thing I can do.

HEI01 captures the complexities of parenting under completely different circumstances and with little perceived support. The problems for her lie not only in the change of parenting styles but in the fact that she feels like the government does nothing to support her. She perceives that the government tells children that they are 'free' when they turn 18. This freedom is not just a tokenistic notion, as her children could act independently and start claiming their own welfare benefits, move out, and possibly never see her again. The possibility of total independence, financed by the state, seems to undermine her children's attachment to her as a parent figure who provides care and guidance. Once her children are old enough, they really do not need her anymore.

Understanding this places her in a difficult position where she has to negotiate new boundaries with her children based on a new distribution of power. Such a new paradigm would seem to be innocuous; all Australian citizens' children are afforded the same protections by the state. Yet we do not see a mass exodus of young people into public housing estates living off welfare. This is because for most other children that live in 'traditional' families with a middle class income, moving to welfare payments is a reduction in their socioeconomic standing. The children of refugees, having grown up in public housing and living in low socioeconomic conditions, do not necessarily perceive it as a loss.

Some settlement workers also disclose intergenerational conflict. For workers, this links into the perceived ideas that refugees have about the life they have come to Australia to build. The discord between the expectations and the reality of life in Australia can become a point of contention for refugees, their families, and their workers, if there is no possibility for dialogue. This issue lies not in the fact that African parent will have to parent differently but rather in the fact that the interventionist policy of government agencies only alienates those it seeks to include.

SW02
I don't understand how people can say they've come to a place like Australia, America, Canada, wherever, for their children yet in their own home they don't make any effort to give leeway so that their children can benefit from what they've come to. In fact they are putting in walls and barriers from their children having the advantages that they propose that they came to the country for. And I think they are issues that need to be discussed in the community so some of that stuff is sorted out and some of the conflict is sort of removed.
SW05
I don't know how you would address it the, like the, the intergenerational experience of settling in. And then also the issues, say, with, I guess, you know, the kids going to school and adapting to, you know, their surroundings and sort of, you know, the culture that they're now assimilating into, picking it up much quicker than, say, the parents.

Anecdotally there were some remarks made by both refugees and workers about children being removed by child protection. This occurred because a neighbour would 'see something' and make a call, or because African parents use their traditional disciplining methods. The intervention of the state on parenting is not something that refugee parents welcome or experience as a positive thing. Refugees already have a complicated history with the organs of the state and their distrust remains. Interventions by child protection cause distress and confusion, as there is no clear explanation as to what has gone wrong. This is similar to workers trying to explain that housing is going to take 20 years to refugees who come with the belief that they will be given a house upon arrival.

iii. Worker Views on Refugee Expectations: Unworkable

Different communities come with different backgrounds and experiences that shape their assumptions of what Australia will look like. Most settlement workers affirm that these translate into expectations around service provision and access to benefits. They note that many of these expectations are unworkable as they are not part of the present reality of the

resettlement system. Such expectations vary between communities and individuals, yet all have a similar negative impact in the process of service provision.

SW01
A lot of the communities, they've had people who have come at different times. So people who have come 20 years ago would have had a different experience with housing.

SW04
The asylum seekers from Iran recently have been particularly difficult […] they've got a choice whether they decide to leave; they can afford to pick a flight to Jakarta and a boat to Christmas Island. And they're often from professional backgrounds, they are often very demanding; you know, want hair transplants, penile lengthening, breast augmentation and you think…

SW06
[…] clients from the CALD community, who we've first engaged with, who have been quite angry and just, you know, very discouraged with the system here, because they've, they've come here thinking they're going to get something that … You know, they're thinking they're coming to paradise, but they, it's just like anywhere, else really. There's just a lot of processes that you've got to go through.

SW01 maintains that, though it is difficult not to generalise, some of the African groups that have arrived in Melbourne have expectations about housing that are not attuned to reality. With public housing not being an option for many, it is difficult to explain to refugees that the stories they have heard from their relatives and friends are 20 years old and belong to another time. Workers mention that some refugees come with the idea that they would be given a brand new house on arrival, as that was what they have heard from other refugees.

SW02 asserts there are a huge number of misconceptions about what living in a Western liberal nation is like and that these have become so entrenched and widespread that refugees returning to their home countries to visit often go to considerable lengths to perpetuate this stereotype: that living in a country like Australia is akin to winning the lottery. These myths are further spread by western TV, media, and movies that are sent the world over, thanks to the ease of communication we now experience.

SW02
I think there is a lot of rubbish with it [the resettlement system], I think starting from when people are overseas and coming to Australia. I think there is a deep problem of the perception overseas, forget about Australia, but the western countries. The perception of leaving a so-called third world developing country to come to a so-called first world developed country. The land of milk and honey, I think that's really dangerous and I think more needs to be done to break that. Not sure how you can because it's perpetuated in films, it's perpetuated by people returning home and not telling the truth and taking money, loans, so they can go back and throw money around to show that they've made it in the land of milk and honey and they're not a failure.

> I've been to meetings [with the South Sudanese community] where they said… the government has to change the rules so we can look after our kids the way we would do it in South Sudan. Just the thought process that you would say that means somewhere along the line there is a huge gap, because that's total denial that you've come to a new country out of an environment that you weren't happy with.

SW02's assessment that the mere thought of a radical change in the law to accommodate minorities signals a communication breakdown between refugees and their current reality may seem harsh. However, it is important to recognise that this extreme request is a sign of discord between desire and reality. Would any other group make demands like this? Are these demands a sign of a lack of social cohesion and common ground, even If it is only around child rearing? Do refugee groups perceive their demands as unworkable? Unfortunately, none of these questions can be answered by this study.

However, the fact that the study captured this dissonance sheds lights on the everyday battlegrounds of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a policy that determines funding, and an ideology that shapes how we live within polyethnic societies. Child rearing, in this case, is where the personal and the political meet; it is where the private sphere of citizens is broken into by the state. In a way, refugee parents' refusal to change parenting styles is an almost revolutionary act of self-determination.

It seems severe and unnecessary to point out that refugees bring with them unworkable expectations. It is well known, at least at the scholarly level, that refugees face huge difficulty and hardship, hardship that the average westerner would not necessarily know how to deal with. However it seems irresponsible to ignore the role these unworkable expectations play, not only in the personal resettlement journey but also in the broader community and even in media representations of refugees and migrants in general. The issue of resettlement is one that affects the entire community, not just those that work in the sector and those that resettle. Refugee resettlement should be viewed as a community endeavour with a community response. It is not enough to know that refugees come from war torn areas to the safety and prosperity of Australia. In actual fact only half of this statement is true, while refugees enjoy the highest levels of safety they do not always share in the prosperity. While economic indicators are not the only consideration, data from refugees presented earlier clearly shows that a nice house is nothing without the possibility of making it a home with those you love and care for.

6.2.2. Worker Expectations of Refugee Service Users

Workers have personal and professional opinions as to how refugees should navigate their new home. For many workers this was a difficult issue. They cannot really resolve whether the system, and themselves by extension, is creating an unhelpful dependency. Some workers speak of the need to assign individual responsibility to refugees, in the form of proactive involvement and decision making, when they come. Others are concerned that if the more 'hands on' assistance is taken away, refugees will not be able to cope with the demands of being in Australia.

These two positions are deeply connected to the dichotomised narrative of refugees being either victims or highly resilient individuals. Workers viewing refugees as victims are less inclined to make definitive statements about the need for increasing personal agency in negotiating service provision. Those viewing refugees from a more strengths based perspective, as capable human beings, are more likely to make decisions based on their clients' ability to assert themselves.

As part of the online survey, workers were asked to agree or disagree with statements published on the HSS website containing a description of its programme aims. As this study aims to identify how individual knowledge and opinion shapes the practice of settlement workers, gauging how workers evaluate the HSS scheme is a way to establish a baseline to compare with the qualitative data. Thirty seven workers answered this question, with the results showing that over half of those that responded agree that HSS equips clients with skills to access services in the future. However, just over a quarter (N=13) of all survey respondents (N=50) chose not to respond to this question. This could indicate that participants had not thought to evaluate the resettlement system before or that they simply did not wish to answer the question. Whatever the explanation, it does make the results diffuse and the workers' general opinion on the HSS programme ambivalent.

TABLE 6.1 - SETTLEMENT WORKER EVALUATION OF SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE PROVIDED BY HSS SCHEME (N=37)

HSS programme equips clients with the knowledge and skills they will need to access services in the future.				
8	13	9	6	1
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	**Strongly disagree**

Workers who think about refugees as victims also tend to have a more emotive approach to their clients; they would speak about babies dying or other such tragedies to emphasise the emotional toll of displacement and resettlement. However, even those workers deeply affected by the plight of refugees are ambivalent about the role of highly enmeshed service provision. Roughly a third of the workers interviewed are not entirely sure that the potential problems generated by a more involved approach are enough to justify a less enmeshed approach.

This is a complicated position as workers are aware of obvious problems because the demands are too high and there is not enough support for what they do. SW01 is clearly aware of issues with how services are provided, citing the example of a family who simply decided they would not engage with the services, to the point where workers were relieved when their contact ended due to time running out. This 'burnout' is not something to ignore as workers often remark they have experienced this in some way and that it has taken its emotional toll.

SW01
There is a lot of debate in the field that there is too much hand holding, but at the same time if you don't do that what's the other side of it? What's the consequences of not doing that?
This family is going to need ongoing support for many years to come […] but there's no service that would, similar to what I did under complex case, was hold, be coordinating the different services that were there. Once they finish, from the last time I heard, this family counsellor that was working with them has decided to stop working with them because she was not doing family counselling. She was just going into crisis after crisis. So it's a bit sad, I don't know what we could have done better, or what I could have done better, to have made a difference. Because it was just… all the services were just fed up by the end. I was actually relieved to have finished working with this family.

This push and pull is not uncommon; workers talk about clients who refuse to engage or simply are not given the support they actually need. The previous chapter highlighted the demands that workers face on the job and how these make service provision difficult, forcing workers to reinterpret policy or process clients themselves to meet client needs. Yet, some view their work differently; these workers see their clients as resilient people who can take charge of their outcomes and can exercise agency.

SW03
And there is that expectation from the service providers that people be grateful for what they've got, you know? We've given you all this stuff, you should be grateful. I know case workers who get angry when people

> don't want to play the game the way they should. They don't want to sign a lease. They don't want to do this, that. And if I had left my wife, my spouse, and particularly my children behind. And I had to get a job to support them, then I would live in my car without any hesitation. But you get case workers who get quite upset with people who "won't do the right thing" […] and won't let them tick all the boxes on their form […] I think DIAC glosses over that aspect of resettlement […] and services have a lot to answer for in that regard.

For SW04, this is tied to the workers themselves and the fact that they often see themselves as saviours rather than advocates or helpers.

SW04
I work at a representative level with general practice in regards to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health but also refugee health and it's interesting because in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sphere […] all of us as representatives and those that are from that background we're defiantly progressing towards that group speaking for themselves and their opinion being heard; and it's a very rights based agenda. From the refugee asylum seeker field it's quite the contrary. It's nearly all female, I'm often the only man […] and a lot of the focus is on a lot of people committing their whole lives to it. Whereas it's quite a difference sense I have, in the first field, it's more about a progression; a handover. In the latter it's more about… for a lot of people it consumes their whole life […] which I don't know if that's a healthy thing.
I'm all for creating self-responsibility and the way I select out my patient group is […] if they are prepared to accept some self-responsibility I'll go out and bat for them and transport them and create some flexibility. If they are really in need and there are some good support services then I'll also persist but if they are not going to take on self-responsibility […] I'm not going to be the, one voice trying to contain something that is very likely going to spin off in a tangent anyway. It's probably where I draw the line.

The way in which workers view their roles determines how they work. Workers unaware of the real circumstances and struggles of refugees may be less empathic to their plight; workers who overemphasise the difficulties that refugees face may tend to take on the role of a saviour which will not really play to the strengths refugees bring with them. For SW04, the differences between the refugee sphere and the indigenous sphere are notable and symptomatic of a generalised trend among workers who are too emotionally invested at the expense of refugee empowerment.

i. *Expectations of the Settlement System: Challenging Current Discourse*

Of all the workers interviewed, SW02 and SW04 are the most vocal on individual responsibility and strengths based service provision. Both these workers share a well-established knowledge of the resettlement system; SW02 spent over 10 years working in the development sector across African nations and SW04 divides his time between refugee health, general practice, and Indigenous health. It is perhaps this broader view and professional experience that positions them to be more critical of the attitudes of workers

204

who take the stance of refugees as victims. Likewise, they are eloquent in providing an alternative narrative for the resettlement system.

Both are adamant that a higher degree of personal responsibility is the key to improving settlement outcomes. SW02 and SW04 argue that only those refugees who make an explicit effort can help themselves.

SW02
We talk participatory but we rarely do that; we talk sustainability but we don't give proper capacity building to have sustainability; we talk about ownership and in one hand we say here, here is what you can do go and do it. And as soon as we see there is something deviating from what we think is normal then we jump in and take it back with the other hand. We look at it from that middle class, well off, European mentality […] and we judge everything on that without getting our mind out of the narrow way that we think. And we think that everything we do is right and everything someone else does is wrong […] because we are a functioning state.
I think too much is done where people are seen as passive objects. We talk strengths based but we don't acknowledge strengths based. And people are used to getting stuff. So if I take someone from a refugee camp they're used to being given […] if I go back to South Sudan I'd probably live for most of my life off food that is being dropped from the sky or aid that's being given so I've become reliant on other people and expecting other people to do things for me. I go into a refugee camp, and I'm not saying it's a bed of roses, but the UN provide everything that I have so I am given. I come to Australia and I am given stuff again and I just think that my life is about being given stuff and not taking on the responsibility of things for myself. So I don't think there is enough emphasis on challenging people that are coming to use their own resources and then us as services supplying them with the capacity building and support for people to develop and grow on top of that.
After one of the sessions [a young female participant] said "I understand now what you're trying to do".   I said "what would that be?" she said "you're trying to get us to really learn stuff ourselves and have the ability to do things for ourselves, instead of keep relying on services".   And I said "yes, that is basically… I don't see why we should have anything in our programme that is not linked to capacity building, same thing as I believe that international aid should be the same".   And she said "I think it's really good but you're gonna have problems with a lot of people, a lot of communities because they are used to services basically giving them what they want; not actually making them accountable for things and putting pressure on them to learn, and grow, and develop".

SW02 argues there are two aspects to the issue, firstly he considers that Australia is not really open to alternative ways of doing things. On the other hand, within certain African communities, he observes active resistance to higher levels of connectedness and adaptation to the mainstream. This is discussed further in Section 6.3.3. SW02 reflects on the idea of refugees being seen as passive people that need to be provided for upon arrival. To a degree, this is the case, as refugees receive a considerable number of services upon arrival. However, what effect does this have on the expectations and assumptions refugees bring with them, notably those who have spent the majority of their time in refugee camps, as well as on their long term settlement?

ii.   The Antidote: Low Service Expectations

Some workers allude to low service expectations as being the solution to problems generated by unrealistic expectations. This was not simply because they were grateful, but rather that because refugees who expected nothing are more proactive in looking for solutions for their problems. SW08, for example, specifically speaks about her experience with refugees who had no expectations at all as being the ones that are most easy to work with and the easiest to help.

SW08
And dare I say, I think another big factor is low service expectation. People who don't expect services to do things for them. Some people arrive and are surprised and delighted that someone will even go set up a bank account. And some people arrive asking for an iPhone, um, yeah so there's, I mean there's just a broad spectrum of individuals and personalities that you work with. And, um, you know, I don't think that it's fair to entirely, um, blame it on, you know, happiness, self-esteem, personality, and say, you know, "Well, if you're gonna settle well, you're gonna settle well." Like, I think we can always strive for excellence ... in settlement and, try to do things better. But, at the end of the day, for some clients, it's never gonna be enough and they're never gonna have a good settlement outcome, because they're never gonna make the effort themselves and settlement services leave […] And then you've got to stand on your own two... feet. So those who arrive and they want to be on their feet from the beginning, they do, they do much better.

It seems as though the tensions between giving refugees what they need, what they want, and what is really possible is not often managed well. Refugees view workers as responsible for providing everything and do not always question this assumption. Those that do question this seem to because they have concluded that self-reliance is the key to a better life for themselves and their families. Those that do not are often at a loss, given their grief and trauma not being addressed properly.

Workers themselves often struggle between the desire to help and the desire to save; yet many have examples of positive outcomes based on refugees being highly self-reliant or having low expectations of the system. While this is not definitive proof that high levels of self-reliance and low service expectation are a miracle cure, it does echo the findings of the SONA (ASR 2011) report that states that those refugees who have fewer links with their own community outperform those that have more.

SW07
Well, I don't think this one has to do anything with the services. I think, people just see where they're comfortable to go, comfortable to deal with. So, like when we came here, someone had to, they had to locate an African person, and services person, to take us to Centrelink and all of that, and that was all about it. They

just take you there. Now you know your race, then there's nothing else. They provide... what else can they provide? So it's, it's up to us now, if we want to be friends with our neighbours.

SW05
So I think that's, that's something that is lacking there and that, you know... And given the opportunities on how to, to set up their own, you know, like, to set up their own groups or something like that would be nice, or to, you know, develop their own community or interests, things like that is, it would be a great source of knowledge as well. So how can, if it's not there, if they can't find what they're looking for, how can they then set it up something similar themselves with, you know, their local, sort of, network of friends and support? And that's, you know, that would be a nice thing to have.

However, even when refugees are willing to take a chance and work things out independently they are sometimes faced with barriers, such as workers with biased views, or limitations on what can be done. It would seem that a more open and honest approach to the system would help reduce the tension, yet the language and cultural barriers can be difficult to get through to generate a real common ground of understanding.

In this context, one of systemic issues and highly determined subjectivities, examining the creation and place of relationships is an important aspect of examining multiculturalism and resettlement. It can be said that relationships are the space between the system and the expectations, at play with both. Relationships for refugees are important as they anchor resettlement; resettlement is embodied in the workers refugees come into contact with. For workers, their professional relationships with their clients are an important part of why they do their job. The next section explores the factors that determine relationships, the role of trust, and how empathy works for refugees and workers.

6.3. Relationships

During the resettlement process refugees and workers establish interpersonal relationships. These relationships can be purely professional or can extend into the personal realm. The composition and diversity of refugee and worker interpersonal relationships is a likely place where one can respond to the research question, by finding markers of the lived experience of resettlement. The study indicates the pivotal role that relationships play in the resettlement process; relationships make considerable differences in how refugees and workers manage and cope with the challenges presented to them. A solid and reciprocal relationship can help create positive outcomes and can allow refugees to cope better with negative ones.

Relationships between workers and refugees are determined by systemic constraints and what role workers are allowed to play in refugees' lives, as well as how much refugees invest in those professional relationships. Long term positive relationships are determined by the ability of both to transcend the worker-client dyad; refugees who mention friendships with workers explain it has stemmed from the role the worker had played beyond the five year period.

While 'relationships' is a prime theme that is manifested in many different ways for all participants, three defining aspects are repeatedly presented in the data: trust, empathy and connectedness. How any, or all, of these are enacted is a clear marker for the potential success or failure of the relationship. The way in which these three aspects work is similar to the way in which the three prime themes work. All three make up and contribute to a positive relationship between the two groups.

6.3.1. Refugees and Trust

The issue of trust came up at different points during the worker interviews and the refugee focus groups. Neither group were asked directly about trust but it was explicitly verbalised and implied throughout data collection. This section predominantly presents refugees' views on trust. I asked refugees if they had friends from other communities or groups, in an attempt to ascertain how linked they were with the mainstream; at this point that refugee groups stated that they either have friends or that they have issues connecting with others because

208

they do not trust them. Refugee participants also talked about trust when I asked them about the help that they received when they first arrived in Australia. Their memories of who had been helpful and who had not are vividly imprinted in their minds; this was referenced when they spoke about how to improve the resettlement system. For workers, trust is relevant to most interactions with their clients; discussions of trust came up throughout the interviews. The fact that trust is something both cohorts kept coming back to, explicitly and implicitly, denotes that it permeates service provision, interpersonal relationships and the overall experience of resettlement.

Trust is an important part of establishing and sustaining a relationship with another person. Trust for most refugee participants is tied to very pragmatic concrete aspects of personal interaction: for example, the passing on of information, the perceived willingness of workers to cooperate, and the assistance they are given by institutions and their representatives. It is important for refugees to have a credible and reliable source of information. Who refugees believe is an important determinant to their future actions.

This in turn affects settlement workers directly as many of them know that their word versus a community member's word amounts to very little. As evidenced below, some workers describe it as a frustrating task having to correct misaligned views of the resettlement service once people have arrived in Melbourne. This places workers in direct competition with their client's family and community which reduces their chances of positively engaging with them.

Some refugee participants tell stories of hearing one thing only to arrive to the exact opposite; with little working knowledge of what is actually at their disposition, this further entrenches any distrust of authority figures they may come into contact with. Workers are viewed as the representatives of the state; this is both a position of power and one generally misunderstood by refugees.

	SW01	
	Who are they going to trust? Are they going to trust some stranger who is sitting in an office telling them this is how it is, or a member of their community who speaks their language and who they trust more than a worker?	
HEI01		
It's really nice to have Asian friends because they will, if they really friends you trust them they will give you more information about what is the good thing to do, what the bad thing to do. They always helping me if I need help or because I'm asking a lot. I'm the		

person, like, I don't want to just, like, try to go by myself or to be embarrassing if I ask. I never be embarrassing, that's why they always laughing at me. I keep asking every single question. I will ask you but I will ask someone [else] the same question. Double check. I will ask three or four and then I will go with people if two question the same, or two answer the same. I will go with this one. It doesn't mean I don't trust you but I want to do right thing, I don't want to something wrong.	
	SW04
	[…] I'm getting families bringing people to me because of reunification and sponsoring. Then asylum seekers, so I'm still seeing new arrivals. It's through word of mouth and that's good because they trust me. And they'll know what they're in for and they're usually more cooperative and there is a good rapport. There's a lot of consistency so it's just building up trust.

UNHCR's *Global Trends on Forced Displacement Report* for 2014 indicates that the number of displaced people worldwide has reached 51.2 million (UNHCR 2015). This number has not been seen since the end of WWII, revealing a precarious world stage that has forced millions of people out of their homes. However, it is not simply the sheer number of displaced people that should astound, it is also the fact that they would move at all. Kymlicka (1995) argues that the forces that are required for a person to leave their home permanently should not be taken lightly, they are serious and, for refugees, life-threatening. The literature review revealed that PTSD and trauma are a well-documented aspect of resettlement. In this context the fact that trust came up unprompted in both groups is not really unexpected. Furthermore, the way in which trust functions for either group can be said to be an accurate reflection of the current global scenario.

SW03 mentions she has encountered groups that simply do not wish to engage with the services they are entitled to; in her opinion this has to do with high levels of trauma and a general distrust of authority. SW04 emphasises that his relationships are highly functional because they rely on reciprocal trust, built on his part by providing assistance and, for refugees, by their taking individual responsibility for their own welfare. SW04 is adamant that he also needs to trust his clients to take them on and that this is the basis for a long and fruitful relationship. SW04's relationships are examples of partnerships where both parties are equally responsible but equally empowered. SW06 recounts how when she started working at the neighbourhood house, drawing from previous experience with African communities, she decided to sit at the same spot, at lunch time, for weeks. After weeks of

solid consistent presence, refugees began to speak to her and she describes now having credibility amongst the refugees who attend that neighbourhood house.

HEG04	
We don't know what happens in the future but you know when something happened in the past. You know that one.	
	SW06
	And I sat here day, week after week and finally they became, started trusting me. I used to go out and have lunch with them and morning tea. And now they love me. So that's sort of the, what we did, how we do it.

The comments made in HEG04 are representative of the general feeling that all refugees interviewed shared: that trust is fragile and subject to regular verification. The future is unknown but these communities do not forget what they have been through, the experiences they have undergone. Stories get passed on between community members and then between communities of refugees.

For refugees, the knowledge they acquire and the tips they can provide for future refugees becomes a form of currency. Understanding the workings of the resettlement system is a form of cultural and social capital that becomes all the more important when you are stripped of all your previous cultural capital. Sharing their experiences of the resettlement system is a bonding exercise between older and newly arrived members of the community. However, sometimes these narratives, generated by refugees to make sense of their experience, do not account for changes in the political landscape of the country, funding cuts, and public opinion on Australia's humanitarian intake.

Trust fundamentally arises from a process of negotiation that can culminate in long term positive relationships. Alternatively this negotiation process can lead to a lifetime of distrust of institutions. While the word 'trust', and the issue itself, was only explicitly stated a few times by refugee participants, though often implied, it is repeated by workers consistently as their primary concern when trying to explain to clients the differences between their current circumstances and the expectations they brought with them. SW06's account of sitting in the same place for a week before anyone even spoke to her provides a vivid example of trust as something that needs to be earned.

Perhaps the most visible manifestation of the ability to trust others is empathy. The refugee participants from HEG05 explain that they often engage socially with members of their own group due to a concern that simple cultural misunderstandings might end up in overt conflict. If we apply this to the logic of trust, HEG05 participants do not trust themselves to know the conventional social codes well enough to engage fully with peers who are not African, and conversely they do not trust their non-African peers to forgive their mistakes and respond with kindness. Social gatherings become minefields where the ability to trust is eroded by the fear of conflict. The following section expands on this topic, providing insight into how relationships can fail, or flourish provided they are founded on empathy.

6.3.2. Empathy: Feeling Comfortable

When refugees interact with the mainstream they receive cues on how well or how badly these interactions are received. In other words, an individual's participation in the mainstream is influenced by the mainstream's responses. Refugees coming from radically different backgrounds, who do not share the social cues of the west, can have a hard time acquiring the unspoken rules of social engagement. Failure to perform in the social sphere can be met with acceptance, as cultural accommodation, or with rejection. Arguably, how the mainstream reacts to newly arrived refugees is a marker for empathy, that is, the ability to react with compassion towards a community that has been displaced and that is learning the ways of their new homeland.

For the refugees taking part in the study, this idea presents itself in the form of 'comfort', that is, the ability to feel at ease in the presence of strangers, people from other cultures, and people who speak other languages. While not all refugee participants disclose experiences of racism, they all speak about not feeling completely comfortable. This feeling has changed over time, with many noting that after some years, when information has transformed into knowledge through personal experience, they feel part of the community. For the participants of HEG01, comfort means the ability to speak freely without fear of making a mistake or being made to feel that they are in the wrong. This is echoed by HEG05 participants, who explain that the stress of making a mistake in a social situation is a heavy burden and that this prompts young people to spend time with their own group. As indicated earlier, the likelihood of a

mistake turning into something greater than a simple social faux pas is implied by both these groups.

HEG01
It's good to be mixed with another culture as well but at the beginning it is better if you have your own community that you feel comfortable to talk and express how you feel, what you feel.
You feel comfortable with your own group most of the time and you have something in common to talk to especially if you are a newcomer.
The other thing is having strong community based helps. Because you feel comfortable with your own group and if you are a newcomer you might not want to be mixed. It's good to be mixed with another culture but at the beginning it's better you have your own community that you feel comfortable to talk and express how we feel, what we feel, so we are not isolated, so we don't get stressed.

SW10 is perhaps the most explicit in articulating how interactions between refugees and the wider population are configured. SW10 is himself a member of the African community in Melbourne and has experienced first-hand the resettlement system, from living in a detention centre to being a community advocate and volunteer settlement worker. SW10 places the responsibility of making refugees feel welcome with the host; the host sets the patterns of interaction between the household and the guest.

SW10
If you come to my house your attitude and role will be based on my, the way I host you, the way I welcome you, the way I involve you. From the start if you feel you are welcome, if you are hosted, if you feel accepted definitely in a minute, maybe three hours you feel you are part of the family, you can go to the kitchen, you can cook, you can share with others, you can laugh with them, you can talk, you can actually contribute to the family, domestic. But if I provide you a wonderful bed and room and not involve you with what is going in my family just to give you some food when it's breakfast time, dinner time or lunch and not actually, if you feel like I am not involving you, you will also keep yourself isolated. Because you are the guest and you expect the owner of the house to involve you. To open the doors and the windows for you.

It is not unreasonable to assume that African communities who do not feel welcome are more likely to disengage and perceive their new environment as hostile. HEI01 explains this when talking about simple body language cues can determine the quality of the interaction between two people. This emphasises that openness and empathy are attributes located in the physical world, on the faces and bodies of those who speak and those that listen. Wide smiles and open faces signal, nonverbally, that they are present and willing to engage. In the absence of a shared language or in the face of considerable language barriers, the body is the number one cue for empathy. As HEI01 points out, it can signal a willingness to talk or a personal dislike.

213

HEI01
Like eye contact, if like first time I saw you [Paula] you smiled to me and I smiled to you. You ask me and then I will answer you open and I'm smiling. If you ask me and I just give you, like, short question and my face it looks very serious definitely you are not going to ask me more or you're not going to communicate with me. I don't know, that's what people say, I'm always smiling I'm always happy. So I have, I just like to make friends, I just like to be friendly with any people. But if I'm friendly with you and my friends and you're a troublemaker I'm not going to say "oh, go away you're a troublemaker" I got the smart way to go. I just leave you and go; I just ignore you like the smart way. Not like to make you feel like you are a bad person, I don't want to be with your friends. I think that's the way.

i. Racism

Perhaps the most obvious lack of empathy is displayed in the stories of racism some refugees describe. These, recounted in focus groups HEG01, HEG02, and HEG04, vary from overt but silent rejection to the vocal and antagonistic. They also echo the experiences of stereotyping mentioned in Section 6.2.1.

The reality of visible difference plays out in different ways for refugees. Stories about racism in job selection and the professional sphere are fairly well described in the literature yet the quotidian experiences of racism are often ignored. Everyday racism, even when it is only perceived, directly impacts on refugees' behaviour, their willingness to participate in the mainstream, and their sense of belonging. This is what the idea of comfort, above, tells us about refugees and their interactions with the mainstream. As one of the participants from HEG04 points out, when someone does not like your skin you simply cannot go to the same places. Yet for her there is the possibility of change, if this hatred of skin was to end she would quite happily share her time with those people.

HEG04		
Even when you walk on the road you get some people, some kids, that [make monkey noises at you and] say you are a monkey. We say it's good because, not me, but my kids they are sometimes not happy [with the racist monkey noises] and I say "why?" […] white or black it doesn't matter […] even when the child told me I am a monkey I will fight I [tell my children] no [not to fight back].		
This one is confused Australia. Australia is good you eating […] but something is wrong for you, not everybody is good to you […] you crying.		
	SW03	
	And sometimes that comes back to the individual case worker in the NGO, how empathetic that person actually is to the plight of those people as to what can be done. 'Cause I've seen, and I'm thinking of two particular, and they are African older women mother and daughter, who come in to the service where I am. And, you know, they are not idiots they know which workers are going to [help]. They've been in Australia for 10 years so in theory they're not eligible for any services at all. But they know which workers	

	will give them a hand and treat them with respect and help them with their electricity connection, the phone call; 'cause that's all it is. It's a bloody phone call, it's just common human decency, it's not about service provision […] and I've heard workers say, "oh, yeah they should be out the door. They've been here 10 years. Kick them out!" I'm like where is your humanity?
HEG02	
[The neighbours] don't talk to you […] I don't know my neighbours, I don't want to open the door. We only meet in the lift, that's it. […] [The neighbours] don't like Africans, they're not open and talking. […] My neighbour when you go in the lift she has, she doesn't go together. She stops outside, she waits for the next lift. When she [has to] come in the lift she cover like this [she covers her face]. She's a very bad lady.	

ii. Understanding the Refugee Experience

Some of the workers who took part in the interviews point to the lack of understanding that 'other' settlement workers have around the issues that refugees face: their circumstances prior to arriving in Australia, the impact of grief and loss, and the cultural differences between their home countries and Australia. A one size fits all model does little to allow for personal circumstance to determine personal growth. That is, while some refugees do well and move on from the settlement services available those that do not are deemed to be lazy or unwilling to change. Given the 'hard line' this implies, it seems important to recognise that for some refugees the possibility of learning English, getting a job, or leaving their traditional modes of being simply does not exist.

	SW06	
	They've come from a lot of fighting. The children haven't been educated that this isn't the right way to be brought up, you know. That, to talk about things instead of fighting. There's just a huge lack of understanding, I think, from everybody, how hard it's been for a lot of these people, to come here, and leave so much behind. And, you know, they're suffering post-traumatic stress and grief and everything, you know. And I don't think... the majority of people don't understand.	
HEG02		
Some people [have a] good heart, some people not […] [if they have] a good heart they will show you everything in Australia.		
Yeah, in Tasmania the house is different to Melbourne, people different. Even the people don't say anything, even they don't say hello to you. When you go to shop you just feel like "oh, that's Australia?"		
	SW09	
	And when there is the case of women who leave the children behind and they are very difficult you know, because they're just distraught. So you go up to volunteers, you know, some of these volunteers are amazing. They go to these women, women that are chronically on medication which means that they can't focus for sleep and they come to see because they're awake all night on their phone to their kids and they can't function	

| | during the day. And all they're thinking about is getting their kids close now, and that's not going to happen. |

The ability to be present with clients and provide them with empathy is a challenge that workers face. SW04 considers most workers react in ways that may only make matters worse for clients. The idea that events in a refugee's life must be met with emergency responses or some form of intervention is rarely examined. SW04's proposition resonates with the examples, detailed in the section below, that refugees give about workers who have made a positive difference. When refugee participants speak about their most successful relationships with workers, the commonality is the long term nature of their engagement and the fact that these workers are available and reliable.

SW04
I think people do respond to being patient, explanations and then if they hear it from more than one person. I think if someone is acting out whether it's because of […] their sense of shame or sense of despair that they'll act out, and people reach for a panic button and I think a lot of the time just being able to hold that. Being able to hear it, not reaching for the panic button. Being able to hold it, contain it and provide some direction to it people respect that […] it's being able to deal with chaos and despair.

SW08
And I mean, my experience of, 'cause, after doing case management, I was doing the complex case management and if the clients gonna disclose family violence to you, no matter how low the level of English, it's gonna be when they're alone with you when you're driving in the car, somewhere, and there's no interpreter.

What SW04 and SW08 are referring to is that dealing with chaos and despair is not a simple task. It becomes almost impossible to provide refugees with the support they need when there is limited understanding of their previous and present context. If workers opt for intervention strategies, this may possibly bring even more stress for refugees who are really only looking for some recognition and validation of their experience. These problems may be issues that refugees are not able, or comfortable, to share in public or within their own group. As SW08 points out, clients disclose their issues in some of the most unlikely places.

iii.   The Ones who make a Difference

Despite disclosing incidents of racism and lack of empathy from the mainstream community, none of the refugee participants express a desire to retaliate or to isolate themselves from the broader community. The antidote to these experiences is the empathetic relationships most refugee participants establish with their workers. When asked about help received,

participants struggle to remember the specific aspects of the services they accessed. However, refugee participants can all recall one special worker who has aided them during their initial time in Australia. The defining characteristics of these relationships are length of time, support beyond the established brief, and a willingness to show refugees how things work in Australia. One participant from HEG02 talks about her worker whom she has known for 10 years; this worker continues to help her even though the formal five year period of assistance is finished.

HEG02
I had a worker from Foundation House, Brunswick. She help me when you come […] I was, my children live in Ethiopia […] she going to immigration, she helping me, how can apply in the housing, everything […] she's a good worker.

HEG02
I used to live in South Australia and I have social worker, she take me everywhere […] she show me how to shop […] I'm very happy. And then I move to Melbourne.

The experience recounted below by HEI01 sums up how one person can make a difference. Her story encapsulates the key elements of successful and empathic relationships and how these are fundamental in times of crisis. It exemplifies how being present can provide refugees with high levels of comfort in situations that are totally out of their control. In other words, this story shows that when formal and social systems interact, negative experiences can be managed collectively. This refugee participant had a medical emergency with one of her infant children that required a call to the emergency 000 line; the person to provide her with assistance and to show up at her home late at night was her English teacher.

HEI01
We been there [in Australia] for only two weeks and my son, he's really sick, and he's unconscious. And I can't speak English, and there is no one, just I have to call someone […] he's the organise[r] between the church when we're in Egypt and he speak our language. And I tried to call him because [my son] is unconscious and I have no idea what to do because I can't drive and it's like seven o'clock at night and I can't do anything. That's just the worst time of my life I have in Australia. [So I called someone from the church and his wife answered the phone and said] "oh, sorry my husband he just came [home] and he tired from the work and he is going to have his dinner and you just call triple zero (000) and say you want ambulance" […] I have no idea who is ambulance and who is 000 and I can't speak English […] I just call 000 and the other [number] I have [is] my teacher because I have a baby she has to come to my house […] she said if I need I can call her any time for help. And I just call 000 […] and I just found out that's when I speak English, I have no idea what they saying, I just say, I keep repeating "my baby ill, my baby ill, my baby ill" because I'm crying and because I never know, I didn't hang up, because I just keep repeating, whatever [the operator] asked me I just "my baby ill". And always when you didn't hang up they will find out your address and I just keep repeating […] I have no idea because [I'd only been here] two weeks. And then, like you know, I just give up because I keep repeating they keep asking me and I don't get what they saying and I say "oh, I'm going to lose my child" I

just hang up and I call my teacher because she know he have a fever two days ago. And I just call her and I say "my baby is ill" and she said "ok, I'm coming". I just hang up and the ambulances arrive on the street and I get scared from the ambulances because that is my first time to see ambulance, the light, and all the stuff, and they come and I can't speak English […] and I just have to explain, I know they are going to ask me what's this and then she come straight away, my teacher, she come and she said "oh, you're doing really good, that's good. They are going to take care [of] him". And because she is talking and she's explaining to me. And I show them the medicine and they say "he have a high fever and they give him wrong medicine" they didn't give him Panadol. [The doctor who had treated him earlier] just give me antibiotics and he forgot to give us Panadol, that's why the fever is so high. So they took him to the hospital […] and on this time I promised myself I have to learn English and I have to do all the stuff by myself. I push myself really hard to learn English.

The story of her encounter with the ambulance and emergency services in Australia is one that, while extreme, is not likely to be uncommon. Refugees are not familiar with Australian systems and institutions; a routine situation can become a huge endeavour when the context is not shared. Calling emergency services and requesting an ambulance becomes an almost impossible task, made difficult by the language barrier. This example demonstrates that the emergency response systems in Australia work but additionally it makes visible a refugee's deep gaps of experience which divide her from a local. In HEI01's story, the English teacher did nothing more than keep her company and tell her she was doing a good job. This was all that was needed, as it bridged the divide between her and what was happening around her and her son.

Empathy, and the role it plays in potentially bridging the gap between refugees, workers, and the broader community, is perhaps the most complex and multi-layered finding of this study. This is an aspect of settlement that, due to its unquantifiable nature, has not been examined, and is never really made explicit. Even if the resettlement system had unlimited funding and workers were not under the strains of huge administrative burdens, it would still not replace the human element in the equation. How refugees feel about their place in society would still be largely determined by the quality of their interactions with their workers and their neighbours. Trying to excise the emotional landscape from the resettlement journey is simply not possible without considerable damage to those who are a part of it. Accounting for an embodied experience of resettlement that locates the language of empathy is fundamental to the generation of positive long term settlement outcomes for refugees.

As relational beings the number, depth, and reciprocity of our relationships influences how we feel about the world around us. While we may not need a large number of friendships we

do need meaningful ones. We attain knowledge and validation through our relationships, we contour our experience, and we arrive at shared meanings and stories. When displaced, our ability to remake relationships can become a central part of the resettlement journey. It can determine how connected we are into a community, and how we can build on this to make a new life. This study specifically looked at how well connected refugees were to the mainstream, in an attempt to gauge if this was a marker for the successful implementation of multiculturalism. The next section presents the findings on this issue.

6.3.3. Connectedness

Many refugee participants speak about connections to the communities they belong to yet find it difficult to access the mainstream. Workers explain that establishing relationships with communities takes time and patience and are not established easily. However, according to data they provided, connectedness – and relationships in general – are fraught with tensions over perceived dependency. This study found two distinct narratives around dependency; on the one hand there is the standard discourse that emphasises trauma and vulnerability but, on the other, there is an emerging narrative of rights and responsibilities. It seems that workers are not always able to distinguish between a productive and a detrimental relationship, as reflected in the ambivalence described by some in Section 6.2.2.

The tension between these two positions is representative of a broader public debate around the role of cultural protections versus responsibilities in a multicultural society. It is also symptomatic of the belief that engaging with the mainstream means becoming more similar to it. Conflating connectedness with assimilation is problematic as it precludes refugees from generating autonomous ways of engaging with other segments of society. In my opinion, there is a clear distinction between the two and that furthermore, higher levels of connectedness do not mean increased levels of assimilation. Both refugee and worker participants have a wide ranging set of opinions about this matter. Some workers speak of refugees' active reticence towards the mainstream while some refugees speak of a desire to make more connections with their Australian peers. Individual positionings are deeply connected to past personal experience and future potential for meaningful social interaction. Making any blanket generalisations would homogenise individual subjectivities in ways that are contrary to this study's epistemological positioning.

The question of worker/client connectedness versus dependency is complex, and difficult to answer. The findings in this study would suggest that higher levels of connectedness are neither incompatible with nor detrimental to individual agency and the preservation of cultural heritage. As Table 6.3 indicates, the online survey reveals that 64% of the respondents (N=37) – and 48% of all survey participants (N=50) – believe that HSS focuses on capacity building and aids refugees to participate in the wider Australian community. This distribution is similar to the one present in Table 6.2 (above); a similarity indicating workers are somewhat reluctant to evaluate the HSS and when they do they are not likely to be particularly critical.

Generally speaking, workers taking part in the follow up interviews have a different view of this, one where HSS is seen as less encouraging in aiding refugees to connect with the mainstream. As this was part of the explicit goals for the HSS at the time of the interviews, it is important to state the discrepancy between the official narrative and the personal experiences of the workers interviewed.

Table 6.2 - SETTLEMENT WORKER EVALUATION OF CAPACITY BUILDING THROUGH THE HSS SCHEME (N=37)

In supporting humanitarian clients to begin their new lives, the HSS programme focuses on capacity building: building clients' confidence and ability to participate economically and socially in the wider Australian community.				
8	16	6	7	0
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	**Strongly disagree**

During the focus groups I asked refugee participants if they had friends outside of their cultural community. This question was met with a degree of confusion, the idea of a cultural community was not obvious to them. Most answered they had many friends belonging to their own ethnic group. For clarity's sake, I rephrased the question and asked if they had any white Australian friends. Workers, on the other hand, were asked directly if: a) the resettlement system helps refugees connect to the mainstream and b) if they believe that connectedness is something that refugees should aspire to.

The way in which the term *connectedness* was understood by participants varied. As evidenced below, workers were not always comfortable with the idea, as it brought assimilation to mind, and refugees often confused it with the bonding capital – connectedness to those within their cultural groups - something they already possess. That is to say, workers were not entirely sure that their clients wished to be more connected to the mainstream and

refugees felt highly connected to family and friends of the same group, but did not often move out of the comfort of these groups, while at the same time lamenting the loss of family and the inability to bring them to Australia.

HEG02	
I arrive in Richmond no family, even no African people in this area to a house, every day I'm upset. Hard for me, I go out no any African people. I'm not talking English. My social worker he's a man; we go hospital, Centrelink, that's it. It's very hard sometimes.	

	SW12
	Like often you know, you meet kids who say it's actually better in our countries in some ways because at least we have our family, if they've got family, you know, at least they've got that shared experience [...] They're just not encouraged to be able to band together and share experiences as much as they've got the same ethnic heritage. Like they're kind of unitised as soon as they got here. You're an individual case and you will be treated as such.

i. Loss of Family

Australia, within its visa options, has the possibility of family reunification through sponsorship. What is not known, until arrival, is that the economic requirements to make this happen are often far out of reach for refugees with little or no English and no prospect for work. [12] As the literature review revealed, even for those refugees who bring their qualifications with them, these are not accepted as valid and refugees of working age and ability are reduced to manual labour and under-skilled positions that no one else wants (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006; Fozdar 2012). For refugees in this study, connectedness to the mainstream is often not a priority when all they could think about was the family they left behind. Recognising that broken family links are absolutely detrimental to a refugee's ability to achieve successful settlement is not currently part of the broader debate on resettlement.

HEG04	
Now that I'm here I no happy because I miss my children. And I no husband, I'm widow. My husband dead, 2003 in Sudan. The people is kill in the road; he's come to job and see people in the road and [they] said give money and my husband said no money. And six people fight and [they had a gun] and [after] two days in hospital he dead [...] now I live here and I not happy because I miss two daughter.	
Sometimes I cook, I no eat. Sometimes I eating, sometimes I'm worry, worry, worry [...] I don't sleep, I just worry [about the daughters I left behind].	

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[12] For example, the DIBP states that the price for a partner visa is $6,865; for a child it is $2,370; for a remaining relative $3,870. This does not include possible secondary instalments or the health checks and related proof. For further information on visa pricing refer to (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2015e).

	SW03
	Their babies! They've left their babies behind. Jeez! I can't even imagine. On the hope that they're going to be able to build a life. There are no guarantees; there is nothing […] I don't know that DIAC sees it like that, I really don't. I think they gloss over that.

While this final comment reflects empathy, the statements clearly represent the consequences of familial breakdown and loss. For refugees who come to Australia without family, it is almost impossible to forget the loved ones they left behind. In each focus group at least one participant recounts the story of how they, or someone they knew, have left their children behind in order to come to Australia to sponsor them later. As SW03 articulates, this is no more than a dream as there are no guarantees that the process will work out as intended in the end. The time span alone involves many years of waiting in refugee camps only to wait even more once they are in Australia. While Section 6.2.1. provides evidence about a lack of empathy being made worse by a lack of understanding, this section on connectedness argues that full resettlement is not possible when families remain separated. It is no good having a house, a roof over your head, if this house is empty.

Understanding the long term impact of grief and loss on refugees is something that surely must be accounted for in greater depth than it has been so far. One organization that has consistently reported this is the Refugee Council of Australia, with its many publications noting the detrimental impact of family breakdown see for example (see for example RCOA 2011, 2014a, 2015a). It is necessary to generate a better understanding of how communitarian refugee groups generate a notion of self. It would be possible to argue that the loss of a family member is a loss of self for many of the refugees I spoke to. They do not experience their loss as losing someone else; it is a form of personal loss that shapes every aspect of their life, reducing their future to a hope of reunification. It seems futile to expect refugees who cannot overcome loss to engage with any kind of broader community. So while there are questions around the willingness of communities to connect more directly and actively with the broader Australian landscape, the experiences of those who have suffered major loss in their lives raise the question: just how legitimate is it to ask those refugees to take the initiative and join along?

ii. Bridging the Gap: Know thy Neighbour

For those with more intact families, it is still not easy to generate the desired bridging connections. In exploring levels of connectedness for refugee participants the idea of connectedness was embedded in the proxy of 'knowing your neighbours'. This was to account for the varying levels of English proficiency and to give connectedness a concrete aspect that participants could refer to. I asked refugee participants if they knew their neighbours and if they had a good relationship with them. The responses are both positive and negative, as indicated in Section 6.3.2, ranging from participants talking about neighbours covering their mouths and avoiding using the same elevator to those who greet each other every morning. Refugee participants were asked if they had any friends from other communities who were not from their ethnic background; again the responses range from an absolute no to a very proactive yes.

Settlement workers were asked if the resettlement system helps refugees connect to the mainstream and if they believe that connectedness is something that refugees should aspire to. Their responses vary from stating that the system itself is not designed for connectedness, to noting that there are instances where refugees have made strong connections into the mainstream, supported by their communities.

HEI02	
When [the neighbour] coming out in the morning they greeting me and I am greeting them. But if somebody cannot greeting you, you think that they don't like you. But all my neighbour they greeting me and we talk together after that.	

	SW02
	And what's going to make this a great country, make it a multicultural country, isn't government policy, is not organizations trying to make a multicultural thing. It's every individual person putting their effort forward to try and live together in harmony with other people.

HEI01	
I have friends from Australia, like school teachers and my neighbours, and I make friends because, it's like, you know Salvation Army? If you need help, when you arrive here, they give you like Salvation Army's phone number. You have to call, like, for help, for anything. When I call them, I'm just lucky because the neighbours, I'm number 40 and the neighbour she's number 39 and the other one is number 10; they're working at Salvation Army and I meet them through the church as well, they come to help if I call them. And then on Sunday when we went to the church I found them in the church. And then they get to be my close friends, they come to visit and we go outside to dinner.	

	SW03
	That sense of belonging somewhere, particularly for people who have been stripped of citizenship, stripped of, displaced from land, homelands, and usually with some sort of persecution. It becomes even more important for them to have some sense of belonging somewhere. And you talk to people who've gotten to the citizenship stage and they are so very proud of that. So yes, obviously that connection to somewhere, to new land.

HEG01	
But it's good to have, you know, different countries. I like to. You improve your knowledge. You can have different kind of friends. And you learn many, many things from different people. But in this country [Australia] not much, you know, in other countries people they got socializing together in short time. But here it takes time, you know.	

One participant from HEG02 refers to the friends she has made through her children's school. She has done this on purpose and makes a point out of noting that it was a personal effort rather than something that she has been encouraged to do. Similarly, HEI01 has made a purposeful effort to form friendships, diversifying the people she spends her time with. Both of these women share having large families and being single mothers, both are adamant about making a better future for their children. The commonality for all refugee participants is a desire to expand their social networks. Even those who were grief stricken when asked, wish they knew more people.

iii. Connecting New and Old

Relationships are an important aspect of life for refugee participants yet they often find difficulties in Australia. Data indicate some of these difficulties have their origin in tribal and national rivalries that have never been fully resolved. While I would not seek to comment on how widespread these rivalries are in the African community, or to what extent they are a primary barrier to connectedness, one refugee focus group raises this issue, as does one of the settlement workers interviewed.

HEG01 participants, all women who have come via a sponsored spouse visa, that is, their husbands have sponsored them to come, remark that even within their own communities there are blatant moments of discrimination, based on old tribal rivalries. They all speak of the isolation they have encountered upon arrival. For them, community centres provide referrals to other services and information on local social activities. This is especially important for women with children as they are likely to spend the day at home alone, unable or not allowed to work.

HEG01
Even if sometimes it's a community there are a lot of ethnic groups […] when I first come here I feel very lonely, isolated. I keep asking my husband take me anywhere that I can see an Eritrean, any Eritrean. Then he take me to one ethnic group which I don't belong and they don't even say hi to me. They have a BBQ and no one invited me […] so I just go back home and then when I asked they told me it's like that in here, if they are not from your ethnic group they don't treat you in a good way. I think it shouldn't be that way because we are all Eritrean. But when you come in here it is completely different because they differentiate by ethnic group which is not nice but that's how it works in here.

This in-group discrimination is mentioned by SW05 yet she observes that in the less urban areas of Melbourne, where newly arrived refugee communities are settling in, there is less in-group competition as, overall, services were fewer and resources limited. In her opinion, this limited availability that generates a move towards self-representation in the African communities in her region.

SW05
So [in this area] there's not already a, sort of, more established pockets, you know. So [refugees are] spread out so I think, what we're seeing now, particularly with, you know, with, African community members is that, they're trying to set up a collective, sort of, representation, and like a, an incorporated community group to help, sort of, address the needs and issues that they're experiencing out here. And so I think that's a good thing for them because they can... There's not that whole, "If you're from there you're over here, and you're from here and here and here." So it's, it gives them that, yeah, they can create something that they want to be their own identity and their own social network, how they want it. And, and I think it's not so crowded, it gives them space, there's more, but I think because of the distance too, to connect with any other, you know, sort of, cultural, you know, from their own culture group, they've got to travel, You know, and quite a lot still travel back, you know, for festivals and gatherings and parties and this and that. So, you know, backwards and forwards to Danyo, or wherever, but then, um, the ones that are here today enjoy the space. It's quieter, there's a smaller community so it's easier to, kind of... And there's no, not so much of the divide between, you know, whether you're from, you know, this tribe or that tribe.

This move towards self-reliance and self-representation, while supported by the workers, is a grass-roots movement from the community. SW05 and SW06, who both work at the same service provider, are vocal about the role of location in their clients' settlement journeys. Location and place are important aspects of why some refugees' make decisions about housing and schooling. The potential for a sense of belonging plays into their decision making. It is clear that a feeling of belonging is determined by their overall ability to connect with other members of the broader community.

SW06
But they, they're happy to speak to other people, but it's trying to get that connection I suppose, if they can't get with other people. And they've also, they've got a lot of deep set problems, I suppose, too, which sort of holds them back a bit too.

SW01
I think on this side of town it's more, sort of… how can I say it?... it's very Anglo so what they are finding is, that a lot of the kids, particularly from an African background are travelling all the way to Victoria University, who have a really good programme in working with people from different backgrounds. So they are not staying here and we've got some really good universities out in the east and south east. So why are they not attending? I think feeling a bit alienated perhaps when they get to uni […] because they don't feel like they belong.

Lack of connectedness translates into higher levels of perceived vulnerability for refugees. Participants in HEG02 disclose that often refugees are bullied into signing things that they do not understand but are too ashamed to refuse or bring up with their workers. Low English proficiency is affecting these refugees more, given they feel they have no one to turn to.

iv.   *The Impact of Policy*

In terms of the resettlement system, the guidelines state that new arrivals should be placed where there are other members of their community (DSS 2015b). When refugees arrive in Australia, at their first location they can find a community base to fall back on. While this makes sense, placing people in proximity to those who speak their language and have already gone through the process can act to further isolate some communities from the broader Australian landscape. As SW03 points out, when people are given the choice to move they prefer to remain with their community. This was echoed by other workers that note that there is considerable secondary migration to communities that have been somewhat established.

SW03
DIAC [now DIBP] policy is that people be resettled where there is a link if possible. So immediately you've got at least, you know, a couple of people from the same culture settling together. And then the policy […] where I'm at is to locate people accommodation-wise as close to possible to someone else of their own culture so that they feel comfortable. So from that side there is little integration […] And then at six months people are given the choice of where they want to live, if they want to maintain the lease we sourced for them or if they want to move. Most people want to stay where they are, where they are comfortable with people from their own culture. So integration into the White Australian mainstream is probably not often facilitated nor is it wanted. And from my perspective it's a little bit of a ridiculous idea anyway because I know you just said Australia became multicultural in 1973. But Australia became multicultural in 1788 when white people landed.

An unexpected aspect of asking workers about connectedness into the mainstream is that for some workers this is problematic, often bringing to mind dated policies of assimilation. In fact, I opted for using the word 'connectedness' to replace the word 'integration' as the latter generated vocal rejection from settlement workers as a potential aspiration for refugees. Integration, at least in the Australian context, is a 'dirty' word that does not fit well with the individualistic multicultural aspirations of government narrative.

Even once the question was reframed using 'connectedness', most workers stated that connectedness was difficult because there was no real way of capturing what Australian culture is and it is therefore impossible to ask refugees to become a part of something that is undefinable. This idea that Australianness is, by reason of its polyethnicity, unable to be defined is a persistent narrative deployed by the majority of settlement workers taking part in the study.

SW08 remarks that the initial settlement period of six to 12 months is filled with very critical aspects such as housing and welfare arrangements and that this initial setup is not really conducive to, or designed for, considerations of connectedness.

SW08
Well my experience is limited to, like, putting asylum seekers aside, but in resettlement to the IHS and HSS programmes, which are only the first six to 12 months. And I think there's definite gaps there but, within that time, I don't think that the workers are aware of that disconnect, because the initial settlement period is so hectic, and involves, you know, registering with medical services, getting people set up in a house. People commence their English classes. Their kids start school and adjusting to those things really does become the priority. You know, it's a hierarchy of needs. People, you know, we need to make sure they've got means to feed themselves; that they've got a roof over their heads and that social connectedness is not something that clients tend to raise as an issue initially, and that was my experience, as a case manager. So I think services probably could do a lot more to be proactive about linking clients, to mainstream communities. And I mean a good thing about the HSS is that it does require a settlement orientation programme, where people get their information, perhaps not... The connections aren't facilitated, but they had a lot more education about mainstream communities. Due to the tightening of finances around, you know, the government funding, we make use of a lot more volunteers, who tend to be of more Anglo background, so I think that probably helps... Well in the past, we used to use bilingual support workers, from clients' own communities. And I believe using more volunteers, from the mainstream community is a good way of orientating clients to mainstream Australia, in making them less unsure with their own communities, but that's just a theory. And, yeah, I'm not sure if that actually works and if those connections move beyond the volunteer. But feedback from clients is that, of course, they do love having, you know, an Aussie to practise English with and to talk to and to go around the neighbourhood with. Um, yeah, but I, no, I don't think that we do it that well.
I mean I live in Footscray, so maybe that skews things a bit. And, you know, as a White person in Footscray, I do feel like I'm in the minority and it's definitely not a bad thing. So, I think if there was a majority, for people to be protected from... I mean in some contexts that there, there surely are. But, like, part of my concern, like, seeing people settling in Footscray, is not that, that newly arrived refugees aren't associating with, you

> know, Aus-, you know, Australians or, you know, 5th generation Australians, but the, you know, the refugee coming from South Sudan isn't interacting with the local, you know, Vietnamese corner store owner. That there's a, you know, that, I think that, the wonderful thing about Melbourne is this mix of cultures and that, you know, that refugees shouldn't be encouraged to integrate with the, shouldn't just be encouraged to integrate with the broader Australian culture, cause what is that?

All refugees observe that good neighbours make for a good community and that disagreeable neighbours can make life difficult. SW02 talks about the ability to have difficult discussions to address the lack of connectedness that many refugees experience. In his opinion all parties involved shy away from really addressing the problems with living in a polyethnic society because it is an uncomfortable conversation that no one knows how to have. This ability to hold the discomfort of talking about issues such as race and class is not fostered by the resettlement system or the broader community at large.

The flip side of connectedness is asking whose responsibility it is to create this connection. For five of the 12 workers interviewed, the responsibility is deemed to lie with the individual. All workers agree that the decision to join the mainstream is individual and dependant on many factors, but these five identify individual responsibility as a key catalyst for the creation of bridging capital. This is not the generalised consensus within the resettlement community. While individual responsibility is an important aspect of connectedness, it would be remiss to ignore the stories of blatant racism described above, as well as the impact of the resettlement system' setup, an argument also made by Comstock et.al. (2008).

SW12
We have this idea that community, for these young people, is made up of a bunch of workers who help them do stuff. Where that's really not what they're after. What they want is, you know, friends who know how to do things and who are the same age and have been through the same thing. And I guess detention, which is, you know, one of these things that I really found interesting out of the whole system. Detention's actually really good for people making friends. And I thought that's about the only good thing that comes out of this whole damn thing, is that they come out with a group of friends. But apart from that, no, because you know, we set them up with these responsible adults who are gonna take care of them and help them through the system who can't do anything for them. Because a) there's either no funding, b) they're too overworked or c) they just don't see them.

As SW12 remarks, the way in which the system atomises refugees cannot be ignored as simply a way of managing the influx of people. The systemic modes of dealing with refugees operationalise a set of understandings about refugees and their place in Australian society. For people who come from highly communitarian environments, the fact that each person is

treated individually signals a break from this way of life. This may be a reason that refugees rely so heavily on outdated information from their own group rather than current factual evidence from workers: they see no difference between themselves and those who came before. In other words, if you treat my uncle one way I expect you to treat me the same way, regardless of the passing of time, as we are the same people.

When this logic clashes with the reality of the resettlement system, the only possible explanation is that there is a personal dislike for the individual. Considerations of time and budget are not necessarily at the forefront of service users' minds. This is due to the expectations that refugees bring with them and the problems arising from the gap between those expectations and the actual path they follow. The next section explores the link between refugee expectations, unrealistic expectations, and worker expectations and how these shape the interpersonal relationships between workers and clients. These expectations are at play when thinking about the productive relationship and dependency issues raised by workers. While refugee populations are victims of displacement and well documented atrocities, assuming all are absolute victims of their circumstances denies the incredibly high levels of resilience required to get to the point of resettlement.

6.4. Conclusion

Results presented in this chapter show that resettlement is a process that begins the moment a person is involuntarily displaced from their home and may take years, and possibly generations, to end. Resettlement in Australia is an experience that develops within the confines of the discursive practices of multiculturalism and immigration. Refugees are coded into a system that has procedures and limitations, refugees are 'made into' clients when they enter the resettlement system and often come into conflict with workers and institutions, given they come with expectations that may not conform to the systemic constraints within the resettlement system.

Because the refugee intake in Australia is a government initiative, it is a highly regulated system that has clear edges. This means that the resettlement system, understood as a series of service providers with specific responsibilities, is clearly defined and has a specific set of limitations. These limitations are a reflection of the government's underlying assumptions of desirable migration. Multicultural policy is justified by the economic imperative of the diversity advantage. This translates into services focused on primary needs such as housing, welfare, and basic health but leaves little room for more complex needs and, indeed, human relationships.

Workers report feeling overworked, that the new demands under the current HSS scheme force them to be administrators who tick boxes, and that the system has become obsolete for their clients. At a practical level, workers and refugees emphasise critical issues with housing and employment and see few solutions. The fact that one of the refugee participants was homeless at the time of the focus group would suggest that this is not as rare an occurrence as one might think. The time constraints on service provision are a cause of concern for workers as they report that the goals that DIPB are pushing are often unattainable and that resettlement is not always a process that could be timed. It is clear the one size fits all model that has been the staple of the resettlement system is not working for many refugees arriving in Australia.

And what of the discursive practices that make up the resettlement system and multiculturalism more broadly? The most revealing aspects of this are located in the

expectations and relationships themes. If we take these two themes as markers for the kinds of subjectivities that are being constructed, we see clear variance in the approaches either group take. African refugees that resettle in Australia come with a set of expectations informed mainly by other refugees coming earlier, family members who moved to other refugee receiving countries, friends, and an international network of information dissemination. These expectations often clash with the reality of the resettlement system and this places workers and refugees in competing corners. This antagonism arises from refugees' lack of conformity with the idea of workers as figures of authority that are more trustworthy than their regular sources of information.

Conversely workers feel that they are competing with their clients' family and friends to gain the trust necessary for a productive relationship. Some workers feel ambivalent about their role in their clients' lives. While they know that their job is to provide assistance, some wonder how much this assistance is provided at the expense of self-reliance and autonomy. It seems difficult to break away from the narrative that refugees are all vulnerable individuals needing care and protection against a large majority that will not relent.

Sooner or later, both the systemic considerations and the expectations of both sides impact on the kind of relationships that refugees are able to establish with their workers and with the broader community. Arguably, the way multiculturalism and the resettlement system are configured contributes to the long term othering of refugees. The refugee category seems inescapable as even individual well-educated, resourceful African refugees who resettle in Australia are subjected to the same institutions and procedures as those needing high levels of assistance. The individual is annihilated in the discursive practice of refugee resettlement and becomes only recognisable as a refugee and nothing more.

The role of prior circumstance is largely ignored, as is the impact of loss of family. Many refugees come to Australia hoping to bring the rest of their family, only to realise that this will take another lifetime and vast resources they do not possess. This is not articulated in any form of service provision. Refugees are atomised and reduced to individuals who are required to conform and receive the services provided to them. Those who are not willing, or able, to participate in this process are deemed ungrateful and subjected to scorn.

Ultimately, what is missing from the resettlement system is the human element: the possibility for individuals to constitute a subjectivity that is not part of the discursive practice established by government. The results show the friends who are made along the way make the current system work, and keep it functioning in the face of ever increasing funding cuts and even more inhumane government policies. It comes down to people, the friends we make and the friends we keep. If empathy was the guiding principle of all policies that related to refugees, then perhaps the language barriers would matter less, the dangers of making a social blunder would not deter refugees from trying, and the broader community would start considering what kind of information they get about refugees.

This study supports previous research in its findings and goes further by adding a greater level of richness and complexity that has not been characteristic of prior resettlement research. The findings challenge the efficacy of the one size fits all model of resettlement introduced with the HSS. They also make the case for an intersectional approach to resettlement that accounts for individual or familial factors which refugees bring with them. The findings also show how both workers and refugees have developed strategies to cope with the encroaching bureaucracy and scarcity of resources – especially in the housing area – and the emotional cost of resettling in the current context.

Process stands out as the forgotten factor in mainstream research; it is not enough to measure the employment rate if this obscures the conditions under which refugees are employed. While some research has been done to account for employment satisfaction (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006, 2007) it has not become part of the general discussion on employment. Furthermore, the resettlement handbook clearly tells refugees that "any job is better than no job" (DSS 2014b, p. 57). Similarly, refugee participants clearly state that houses were only as good as the family members in them. Providing refugees with housing is a crucial part of resettlement but unsuitable housing is breaking families up (RCOA 2014a) and housing plans for the future seem to routinely ignore the reality of the larger family units coming through the humanitarian programme. The findings also point to the intersection between racism and housing, whether it be manifested in real estate agents who ignore applications made by refugees or by individuals who refuse to share a lift with their refugee neighbours.

This study reinforces the knowledge about the huge demands placed on workers, increasingly reduced to box tickers with too many cases and not enough time. What this study adds is a description of the strategies workers use to cope with this highly bureaucratized environment: namely, outright resistance, in the form of ignoring the rules or creative thinking by reinterpreting policy to suit client needs. This study also contributes to greater understanding of the effect that discrimination and racism, every day and sporadically, have on refugees and how these events shape their interactions with the mainstream.

These stories are a timely reminder that the resettlement system has a deeply dehumanising consequences for refugees. The experiences of loss of family, homelessness, and chronic under or unemployment are long term outcomes that some refugees endure. These consequences can be linked to the way in which Australian multiculturalism came to be. Implementing a policy of diversity management justified in purely economic terms displaces those whose contributions are not measurable monetarily. Refugees make contributions, there is little doubt of this, yet theirs are contributions that do not – in the first instance – translate into money. Multicultural policy, and immigration more generally, assumes that individuals who come to Australia do so with the skills and the knowledge to work and make a significant financial contribution to the nation. It assumes that if all basic needs are met, new arrivals would be happy and able to become a part of larger society. Yet none of these are true when refugees' lives are considered. Not all refugees are alike but all are equally eager for kindness and connection.

This study has shown that resettlement is primarily a human experience that has been reduced to a set of multicultural guidelines and service provision outcomes. The humanitarian intake programme has little trace of the humanitarian element in it, therefore creating most of the problems it is riddled with: the demand for outcomes at the expense of well-tailored service delivery, the erosion of worker client relationships under the HSS, the perpetuation of misinformation, the competition for funding that stacks agencies against one another, and the generalised mistrust of the mainstream towards refugees. This study highlights the importance of reclaiming the possibility of setting up relationships that are not defined by the boundaries of what a government considers are appropriate. It highlights the need to create a space that sets up a new discursive practice based on empathy and allowing the individual

to retain her bonding capital and to expand her bridging capital, without being reduced to being labelled disadvantaged simply because she arrived a refugee.

The next chapter, Chapter 7, delves into how the findings for this study answer the research question and the study aims. For clarity and consistency the chapter is structured around the research question and the four aims of the study. Each section elaborates the particulars of the study, beginning with the broader research question and moving along through each aim. Chapter 7 then presents the implications of the study findings and makes the case that the humanitarian programme and its attached service provision arm (HSS) is not based on any humanitarian impulse, but rather is an immigration strategy veiled by another name. This chapter also argues that refugees who do not comply with the 'grateful refugee' narrative are penalised and labelled problematic. Finally Chapter 7 links the current state of resettlement research with the perpetuation of a certain kind of *truth* that further enables the discursive practice of Australian multiculturalism.

7. Discussion

7.1. Introduction

The research question for this study asks: what is the lived experience of resettlement for African refugees in Melbourne and what can this tell us about Australian multiculturalism? The findings suggest that for refugees, resettlement is complex and multi-layered and shaped by systemic and interpersonal factors alike. Resettlement is a process that despite having a clear beginning does not have a single end point that is the same for all refugees. Examining the experiences of refugees and workers, using a Foucauldian theoretical framework, allows this study to generate a holistic picture of systemic constraints, expectations, and relationships, which all play a part in the lived experience of resettlement.

These three pillars make up the push and pull factors that shape the resettlement journey for refugees and workers. The findings show that Australian multiculturalism, and the historical and political aspects that moulded its design and implementation, provide the context for understanding refugee resettlement. Refugee resettlement, immigration, and multicultural policy are all inextricably linked; this link contours the discursive practice of refugee resettlement which aims to perpetuate certain ready-made subjectivities.

Australia has, since 1973, spoken about itself as a multicultural nation. As described in Chapter 2, this was not an organic move that came from the bottom-up but rather a top-down decision made by government to ensure that Australia's political position was not further compromised by its international image as a racialist state (Jordan 2006). Australian multiculturalism has, since its implementation, been primarily Australian and then multicultural in character.

The refugee intake is part of the multicultural framework, however, it preceded it, with the first refugees coming to Australia as a result of its involvement with World Wars I and II (Hugo 2011). This uneasy and somewhat obscure relationship between the humanitarian programme and multiculturalism is explored in more detail in Section 7.7.1. At present the refugee intake is determined by the government on a yearly basis and quotas are allocated to humanitarian visa streams as well as to regions or countries (DIBP 2013, 2014b). This

translates into a refugee programme heavily monitored and controlled by government priorities, the perceived desirability of certain countries is determined by government, and – more controversially – public opinion. The African refugee intake has suffered negative portrayals in the media and its quotas have been reduced due to a perceived lack of integration (Hyland 2007; Pearlman 2007) as outlined in Chapter 1.

The inherent tensions of bringing cultural diversity into a country that was, for over 70 years, an exclusively White nation are evident today in the high levels of perceived discrimination by CALD communities (Markus 2012). It is also, some authors argue, evidenced in the obsessive desire to control how asylum seekers enter the country and the highly contentious deterrence measures for maritime arrivals implemented by the Australian government (Stats 2015).

Globally speaking, multiculturalism has manifested in different countries with different traits. In the UK multicultural policy can be said to be a direct consequence of colonialism (Modood 2007) and the end of empire. The Canadian version is more a rights-based policy that has its origin in the human rights struggles of the mid-twentieth century (Kymlicka 1995). As presented in Chapter 2, however, Australian multiculturalism is a result of labour importation and the need for demographic gain as well as the outcome of participation in international armed conflict. These differences are important as they reflect the changing nature of a global phenomenon and remind us that there is purposeful political action behind the implementation of government policy.

The current chapter explores the study findings on the lived experience of settlement of African refugees with a focus on the role of multiculturalism and service provision, and how these relate to the settlement research done before. The chapter systematically addresses the research question and each of the study aims throughout. The discussion begins with a general overview of the resettlement experiences identified in this study, highlighting the intersectional nature of resettlement. It then explores each of the aims of the study: the concepts underpinning multiculturalism; the relationships between multiculturalism and policy; individual knowledge and service provision; and resettlement as a point of intersection. A reflection on the study's methodology is included. The chapter concludes with a critical summary.

7.2. The Lived Experience of Resettlement for African Refugees in Melbourne

This study shows that the resettlement experience of African refugees in Melbourne, Australia is a complicated one; it is multi-layered and is impacted by systemic issues such as a lack of housing and employment, relationships between workers and refugees and refugees and the mainstream, and by the expectations workers and refugees bring with them. Refugees struggle with these systemic issues that are, as evidenced in this study and as prior research would suggest, aggravated by forces of discrimination and racism. Resettlement is contoured by the limits of Australian multiculturalism. However, the most emotionally devastating aspect of resettlement this study encountered was the impact that the loss of family created for refugees. For African refugees, resettlement is not complete until they have their families with them in Australia.

Furthermore, refugees come to Australia believing that their families will follow soon after, only to discover that the administrative and financial hurdles are almost impossible to conquer. This echoes an earlier report from the RCOA (2015a) that notes some refugees disclosed they had been lied to, believing they would be able to bring their family with them only to find out that this was not possible later when they had already been resettled. Those refugees said, if they had known, they would have never come to Australia. The consequences of this familial breakdown have been documented by reports such as the one produced by the AHRC (2010), Pittaway and Muli (2009), or Savic et al. (2013). These reports all agree that the long term consequences of familial breakdown impact every area of resettlement.

The issue of family reunification has been part of the settlement debate for a long time. The Howard government (1996-2007) changed the way in which visas operated to secure family reunification and it has remained this way ever since (Stats 2015). Family members who did not arrive with the main applicant on a refugee visa were to be brought under the humanitarian programme, which translated into fewer places and different requirements, making it almost impossible for refugees to bring their family once they had come to Australia (Stats 2015). The implication of this are discussed in Section 7.7. The concept of family itself is a contested one, the nuclear family that is the basis of all western legal frameworks does not apply to African communities in the same way. African families are constituted in different

ways and this does not always translate well to the forms that are integral to the current Australian refugee resettlement process.

Once in Australia, the resettlement experience is marked by the relationships refugees generate with their workers and the community at large. Resettlement is not an easy process, arriving is by no means the end of the journey for refugees, it is another beginning in a different language and within a different culture. Up to this point relationships have been mainly examined from the point of view of social capital (see for example ABS 2006; Carrington & Marshall 2008; Elliott, S & Yusuf 2014; McMichael & Manderson 2004). This emphasis on relationships as capital, while not inaccurate, has created a rather limited and utilitarian understanding of the role of interpersonal relationships. This study shows that, for refugees, interpersonal relationships are important, not merely for their potential dividends, but because interpersonal relationships are a defining aspect of a life well lived. Family is an anchor for experience and a source of safety and stability; it is also an important part of individual and collective identity (Comstock et al. 2008).

As for refugees' relationships with workers, settlement workers are not simply people who provide or decide upon the provision of services. They embody the principles and ideology of multiculturalism and resettlement, are often the only source of local knowledge, and act as translators of information. Settlement workers are important to the resettlement journey for many reasons, the foremost being that they are the human face of a discursive practice. In terms of research relating to workers, there has been little provided to date about their perspectives and how these shape their professional practice (Robinson 2014). This study is therefore a contribution to the gap in knowledge relating to workers and their role in the resettlement journey.

The significance of relationships becomes evident in refugee responses about the importance that a single settlement worker can make in a refugee's life. The emotional impact of negative outcomes can be mitigated by a solid, empathic, reciprocal, and rights-based worker-refugee relationship, in simple terms they mitigate the disillusion of not being able to obtain what was being pursued. Refugees who feel their workers support them feel that the failings are systemic rather than perceiving themselves subject to personal attacks or disadvantage due to a lack of dedication on the part of workers. Such a perception of system inadequacies

equalises worker and refugee by making the effort a shared experience, the loss mutual, and the burden shared.

Workers who have empathic relationships with their clients are aware of the broader implications of being a refugee and are therefore more likely to extend their involvement beyond their brief or beyond the five year period. Because refugees have seen the willingness of their worker to help, they are even more able to understand that negative outcomes are a product of systemic failures rather than personal ones. This does not mean problems go away, it means that refugees have a settlement worker who is a trustworthy source who can explain what happened. Trust, however, is difficult to reach.

Trust, due to prior circumstance, does not come easy for refugees. Trust is achieved through a constant process of negotiation between people. This study's findings suggest that refugees seem to trust, *a priori*, other members of their own group more than other people. While a wealth of research into refugees attests to how atrocities committed in their home countries and displacement impacts trust, the major Australian resettlement studies routinely ignore this issue in their quest to measure outcomes. The findings for this study suggest that trust continues to be a concern for refugees even when they have lived in stable societies for years after resettlement.

Generally speaking, information obtained from family, relatives, or friends carries more validity than the information obtained through official channels. This presents clear challenges from the point of view of service provision, workers can feel that they are in competition with community members and refugees might operate on faulty premises that disadvantage them. Yet this lack of trust can be said to be symptomatic of a system that is designed to position workers and refugees against one another. Workers are required to provide services under certain conditions and in certain ways; refugees who do not comply with this are 'not eligible' and do not receive the benefits of resettlement. This is a very subtle form of discipline that ultimately erodes the possibility of a real relationship. This disciplinary relationship is arguably the defining characteristic of the relationship between multiculturalism, policy, service delivery, and resettlement experiences.

This study finds that workers feel they need to provide the services they are supposed to yet struggle with the constraints placed upon them. Refugees feel that they are cheated out of

the services they expected and do not always understand why. Systemic constraints interact with refugee expectations and create a feeling of being personally disadvantaged, which permeates the refugee experience. It is a state of almost permanent attack, not always articulated this way, but this is a persistent misinterpretation by refugees of what is really happening. Refugees are not individually singled out by resettlement services but rather certain attitudes are coded as 'difficult to work with' and some are considered to make refugees 'not-eligible' for service provision. This systematises the parameters of what is permitted and generates the ideals of what is desirable, ultimately perpetuating and solidifying the discursive practice of resettlement.

Resettlement, and resettlement service provision, occurs within the context of Australian multiculturalism. Examining this relationship reveals an uneasy link between these two elements. Multiculturalism is a strategy to manage the challenges that diversity brings with it. It is a response to immigration and resettlement is the process all migrant and refugees go through. The following section explores the concepts underpinning Australian multiculturalism and how these sustain and conform to the discursive practice of resettlement within Australian multiculturalism.

7.3. The Concepts Underpinning Australian Multiculturalism

As discussed in previous chapters, multiculturalism in Australia is of a very particular type. As indicated by the review of policy documents in Chapter 2, this study found that the most debateable aspect of Australian multiculturalism is the emphasis on the economic advantage of diversity (see for example DIAC 2003; DIMIA 1999). While I do not seek to argue whether population diversity has or has not provided Australia with economic gain – I would state it has – limiting the validity of diversity to economic gain displaces those whose contributions cannot be measured in dollars. It generates a hierarchy of more and less desirable immigrants, depending on how much they can contribute monetarily. This hierarchy extends to every area of immigration, yet it is most deeply felt by refugees as they face less favourable odds than skilled migrants.

7.3.1. Australian Multiculturalism

I have argued, throughout the study, that resettlement is part of the broader discursive practice of Australian multiculturalism. This means that to examine its lived experience, the truths that sustain the discursive practice within which resettlement unfolds must be examined. How this discursive practice is enacted on refugees through workers and service provision must then be explored. To believe that Australian government policy is benign is to ignore the evidence that shows that Australia has always been defined by the '*manipulations of government*' (Jupp 2007). Making the link between a discursive practice and its foundational truths allows this study to generate a truly comprehensive picture of the resettlement experience.

The Australian version of multiculturalism is defined, primarily, by a set of Australian values that are – at the same time – vague but very evident for those who sit outside them. This is explained by the fact that Australia, from the arrival of the first English boats, constituted itself as a nation that had very clear contours. Australia, in the beginning, was part of an empire; it was undeniably British and founded on British ideals and identity (Mann 2012, 2013). As I have argued in Chapter 2, to be Australian was to be British. Until the mid-1950s there was no questioning the validity of this assumption.

By the 1970s the world had seen so much change, it seemed Australia was lagging behind by insisting on outdated policies that linked immigration to race (Jordan 2006; Ward, S 2005). As previously indicated, Boese and Phillips (2011) argue that Australia then adopted multiculturalism defensively and has since been tainted by issues of definition and implementation. They note that Australian governments have struggled to balance cultural pluralism with attempts at promoting social cohesion (Boese & Phillips 2011, p. 190). This would be supported by the Scanlon Monash yearly social cohesion reports stating that though the overall approval rates for diversity are high, the rates of discrimination increase once class and race are factored in (Markus 2012, 2013, 2014).

Chapter 2 presented an examination of the major multicultural policy documents released by government and concluded that since its implementation the major tenets of multiculturalism have not changed. This is noteworthy because there have been both Liberal (right wing) and Labor (left wing) governments since 1973. This indicates that Australian multiculturalism is supported by both sides of politics – with the notable exception of the Howard years (1996-2007), yet even then this government did nothing to change the policy itself. Australian multiculturalism's principles transcend political divides as they are constituted by a deeper sense of Australianness, one embedded into broader ideas that were brought by the English settlers and taken on board as defining characteristics of Australian identity. This means that to examine the lived experience of refugee resettlement is to examine Australian multiculturalism as it defines the ways in which refugees may resettle.

By way of summary, I argue that Australian multiculturalism can be characterised as:

- a set of measures designed to respond to inevitable population diversity
- based on liberal principles which all Australians should have a primary commitment to
- conferring rights – cultural tolerance – and responsibilities – civic duty – to the individual within a liberal framework, and
- part of a successful economic strategy to capitalise on the economic advantage of a diversified population

In principle these characteristics do not really seem fundamentally problematic however, upon examination it becomes clear that Australian multiculturalism has very clear limits and intended outcomes. When these features are compared to the objectives of the HSS programme, the economic principle threading itself through many of Australia's policy guidelines becomes more visible. The objectives of the HSS programme are to provide refugees with:

- tailored support to begin a new life in Australia
- an opportunity to strengthen their ability to fully participate in the economic and social life of Australia
- skills and knowledge to independently access services beyond the HSS programme
- services in accordance with the programme's principles (DSS 2014c)

I argue that multiculturalism exists within the sphere of Australianness, not the other way around. Australianness, while no longer attached to notions of empire, continues to be defined by the parameters agreed upon when Australia was still deeply tied to the British Empire. In other words, Australianness is White, middle class, liberal, and Eurocentric. The question of what is Australianness has a clear cut answer when it is looked at from the outside or from the perspective of someone who deviates from its tacit norms. Australianness is only invisible when looked at from the centre.

And yet it continues to be categorised as indescribable. The principle of Australianness as an undefinable concept contributes to the belief that there is no such thing as Australianness while at the same time curtailing any behaviour or thought that falls outside of the specified parameters. Using other, more identifiable, markers for shaping behaviour such as a legal framework, settlement policy, service provision, or welfare benefits proves to be a very effective strategy as it is not possible to argue with the rationale, or in Foucauldian terms the *truth*, behind any of these. I contend that, to question the law is to question reason itself and no one dare do this. The same applies to Australian multiculturalism, questioning the validity or even the success of multiculturalism in Australia is to defy Australianness itself.

Refugees who arrive in Australia are faced with the very real expectation that the trade-off for being resettled is that they adhere to this discursive practice. Resettlement in Australia is not up for discussion. It is designed, programmed, implemented, and monitored to ensure there is little deviation from the norm. The findings show that such limited room for true personal subjectivities generates friction in the form of ambivalence for workers and resistance to the mainstream for refugees. Australian multiculturalism is the policy framework that enables the diffusion and maintenance of Australianness in new migrant and refugee populations.

7.3.2. Reinforcing Australianness

The subtle construction of Australianness is an important part of Australian multiculturalism. The idea that Australia, and therefore Australian identity, is an indefinable attribute falls short in the face of the clear limits of multicultural accommodation in Australia. Reinforcing the liberal values that make up Australianness is a clear parameter emphasised in the many multicultural policy documents available. Yet this does not feel like a true liberal aspiration; requiring that refugees have a primary commitment to the Australian way of life denies the possibility of negotiation or hybridity. It is an 'all or nothing' deal, a 'take it or leave it' type arrangement. This would explain why the threats to return people to where they came from (Hall 2012; Unkown 2015) or the accusations that certain groups are not integrating ('No Africans allowed. Has our way of life come to this?' 2007) are constantly deployed by politicians, the general public, and the media. There is no room for accommodation when the foundational principle of Australian multiculturalism is a primary commitment to the Australian way of life.

In this sense Australian multiculturalism is not about pluralising culture but rather disseminating the predominant culture – Australianness – into new polyethnic groups. It is about delimiting the possible resettlement journey available to new arrivals. There is only one way of resettling and it is coded into policy and practice. Australian multiculturalism continues to shape service delivery, it continues to generate expectations that are not met, and it embeds tension between refugees and the broader community when refugees fail to comply

with the 'grateful refugee' subjectivity that is consistently deployed to justify the existence of the humanitarian programme.

While multiculturalism itself is not designed solely for the refugee intake of Australia, all refugees who come via the humanitarian programme become part of this discursive practice. Multiculturalism evolved as a set of policy measures designed to manage the inevitable influx of CALD populations into Australia due to changes in sentiments around the 1950s and 60s, the globalization of capital and the diversification of the main immigrant donor countries that supply Australia with population growth. This arrangement generates a strange space for refugees who come to Australia. On the one hand they come as a result of the elimination of the racial selection category in immigration but on the other they come to a country with a diversity management strategy predicated on the idea that anyone who comes to Australia is doing so of their own free will and therefore must align themselves with the dominant notions of Australianness.

This underlying belief, added to the economic imperative of diversity, generates a double displacement for refugees as not only do they struggle to meet the economic contribution demands – as settlement research on employment suggests (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006; 2007; Correa-Velez, Barnett & Gifford 2013) – but are assumed to be here almost by choice. This double displacement creates the ready-made subjectivity of 'the grateful refugee', who does not complain by virtue of being grateful, and who does whatever is needed in order to secure a better future for her family. The grateful refugee is meek and abides by the rules, arrives by the proper channels, and is duly checked and verified to ensure that she is not posing as something she is not. The grateful refugee is happy and hard working.

Yet, this ready-made subjectivity is not real. While scores of refugees may fit this description, to assume, or even require, that refugees partake in this subjectivity undoes any cosmopolitan sentiment that multiculturalism may bring to a polyethnic nation. The refugee participants in this study presented a range of subjectivities that were neither purely grateful nor purely critical. Refugee participants were aware of the advantage they had over those still back home, and therefore felt gratitude, but this was tempered by the reality of broken families for some and a lack of housing and employment for others.

245

The findings of this study suggest that refugees are people who strive to negotiate their resettlement journey on a daily basis. Expecting refugees to adhere to a simplistic view of how they should behave makes the ideology of multiculturalism obsolete. Some authors have argued that multiculturalism is another word for assimilation due to the emphasis on accommodation on the part of the arriving communities (Pardy & Lee 2011; Sidhu & Taylor 2007). It would seem that requiring that CALD communities behave in a certain way, adopt certain values, and commit to a certain set of allowed beliefs as a prerequisite for Australian multiculturalism is assimilation by another name. The fact that these requirements are embedded into resettlement service provision would support the idea that this seems to be the case in Australia.

7.4. The Relationship between Multiculturalism, Policy, Service Delivery and Resettlement Experiences

The stories collected by this study point to the relationship between multiculturalism, policy, and service delivery as one of discipline aimed at generating compliance and adherence to Australianness in refugees. This is enacted in a discursive practice creating a resettlement experience marked by a push to comply. Settlement services are delivered to ensure that recipients come out at the other end with the appropriate set of understandings about their new home. This training starts well before refugees arrive in Australia as the Australian Cultural Orientation Handbook (DSS 2014b) shows with its 'do and do not' lists and regular reinforcement of positivity and resignation. The findings of this study show that this push for compliance is only tempered by the personal relationships that refugees set up with their workers. Refugee participants spoke about workers as an anchor that support and assist them when they have problems, more importantly workers explain and demystify the resettlement experience.

Australian resettlement services are the product of a very particular discursive practice that operationalises the ideology of Australian multiculturalism by emphasising Australianness and the grateful refugee subjectivity. This means limits and conditions on the provision of services for refugees which does not seem controversial in a world that operates on rules and regulation. However, the provision of services for refugees in Australia reveals a truth that tells refugees they are all the same – a one size fits all model – that they should be ready to comply with the rules – without real negotiation – and that given the circumstances they should be happy with whatever they get – as it could be worse –. The relationships and the modes of disciplining between these markers contour the lived experience of African refugees resettling in Melbourne.

This discipline applies to workers as they are the embodiment of the resettlement system and its truths. Workers in the study are either ambivalent about their role in refugee lives or they are openly defying the discursive practice they are there to support. This ambivalence can be considered a product of the conflict between what the discursive practice of resettlement is telling them and their prior subjectivity. In other words, there is a conflict between the ready-

made subjectivity of the settlement worker and the subjectivity of the worker as a human being.

Resettlement research tells us that refugees underperform in every area when compared to their Australian born counterparts (ASR 2011). This research indeed justifies the push to secure housing, English classes, and employment, however it seems little time is spent discussing what type of employment or what location for housing. The needs are pressing and the current funding arrangements require outcomes; workers are not really encouraged to think outside of the box or consider alternative approaches to problem solving. The allowed pathways for resettlement have been narrowed to the point that some workers state they have become irrelevant to their clients. This is in stark contrast to the prior IHSS (Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy) where workers and refugees were able work together to establish priorities and allocate funding accordingly.

This aligns well with Hook's description of a discursive practice where "the effects of discursive practices is to make it virtually impossible to think outside of them; to be outside of them is, by definition, to be mad, to be beyond comprehension and therefore reason" (Hook 2007, p. 101). Settlement workers, upon entering the resettlement field, are required to become part of a discursive practice that has – by design – removed much of the human element of the worker-client interactions, especially since 2011 when resettlement moved from the IHSS to the HSS (RCOA 2014b). This was discussed at length by some worker participants who had been working under both resettlement schemes. The humanitarian aspect of the humanitarian programme is disappearing in the face of ever increasing bureaucratization and securitization of borders. The good refugee will get what she has asked for as long as she abides by the rules; if this fails it is due to external problems that are beyond the control of any one worker.

To ensure the discursive practice of resettlement remains valid, there has to be a consistent production of truths that support and reinforce it among participants and in the wider population. This is the role that resettlement research plays. Chapter 3 revealed that the vast majority of resettlement research is conducted or funded by the Australian government; the LSIA remains the single largest data set in use, with findings roughly the same across studies

whether large or small scale. What we research of resettlement is what we can know of the resettlement experience.

7.4.1. Resettlement Research

As discussed in Chapter 3, the largest settlement research study to be conducted in Australia is the LSIA conducted between 1993 and 2005, over three waves. This has provided most of the data for other studies looking into settlement in Australia. This situation has generated a rather homogenous understanding of resettlement and perpetuated a homogenising research trend in this area. The LSIA focused on all immigrants to Australia over that period of time. The data were collected by a three part questionnaire, with approximately 330 questions distributed over 12 major policy topics (Gartner 1996, p. 51). The focus and the data collection method are clear limitations for refugee populations, yet the data from these studies continue to govern current understanding of refugee resettlement in Australia.

The LSIA studies were the only longitudinal studies conducted about immigrants until the 2014 longitudinal study of humanitarian migrants to Australia (Maio et al. 2014). It is worth noting, especially after the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015, that this new study uses the words 'humanitarian migrant' rather than 'humanitarian entrant'. Using 'migrant' rather than 'entrant', or 'refugee' for that matter, further cements the notion that people coming under the humanitarian programme are doing so by choice not by necessity. Denying the life or death gravitas of the choices people in conflict zones have to make only ever contributes to the division of the population. The idea of choice implies the possibility of return which, I have argued earlier in this chapter, validates the call for those who do not comply to 'return to where you came from'.

Nevertheless, there are other sources from which to build a better understanding of refugee resettlement. Unfortunately the picture is not an overly positive one for refugees, they consistently underperform in all areas associated with successful resettlement: housing, employment, English proficiency, and mental health (see for example ABS 2010; ASR 2011; Cobb-Clark 2001; DSS 2007; RCOA 2010), although these trends tend to even out over a generation (Hugo 2011). Understanding that the systemic needs of refugees are not being met is an important part of settlement research. The emphasis on measurable outcomes, such

as housing, as the only way of constructing an understanding of refugees' resettlement experiences is reductionist, denying the recognition of and the possibility of understanding resettlement as rich and complex.

This study makes a contribution by breaking away from the outcome based focus of most research to this point. It generates a picture of the resettlement experience that emphasises the procedural nature of resettlement that is rich in detail and intersectional in nature. This holistic understanding of resettlement can open the mainstream up to other ways of relating with diversity. Understanding the reality of resettlement might mitigate the emphasis on economic drivers for multiculturalism, it could allow for the mainstream to view the desire to bring family to Australia not as another demand on the economy, but rather, a plea to preserve integral aspects of the self, a plea for true humanitarianism.

Evidence from this study supports existing research in indicating that, at a systemic level, Australia is failing its refugees. There are serious problems with housing. Workers and refugees noted it can take over 20 years to obtain accommodation through the public housing system. A number of refugees are homeless or living in transient conditions (DIBP 2014d; Forrest et al. 2013; Fozdar & Hartley 2013; Richardson et al. 2002). This study found that refugees are either priced out of private rentals or discriminated against due to negative stereotypes about African renters (Forrest et al. 2013; Fozdar & Hartley 2013; RCOA 2014a). These results point to the fact that the systemic constraints pillar of resettlement is rather eroded under present conditions.

Existing mainstream research reveals that for refugees levels of unemployment are very high, mainly due to language barriers and lack of Australian qualifications, as well as many having to take up unskilled lowly paid occupations as their only means of paid employment (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2006, 2007). This lowering of status has wide ranging repercussions in terms of a sense of self-worth and self-esteem, impacting on refugees' mental health. While none of the refugee participants speak explicitly about the lowering of status, their accounts of unemployment shed light on the emotional consequences of chronic unemployment and the practical implications of not having enough money to pay bills, support family overseas, or pay for Australian visas to bring their remaining family. Settlement workers echo these implications in their accounts of the impact of unemployment.

7.5. Individual Knowledge, Opinions and Understanding of Resettlement

Workers are the embodiment of a discursive practice; they are the material form of an ideology, multiculturalism, and a policy framework, resettlement service provision, which generates prescribed modes of being for workers and refugees. Those participating in this study were either ambivalent or defiant. Similarly, Kim Robinson (2014, p. 1606) compared UK and Australian social workers working with refugees and asylum seekers and found workers are caught between a discourse of care or control. She notes a distinct lack of research on workers and how they experience the resettlement system (Robinson 2014, p. 1617).

This study provides some much needed insight into how resettlement workers experience their work. Both ambivalent and defiant workers operate under the same conditions but generate differing subjectivities, influenced by their personal experience prior to joining the resettlement system. Those who are defiant have wider personal and professional experience, making them less likely to simply accept the prescribed worker subjectivity. This wealth of experience often makes them critical of what they saw. It creates a degree of dissonance that translated into service provision emphasising interpersonal responsibility and cooperative moods.

Workers with less personal and professional experience are more likely to be ambivalent about their job and any positive impact they have in their clients' lives. These workers felt that while not in full agreement with how services are being provided, they could not really imagine a different scenario. About half of the ambivalent workers have only worked under the HSS system so have no point of comparison for other forms of service provision. The idea that refugees would be worse off without any service provision often serves as reinforcement for the validity of their jobs. These workers seem to be more likely to adopt the ready-made subjectivity of settlement worker as they see nothing else to fill that space.

Individual knowledge, and personal and professional experience are key factors influencing how workers go about their daily job as well as the meaning they ascribe to their actions. More experienced workers tended to be more empathetic whereas those with less experience are either less empathetic or more prone to paralysing empathy (Singer & Klimecki

2014; Singer & Lamm 2009). Active and effective empathy is a result of a certain distance between the worker and the client. This distance serves as a buffer that moves the empathic connection from the emotional contagion stage to the proactive doing stage.

As noted previously, all the workers, except for the medical doctor, were either social workers or had a background in community development. While the findings of this study provide fertile ground for the exploration of the intersection between the profession of social work and the settlement sector I cannot, at this point, say that workers who had social work training were better equipped to deal with the demands of settlement work. Social work training involves attuning individuals to the complexities of vulnerable populations, with empathy a trademark (Gerdes & Segal 2011); but in this sample workers who had more knowledge seemed better equipped to manage the demands of their occupation. The difference between ambivalent and defiant workers was not in their professional training but rather in their professional experience and accumulated knowledge.

Any more substantive links between social work and settlement work is one that should be explored in detail as it could provide further clues to improve the long-term outcomes for refugees. Teaching social workers how to channel their empathy into effective action could be a way of utilizing the findings this study has generated. Generating a better understanding of the conditions of refugees is also a valuable lesson. However, it is important to note that while this study was done in the Social Work Department it is not a social work study and does not intend to be. The findings are relevant to a wide section of the resettlement sector and they should be taken as indicative of the need for generalised changes.

Refugees perceive differences among workers. While no one interviewed ascribed a correlation between a good worker and an experienced one they did speak about 'the one that made a difference' being the worker who went beyond their formal job role to show them things that were needed, the worker who was kind and understanding, the worker who continued to offer support despite their time being up.

The antidote to prescribed subjectivities for workers who are part of the current HSS scheme is solid grounding in personal experience, professional acumen, and a real understanding of the plight of refugees. To fight against the tide of conformity to the resettlement system,

more defiant workers used their experience and knowledge to justify breaking away from the prearranged way of doing things. The rejection of the ready-made subjectivity requires a productive counterpart that moves workers from ambivalence to rejection.

7.6. Resettlement as a Locus for Examining the Impact of Australian Multiculturalism

Resettlement is a confusing time in refugees' lives. They are expected to insert themselves into a new nation with its own modes of being and to do so in prescribed ways. The discursive practice of resettlement creates ready-made subjectivities that refugees are disciplined to adopt as their own. When they fail to comply problems arise due to the lack of room for real negotiation and covert punitive measures put in place to secure the desired behaviour. Resettlement as a locus for understanding the impact of Australian multiculturalism – a place of intersection between the personal, the institutional, and the governmental – provides insights into the principles that govern the *truth* of Australian multiculturalism (Foucault 2001; Jessop 2007).

The insights provided by workers reveal tensions between individual workers and their job, between individual refugees and what they are required to do, and between refugee communities and the expectations perpetuated about them. Workers who opt out of the prescribed worker subjectivity often face resistance from communities and institutions alike. As SW02 noted:

> We talk participatory but we rarely do that; we talk sustainability but we don't give proper capacity building to have sustainability; we talk about ownership and in one hand we say "Here, here is what you can do go and do it". And as soon as we see there is something deviating from what we think is normal then we jump in and take it back with the other hand. We look at it from that middle class, well off, European mentality […] and we judge everything on that without getting our mind out of the narrow way that we think. And we think that everything we do is right and everything someone else does is wrong […] because we are a functioning state.

The constant effort to shape the pathway that refugees follow, the fact that there is a single model imposed on everyone, denote an organised push from government to ensure only one mode of being for refugees: the grateful refugee. Just as Australian multiculturalism is Australian first and multicultural second, the HSS scheme is Australian first and humanitarian second. Evidently this has deeply adverse effects on refugees' lives, the stories that were captured in this study – and generally in resettlement research – paint a picture of refugees torn by grief at the loss of their family, disheartened by the failure of a system to ensure their most basic needs, and disempowered by the loss of status and identity that the under-skilling of their new occupations means.

Resettlement is a moment in time that captures the many intersections at play for workers and refugees and their relationship with the mainstream population. The Australian government systematises resettlement not only because it makes sense in terms of public policy but because they are answerable to an entire nation with opinions about refugees, migration, and sovereignty. Australianness is constantly at play with refugee resettlement and, more broadly, with immigration into Australia.

As Chapter 2 showed, early non-British immigration into Australia was a result of either labour importation or the resettlement of displaced Europeans after WWI and WWII (Hawkins 1989; Hugo 2011; Jupp 2007). During the early (European) refugee intake years, the Australian government saw the potential to marry their desire to increase population with their newly ascribed humanitarian duty. The aftermath of two world wars presented an opportunity to ensure that the new arrivals into Australia would remain within the European tradition, at the expense of other communities that wanted to immigrate. In other words, the humanitarian programme was implemented within a socially engineered population expansion framework. This set the tone for what was to become the humanitarian intake programme that operates now. It created, in the broader population's mind, the concept of the desirable candidate within the humanitarian intake programme.

Arguably then, Australian multiculturalism has an underlying assumption inbuilt into it, that refugees come to Australia to *become* Australian, to adopt Australianness as their main anchor point for their new identity. This faulty premise is based on the idea that refugees wish to do away with their old identity and put on a new one. It is replicated in statements such as 'if they don't like it they can leave' or 'they left because they didn't like it there' with more benevolent versions in the form of 'they want to have a better life' or 'they want a better life for their children' where 'better' suggests more Australian. To leave a country torn apart by war is not the same as wishing to do away with generations of cultural heritage and history. Australian multiculturalism has a decidedly inward looking hubris that only becomes clear when the policies and practices are examined in light of the lived experiences of those who resettle in Australia as refugees.

7.7. Implications

Chapter 2 explored Australia's transition from a racialist state to one that hails polyethnicity as the key to the future. It also clarified the link between economic rationalism and multiculturalism; in Australia multiculturalism is good because it is good for the economy, both locally and globally. All policy documents produced since the 1970s examined by this study note the link between the future sustainability of the country and the influx of immigrants from around the world (see for example ACPEA 1982; APIC, MacKellar & Australian Ethnic Affairs Council 1979; DIAC 2011a; OMA 1989). The link between multiculturalism, immigration, and the economy reveals that Australian multiculturalism was founded with a specific purpose in mind: to aid the development of the nation.

7.7.1. Immigration by another Name: the Humanitarian Intake Programme

According to Hugo (2011) Australia has always considered the humanitarian programme part of the immigration programme. Australia has in fact been receiving refugees and displaced people since before federation, however the humanitarian programme became official in the late 1970s under a new migration policy that identified the humanitarian intake as one of the migration streams available (Hugo 2011). This is an important key to understanding the relationship between immigration and refugee resettlement. Refugee resettlement belongs to the sphere of immigration; just as multiculturalism lies within the confines of Australianness, refugee resettlement is part of the immigration program. In other words, refugees are allowed into Australia because they are another way of securing demographic gain for the nation.

This means there is little of the humanitarian spirit, implied in the name of the humanitarian intake programme. Any intake programme subordinate to the demographic gain imperative will consider demographic needs to generate a rationale for implementation. It now becomes evident that there is a recursive aspect to Australian government policy; a humanitarian intake is (under)skilled migration by another name. There has always seemed to be a tenuous link between immigration and refugee resettlement. Making the link between immigration and the humanitarian intake explicit is a step towards recognising that how resettlement is framed makes individuals experience it in a certain way.

The idea that a nation has humanitarian obligations is often trumpeted when advocacy groups call for higher refugee quotas or when the UN responds to urgent humanitarian crises around the globe. Yet in Australia the moral obligation of the nation, one taken up when Australia signed the refugee conventions, seems to be nothing more than a façade, a convenient excuse deployed strategically when required. The reality behind the humanitarian intake is one of population management; something that in Foucauldian terms is at the heart of governmentality. I would even go as far as arguing that when Australia first took displaced peoples from Europe, it did so because it was a convenient way to ensure that their population growth for the year met the desired quota without having to resort to more extreme measures such as the elimination of the White Australia policy, which did not occur until some years later.

This link between immigration, economic rationalism, and refugee resettlement makes another faulty premise of Australian multiculturalism visible: that everyone who comes to Australia comes because they want to, with skills, and of their own free will. This premise may be true for most skilled migrants but not many refugees. The push for outcomes and the heavy emphasis on education and employment in both the research and the provision of resettlement services hints at this ideal. The Australian model is designed for nuclear families with skilled and highly employable adults who can 'become part' of Australia quickly and without much assistance. This makes sense if Australian multiculturalism was designed with long-term European migration in mind.

The findings for this study can only be understood in the context of Australian multiculturalism. To suggest that resettlement can be extricated from Australian multiculturalism is to deny the incredible impact that Australian multiculturalism has on the refugee experience. So far refugee resettlement has been primarily examined as an independent activity, devoid of local context and only analysed in terms of the impact of displacement on refugees. This study's findings point to the fact that the general population remains largely unaware of the real circumstances that refugees face before being resettled. They also show a public perception that consistently dismissed resettlement difficulties as a failure on the part of refugees to integrate to their new settings.

Resettlement until now has not been examined taking into consideration how Australian multiculturalism is designed to engineer a specific resettlement trajectory with the resulting ready-made subjectivities. Australian multiculturalism does more than simply enable immigration or provide services to new arrivals in Australia. It contours the resettlement experience, it establishes the limits of cultural accommodation, and it reproduces the prescribed ideal subjectivities. Australian multiculturalism is a deliberate exercise of power that is cast upon the lives of refugees.

7.7.2. Refugee Agency

I have, earlier in this chapter, spoken about the double displacement that creates the 'grateful refugee' subjectivity. This subjectivity is an important supporting pillar of Australian multiculturalism because it justifies the belief that refugees are entirely without agency. Because Australian multiculturalism only creates room for arrivals that can contribute to the nation, the trade-off for bringing refugees who will contribute nothing is that they are entirely without agency. Australian multiculturalism requires refugees to make no choices; the moment refugees are seen to make choices it invalidates the 'grateful refugee' subjectivity. This belief is taken to its most harrowing logical conclusion in the current form of offshore processing for asylum seekers. The Australian government feels it is perfectly justifiable to breach basic human rights, to go against international conventions, and to indefinitely detain people fleeing persecution and death because they exercised choice.

The slow death of choice is mirrored in the current funding system for the HSS system. Many workers noted the change in the funding structure. Previously, under the IHSS, resettlement workers were given a set amount of funding per client, the same for every client, and workers and refugee clients could decide how to use the funds. Refugees, aided by the expertise of their workers, made choices about how to use their funds. They exercised agency. Currently the HSS funding works on outcomes, resettlement agencies are paid per outcome achieved – with all outcomes being the same for all refugees – after the outcome has been reported as achieved. This new funding structure has completely removed agency from refugees' resettlement experience. It has multiplied the paperwork demands on workers and it has reduced the options to a tick-box list of acceptable pathways.

Agency has been eroded to the point where about a third of the worker participants in this study felt they had become ineffective and perhaps even counterproductive for their clients due to their inability to make real improvements in their clients' lives. Agency has also been eroded for refugee participants who, completely paralysed by grief, are unable to bring their families to Australia. For those refugees who had their family members with them, their lack of agency was made obvious in their relationship to housing, employment, and social connectedness. Overall, the resettlement system cannot be said to foster autonomy or self-reliance. The ambivalence that some workers noted is symptomatic of this particular trait.

7.7.3. Researching Resettlement: the Danger of a Single Story

Truth is the backbone of knowledge within the Foucauldian framework. As noted in Chapter 4 *truth* has, according to Foucault, five traits:

- it is centred on and presented as scientific discourse and the institutions that produce it;
- there is a demand for truth to justify economic production and political power;
- it is diffused and consumed at a large scale through the apparatuses of information;
- it is produced and transmitted under the control of political and economic apparatuses; and
- it is the issue of political and social debate (Foucault 2001, p. 131).

How we understand settlement is dependent on the construction of the truth of resettlement. In practical terms, and for this study, this translates into how resettlement is researched. Resettlement research has all five traits described above, it is therefore the truth upon which the popular knowledge of multiculturalism is built.

The LSIA was designed to provide reliable data for the Commonwealth government to "monitor and evaluate immigration and settlement policies, programmes and services" (Gartner 1996, p. i). It is therefore used to justify economic production and political power. Resettlement research is presented as scientific discourse; in Australia the LSIA is the single most used source of data for resettlement research. The findings of the LSIA are routinely cited and diffused, in big and small scale research projects on the resettlement experiences

of refugees and migrants. The LSIA, and its new counterpart the Longitudinal Study of Humanitarian Migrants, are produced and monitored by government departments with the assistance of universities. Finally, the data presented is debated in the public sphere and is the issue of heated political debate.

How we research resettlement is how we understand resettlement; how we understand resettlement is how we experience it. The reduction of the resettlement journey to a set of measurable outcomes or systemic indicators denies the complexities of creating a whole new life in a new country. It reduces the refugee experience to something that can be quantified. It reduces the possibility of mainstream empathy. How the mainstream feels about refugees, mainstream meaning everyone who is not a refugee in Australia, depends on how much they understand about refugees. Over half the worker participants indicated they believed the public lacked knowledge of the real circumstances under which refugees left their home countries and how they lived in Australia. Of those workers, all linked this lack of understanding to a lack of empathy.

Doing research in the resettlement sector as a qualitative scholar has shed some light on how transformative a different scope can be. This study aimed at generating an intersectional picture of the resettlement experiences of African refugees in Melbourne that could be then contrasted with the discourse of Australian multiculturalism. The process itself was as enlightening as the results of the study as the process also shed light on the more complex, and often unseen, aspects of conducting qualitative research.

Accessing people is never an easy task when setting out to do qualitative research but these limitations can extend far and wide when looking to do research with a population that is considered vulnerable and over-researched. Yet as a researcher who has professional experience in the field of resettlement I feel there is a danger in the persistent victim narrative that this single focus perpetuates. It is important for research to ensure that participants are willing and able to take part, it is also important for research to remain flexible in the face of the competing demands that participants manage. A key to this is the creation of strong reciprocal bonds between researcher and participants that are based on trust and openness on the part of us who conduct research. This is why in retrospect I believe that my inability to communicate with potential participants was detrimental to the study but also to the

participants as it further entrenches the feeling that they are only valuable as research subjects.

While a focus on language is one that can, and has, expanded our understanding of lived experiences it is also important to come up with more inclusive ways of collecting data, as the reliance on verbal accounts favours those who can verbalise their ideas over those who struggle with a second language. There are many ways of communicating a discourse about the world. There are vast arrays of new methods being trialled in qualitative studies across different disciplines, it might be useful for future research to encourage PhD candidates to explore beyond the traditional data collection methods. Using alternative strategies may be a way of making up for conducting research exclusively in English as removing the verbal requirements from participants opens up a whole new area of non-verbal data.

Continuing to frame refugee resettlement, indeed all resettlement, as measurable by quantitative standards alone will continue to enshrine the belief that resettlement is a simple move from one place to the next that is successful as long as refugees have a house and a job. This is a truth that must be challenged and questioned by those who produce research and those who read it. The truth of resettlement must be expanded to include aspects that are not subject to scales or ratios, that allow for the relational nature of the experience to come through, and that expand the outlook of the entire population to allow for a genuine humanitarian response to the global issue of displaced peoples.

7.8. Conclusion

This study, unlike the major quantitative studies published so far, draws on data from the key dyad operating in the resettlement system: workers – as the face of the system – and refugees – as clients who go through the system. It focuses on the lived experiences of African refugees that resettle in Melbourne. Resettlement is a point of intersection where internal and external factors play equally important parts for refugees. How refugees feel impacts on how well they engage with service providers; conversely how service providers and workers, make refugees feel impacts on their overall experience. Workers are the anchors of the resettlement experience. The importance of positive interpersonal relationships in the resettlement journey cannot be overlooked. Workers are the bearers of information, of local know-how, and of local custom. Refugees rely on workers to translate information into comprehensible bites, to help them make sense of events, and to provide keys to understanding.

This is in stark contrast to how the resettlement system is currently implemented. The ever increasing levels of bureaucratization, competition for funding, and unmanageable caseloads all encroach on the potential for workers and refugees to establish solid interpersonal relationships. These limitations are furthered by systemic deficiencies, lack of housing, limited English classes, and chronic unemployment, all of which add strain to these already strained relationships. Workers find it difficult to perform their duties as they feel overwhelmed by the demands of their role, many of which are aimed at accountability and compliance in the guise of form completion and database entries. They also feel unsure of the end goal. About half of the settlement worker participants felt ambivalent about the effectiveness of their work but were not sure the situation for refugees would be better without the current system.

Such circumstances derive from how Australian multiculturalism was designed and implemented. Because the humanitarian intake is part of Australian multiculturalism and multiculturalism is embedded in immigration, the bottom line is refugees are measured against a bar of desirability. Because multiculturalism is inextricably linked to immigration and population growth, refugees are constantly measured against economic outputs and contributions.

The narrative of the economic advantage of diversity is deployed as the number one justification for multiculturalism and this dislocates anyone who enters Australia without real

or potential economic contribution. Diversity is not good for the nation because diversity is good *a priori*, it is good because it secures capital. Refugees fall outside of this narrative and therefore fall outside of the socially constructed bonds that tie the nation together.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, given the study design and the sample size, this study does not qualify for generalisability. The limitations for this study mean there may have been groups that are unintentionally excluded, whether by the recruitment or data collection strategy, who could have added different experiences with refugee resettlement and multiculturalism. The use of English as the only language in which data collection was conducted also meant that some of the linguistic richness of answers in individuals' mother tongues is lost to the study. Overall, the main limitation of this study is its inability to account for every single factor that intersects resettlement.

However, the contributions this study makes go a long way to fill the gap in resettlement research as it has been conducted to date. The emphasis on numerical markers and measurable outcomes have generated a picture relying on numbers alone which does not provide depth or richness to the description of the resettlement experience. This study is an active attempt to provide a different lens through which to understand resettlement. The creation of more inclusive and empathic discursive practices will only come with the broadening of the truths that support that practice. As an exploratory study, this is an initial undertaking to generate new truths that can be circulated through the social body. This study strives to generate a holistic picture that will, to a degree, widen the understanding of resettlement as a deeply human experience.

8. Conclusion

The Australian refugee intake has remained stable in the last few years (RCOA 2015a) with the notable exception of the refugee intake prompted by the 2015 mass migration of displaced people out of Syria (Bourke 2015). The reality of a polyethnic Australian nation is undeniable at present and into the future. The numbers of refugees globally are projected to remain at the current levels (UNHCR 2015) and the Australian intake remains a part of the social fabric that makes up Australian multiculturalism. Yet to date the vast majority of the resettlement research has focused on quantitative aspects to the detriment of a deeper understanding of the more complex facets of the resettlement experience. This study set out to explore the lived experiences of African refugees when they resettle in Melbourne with a focus on the intersection between the discourse of Australian multiculturalism, the role of settlement workers, and the provision of services.

8.1. The Study Aims

This study looked at the resettlement experiences of resettled African refugees as well as the professional experiences of settlement workers, both in Melbourne. Looking at African refugees' experiences as a locus to evaluate Australian multiculturalism makes sense due to Australia's racialist past and its government's persistent emphasis on the economic advantage of diversity. This study sets itself apart from others by including the voices of the two main actors in the resettlement system; this design sheds light on the intersectional nature of resettlement and the role that individual knowledge plays in shaping the resettlement experience.

The study shows that the relational nature of systemic constraints, relationships, and expectations impacts on the resettlement experiences of African refugees and also on the professional experiences of settlement workers. The lived experience of resettlement is subject to the push and pull of systemic considerations such as housing, employment, and access to services. The perceived success or failure of these has much to do with the expectations that refugees bring and the professional opinions of workers who feel they know what is best. For many workers, this role is shaped by the current resettlement system and

the push towards all-encompassing levels of bureaucratization. The resettlement journey cannot be reduced to quantitative measurement as such an index will often cloud the reality of the situation. For example, measuring housing veils the reality of broken families and the grief that assails those refugees who have secured housing but are not able to bring their families to join them. The employment index often cloaks the nature of the employment accessible to many refugees in Australia.

The current situation cannot be excised from the role that the design and implementation of Australian multiculturalism has had since its enactment in 1973 (Hugo 2011). The specific flavour of Australian multiculturalism contours the resettlement experience of refugees and the professional lives of workers. Australian multiculturalism is set up in a way that determines the roles that actors will play and extends to change the subjectivities that those actors bring with them.

This study shows that both refugees and workers actively reject this imposed ready-made subjectivity by refusing to 'follow the appropriate channels' or, in the case of workers, by 'turning a blind eye' and interpreting their policy guidelines creatively. Some worker participants justified their resistance in terms of their own understanding of what good service provision was, others were ambivalent about their work and its impact. For refugees, resistance to the ready-made subjectivity of the grateful refugee was unconscious, it was not necessarily an active purposeful decision, but came in the form of a refusal to accept things as they were and a continued desire to change their personal circumstance to fit their personal expectations.

Resettlement is the field upon which many of the negotiations that make it up are played out. It is a testing ground for the personal and the political to come into close contact; it is the place where Australianness is made visible to refugees. Australianness is, as I have noted throughout, the unspoken assumptions that are foundational to Australian identity. Australianness determines what is acceptable and what is not, it decides the limits to cultural accommodation and provides individuals with cues for the socially accepted Australian cultural norms. This study has shown that Australianness is, and has always been, a White Eurocentric construct based on liberal democratic principles. An examination of Australian

multicultural policy reveals that for all new arrivals the primary commitment should be to the Australian way of life.

As a result of this study we now have new knowledge about settlement, which touches on not just what we need to know, but also how we need to know about it, and from whom we need this knowledge to come. Understanding resettlement is more than just focusing on measurements but also unpacking how those measurements are arrived at and looking at how that knowledge creation process reinforces a prescribed discursive practice. Resettlement in Australia, and multiculturalism, will continue to reinforce a purely economic rationale if we continue to examine it within those parameters.

To understand settlement and improve Australian multiculturalism we are required to examine the experience as more than an index and indeed more deeply than we currently have been doing. The findings of this study indicate no clear end to the process of resettlement, current research would support the idea that even the children of first generation refuges struggle to find a place within Australian society, despite spending much of their lives in the country (see for example Centre for Multicultural Youth 2011; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2008; Couch 2011). Given this, a focus on the transition as a process and the negotiations it entails would deepen our understanding of resettlement and allow for a more humane provision of services.

This procedural focus would be supported by the SONA report's conclusion that their predictive framework for successful resettlement did, in fact, not predict anything at all due to the highly personal nature of the idea of 'successful' resettlement (ASR 2011). This study adds to this idea by highlighting the highly relational nature of resettlement for refugees. Successful resettlement is successful in relation to the individual and to others, in relation to how well new communities build networks into the mainstream, and in relation to individual feelings of personal and familial ties. As SW11 noted "people say it takes a village to raise a child, well it takes a community to resettle a refugee".

Including the broader community in the resettlement process is as important as providing refugees with housing and welfare benefits. Refugees do not resettle alone, refugee participants in this study noted that negative reactions from the community make them less likely to interact not only with those who actively discriminate against them but, by extension,

to limit interaction with the whole community, for fear of escalating misunderstandings. Not knowing how to interpret behaviour or new cultural norms provokes anxiety. Receiving negative feedback on one's own behaviour can lead to increased levels of isolation and a persistent trend to spend time only with those who already understand one. Empathy is missing from the Australian community at large and as long it remains an elusive characteristic of Australian multiculturalism, this will continue to exclude new communities that do not fit into the narrow confines of economic contributors.

Extending our understanding of resettlement as relational also allows for the inclusion of expectations as a real factor in the resettlement experience. This involves refugee expectations and those of the whole society: everyone's expectations of what resettlement will look like. It means moving away from a one size fits all solution to resettlement. If there is only one way of resettling then there is only one way of being. We know this is patently untrue because we know that modes of being are shaped in cultural milieus that are intersected by class, gender, race, and a whole gamut of other factors. Formal rights, that is formal rights to cultural preservation, are not enough if this means that they are reduced purely to the private sphere – when in fact they are not – or that they hide an unwillingness to adaptation from the mainstream.

More extended and inclusive forms of connectedness are a clear way to articulate a new form of resettlement that gives priority to the relational. This study, and others before it, show that families provide a meaningful context for newly arrived communities. Families are a way to anchor and share the resettlement experience that is by definition full of unknowns. This anchor could be used as a springboard that allows refugees to move into whatever communities they chose. Depriving people of this possibility is not just callous, it is ineffective in the long term as refugees who have left their family behind find it difficult to access the services available to them. They cannot move into the future.

Connectedness extends to settlement worker/client relationships, the current study suggests that the shift towards a less collaborative and choice oriented approach is less helpful as it reduces the process to a series of outcomes. The highly bureaucratised environment, which is becoming the norm in the resettlement sector, affects refugees and workers detrimentally. Specifically, it is prejudicial to how workers perceive their role and its potential for positive

impact in their clients' lives. The changing nature of what settlement workers are able to do for their clients has made it harder for them to generate meaningful relationships with their clients. The workload and systemic constraints erode the interpersonal, which may have long term negative consequences for refugees.

Ultimately, all of the issues described above relate to how the knowledge generated by resettlement research and the discipline embedded into service provision are used to sustain the discursive practice of Australian multiculturalism and the ready-made subjectivity of the 'grateful refugee'. Australian values are a fundamental part of the diffusion and persistence of Australianness as the cohesive element in Australian society. Homogeneity is the goal and Australian multiculturalism is the tool by which it is enforced.

This study refuses to follow this prescribed way of understanding resettlement, by incorporating as many voices and perspectives as possible. I argue that resettlement is a pivotal point of intersection that can become the place where identities are negotiated and new modes of being created. Resettlement is at the same time universal and deeply personal. Policy, service provision, and research should strive to account for this.

8.2. Future Research

Given this is an exploratory study, there is a need to offer specific ideas for areas of further exploration. The findings point towards a need for a deeper and more complex investigation of the resettlement experience that moves away from the reductionist tendencies that have marked much of the large scale resettlement research. Future research should focus on the relational nature of resettlement; it should strive to include multiple levels of experience so as to truly work towards a comprehensive knowledge base. Policy decisions should be based on more than the indices and structural indicators gathered on systemic issues, it should be shaped by an understanding of the human side of resettlement.

Future research could focus on comparing outcomes between refugees who resettled during the IHSS and the HSS programmes. This could shed light on whether a more participatory approach to service delivery precipitates more positive outcomes for refugees and whether they felt more engaged with their workers and the process at large. There would also be scope for a study that looked at the link between intact extended family units and successful resettlement to measure the impact of preserving familial ties when resettling in Australia. Both of these kinds of studies would allow for the inclusion of the relational aspects of refugee resettlement.

Overall the inclusion of multiple views should also be a research goal for the future, by this I mean the inclusion of the many voices that this study did not manage to involve, such as those of the volunteers who work in resettlement, the community groups who aid with their programmes, and the communities who live in close proximity to resettled refugees. All these voices make up the intersection between the personal, the systemic, and the political; research should strive to include these voices so as to generate a holistic understanding of resettlement.

Including many voices in resettlement research would mitigate some of the limitations that bound this study and that have persistently bound large scale resettlement research projects in the past. That said, it would be impossible to do away with all the limitations of research. However, an inclusive research design that factored in language, family, workers, and the community would go a long way to generate more holistic understandings of resettlement.

Attempting a participatory research project would also give refugees more voice and control over what knowledge is generated about them. Empowering communities to have a voice, a voice that is seldom heard, would also return some of the power of representation to refugees. Self-representation is an important aspect of agency and autonomy, what is said about us impacts on how we feel about ourselves. Reclaiming those stories and sharing the ones that are one's own is an important step towards full participation in society.

In retrospect it could have benefited the study to conduct gender specific focus groups given that it was, as previously mentioned, mostly the men who appeared to withdraw from the study at the last minute. I continue to believe that having a more open and active communication channel from my end would have lessened the attrition rates or would have at least provided me with clearer reasons for the drop out levels. I would have also generated a more solid presence in the community through active participation in community initiatives and programs, provided ethical approval had allowed it.

While I am aware that there is currently a longitudinal study on the views of refugees (Maio et al. 2014) I am also aware that it is based on the LSIA, which was a paper-based survey with over 300 questions – most of which were multiple selection – that may reinforce the already quantitative bias from which resettlement research suffers. Qualitative research can be a time consuming expensive endeavour but is worth the investment, as this study has proven. Refugees will continue to come to Australia, giving refugees a true voice should be of the utmost importance in a nation that aggressively markets itself as an inclusive multicultural nation.

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Appendices

Online survey for settlement workers

Settlement of African Humanitarian Entrants in Australia: expectations, experiences and community integration

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this survey. My name is Paula Fernandez Arias and I am conducting a research project with Dr Catherine Flynn a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Social Work towards a PhD at Monash University. This means that I will be writing a thesis which is the equivalent of a 300 page book.

The aim/purpose of the research

The aim of this study is to identify how the resettlement process is understood and experienced by settlement workers and refugees alike.

What does the research involve?

This part of the research involves completing a short online survey. At the end of the survey you will be redirected to a new page and asked if you would like to volunteer to take part in a face-to-face interview.

How much time will the research take?

The online survey should take 15 to 30 minutes. If you decide to participate the face-to-face interview will take no more than an hour.

Inconvenience/discomfort

We do not anticipate any discomfort but if you are experiencing any discomfort please exit the online survey. If you wish to talk to someone please ▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉

You can withdraw from the research

Being in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. However, if you do consent to participate, you may withdraw from further participation at any stage.

Confidentiality

No names or identifiable data will be used in any publications resulting from this research. All information will be presented in aggregate form.

Results

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact Paula Fernandez Arias ▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉▉

1)	Are you	☐	Paid/contract worker
		☐	Volunteer
2)	Do you currently work in: Tick only one, if you have more than one job refer to your main job in the resettlement sector	☐	HSS - Humanitarian Settlement Services formerly IHSS
		☐	Government - DIAC, Centrelink, DHS, etc.
		☐	NGO or Not for Profit with a SGP (settlement grants program) funded program
		☐	CCS - complex case support
		☐	AMES - Adult Migrant English Service
		☐	Advocacy organization
		☐	NGO or Not for Profit
		☐	Community group
		☐	Other – expand
3)	How long have you been working in your current position?	☐	0 to 12 months
		☐	1 to 3 years
		☐	3 to five years
		☐	Five years or more
4)	Had you worked in the resettlement sector before?	☐	Yes
		☐	No
5)	What sector did you work in?	☐	HSS - Humanitarian Settlement Services formerly IHSS
		☐	Government - DIAC, Centrelink, DHS, etc.
		☐	NGO or Not for Profit with a SGP (settlement grants program) funded program
		☐	CCS - complex case support
		☐	AMES - Adult Migrant English Service
		☐	Advocacy organization
		☐	NGO or Not for Profit
		☐	Community group
		☐	Other – expand
6)	Are you in a	☐	Regional setting
		☐	Metropolitan setting
7)	Are you	☐	Female
		☐	Male
		☐	Other
8)	Are you	☐	Australian born without a culturally and linguistically different background (non-CALD)
		☐	Australian born with a culturally and linguistically different background (CALD)
		☐	Overseas born
9)	Do you speak a language other than English?	☐	Yes
		☐	No
10)	Do you work directly with humanitarian clients?	☐	Yes
		☐	No
		☐	Sometimes
11)	If No do you work in any of the following:	☐	Policy development - Government
		☐	Research – Government
		☐	Policy development – Public sector
		☐	Research – Public sector
		☐	Team leader
		☐	Management

		☐	Other - expand

12) Please state your job title:

13) Are your humanitarian clients mostly from (tick only one)	☐ Africa ☐ Middle east ☐ Asia ☐ Latin America ☐ Other - expand
14) Do you work with clients who are not refugees?	☐ Yes ☐ No
15) If you work with clients who are not refugees are they (tick as many as apply)	☐ Skilled migrants ☐ Family stream ☐ Other special humanitarian entrants ☐ Other - expand
16) On average how long have your humanitarian clients been in Australia?	☐ 0 to 6 months ☐ 6 to 12 months ☐ 12 months to 5 years ☐ More than 5 years
17) What do you think are the three biggest challenge refugees' face?	☐ Housing ☐ English proficiency ☐ Employment ☐ Education ☐ Health ☐ Mental health ☐ Isolation ☐ Racism ☐ Being visibly different

18) In a few words can you describe what happens to refugees once they arrive in Australia? What assistance do they get and where do they get it from?

19) Please read the following statements and indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with them:

The Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) program assists humanitarian clients in their early settlement period in Australia.	Strongly agree/ agree/ neutral/ disagree/ strongly disagree
HSS provides a suite of services delivered through a coordinated case management model.	Strongly agree/ agree/ neutral/ disagree/ strongly disagree
In supporting humanitarian clients to begin their new lives, the HSS program focuses on capacity building: building clients' confidence and ability to participate economically and socially in the wider Australian community	Strongly agree/ agree/ neutral/ disagree/ strongly disagree
HSS program equips clients with the knowledge and skills they will need to access services in the future.	Strongly agree/ agree/ neutral/ disagree/ strongly disagree

Support through the HSS is tailored to individual client needs, including the specific needs of young people.	Strongly agree/ agree/ neutral/ disagree/ strongly disagree

20) Please read the following statements and rate the quality of the HSS service provided:

On arrival reception and induction	Very good/ good/ neutral/ bad/ very bad
Assistance with locating short term and long term accommodation	Very good/ good/ neutral/ bad/ very bad
Information about and referral to mainstream agencies	Very good/ good/ neutral/ bad/ very bad
Information about and referral to other settlement and community programs	Very good/ good/ neutral/ bad/ very bad
Onshore orientation program	Very good/ good/ neutral/ bad/ very bad
21) Does the HSS scheme address the needs of humanitarian entrants?	☐ Yes ☐ No
22) If you answered No please tell us why not:	
23) In a few words please describe what you understand by multiculturalism	
24) Do you agree with multiculturalism as a government strategy to manage diversity and migration?	☐ Yes ☐ No
25) In your opinion does multiculturalism work?	☐ Yes ☐ No

Thank you for participating in this survey. If you have any questions relating to this study you can contact Paula Fernandez Arias ███████████████████████████

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator:	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research <insert your MUHREC project number here> is being conducted, please contact:
Dr Catherine Flynn, Department of Social Work █████████ ██ █████████████	Executive Officer Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) Building 3e Room 111 Research Office Monash University VIC 3800 ████████ ███████████ ███ ████████████████ u

You will now be redirected to a new page

Volunteer for face to face interview – Redirected new page

As part of this study I am looking for volunteers to participate in a face-to-face in-depth interview. The topics of discussion will be similar to those in the survey but I hope to get some deeper understanding about the issues facing humanitarian entrants by talking to workers directly. The interview would take between 30 and 60 minutes and I'd be happy to meet you on a day, time and place that suits your schedule. The information you provide is confidential and no names will be used.

If you would like to volunteer please provide your contact information below. If you would like to talk more about the study before you decide you can contact me ███████████████

███████████████

First name:	
Phone number:	Email:

Settlement Worker's face to face interview schedule

1. How did you end up working in this area? (Prompt tell me your story)

2. Do you think the system works well for refugees/humanitarian entrants? (prompt does it meet their needs? Are any needs ignored by the system?)

3. Does the resettlement scheme help refugees to connect with the larger mainstream community? If not why do you think this is?

4. Is integration something that refugees/humanitarian entrants should aspire to? (prompt multiculturalism, racism, visible difference)

5. Can you think of any case in particular that exemplifies the positive and/or negative aspects of resettlement for refugees in Australia?

Monash University research project

LIVING IN AUSTRALIA

My name is Paula Fernández Arias from Monash University and I am doing research looking at what happens to people when they come to Australia.

Please think about participating in this research project if you are interested in talking about your experience AND if you:

- Have African background
- Have come to Australia as a REFUGEE and
- Want to tell me about your experiences

What do you have to do?

I am looking for people who want to participate in a group interview and who are happy to talk about what happened when they came to Australia.

The interview should be about one (1) hour. If you do not want to come alone you can bring a friend.

Everything you say is private and I will not tell any other services or agencies.

Who can I talk to if I have questions?
You can talk to me, Paula, on

9903 1044 or 0455 301 722

You can email me at
paula.fernandez@monash.edu with any questions you have.

Please remember you do not have to come if you do not want to talk to me.

If YOU are interested the next group interview will be at:
Place   Day   Time

Focus Group Questions – African Refugees

1. When did you come to Australia? Did you come alone or with your family?

2. When you arrived what help did you get? (Prompt who helped you, what organizations did you access?)

3. What help didn't you get but would have been good to have? (Prompt was there anything that you didn't get help with even though you needed it?)

4. Do you have many friends that are not from your own community? (Prompt is it easy to make friends with Australians? How well connected are you to the mainstream?)

5. How could things be better for the future, for the new people like you that are coming to Australia?

6. What were your expectations when you first came to Australia? (Prompt what did you think about Australia before you came here? What information did you receive before you came?)

Definitions of Australian multiculturalism

Policy Document	Definition
Australian Ethnic Affairs Council **1977**, *Australia as a multicultural society : submission to the Australian Population and Immigration Council on the green paper, Immigration policies and Australia's population, August 1977*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.	In Australia at the present time different concepts of multiculturalism jostle for attention and different practices vie for resources. But acceptable concepts and practices fall within a fairly clearly definable range and there are some approaches, as we have indicated above, that are so alien that no-one regards them as a serious possibility. These unacceptable alternatives - which Australians see embodied in the destructive conflicts of Northern Ireland and the Middle East, for example - are important because they establish the limits of what Australians do and do not want. Multiculturalism in Australia is thus not monolithic, but contains the seeds of many different kinds of future development. Whether government policy takes account of this situation or not, government decisions will have the effect of encouraging some developments and discouraging others.
Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs **1982**, *Multiculturalism for all Australians: Our developing nationhood*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.	In 1977, the Australian Ethic Affairs Council drew up a charter for Australian multiculturalism. This charter highlighted three key social issues, or principles, essential for a successful multicultural society: • social cohesion; • cultural identity; • equality of opportunity and access. The Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs believes that a fourth principle should now be added: • equal responsibility for, commitment to and participation in society. Thus, whether we were born in Australia or overseas, all of us share responsibility for the direction in which our society develops.

Department of Immigration and Citizenship **1989**, *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, by Australian Government (Office of Multicultural Affairs), Australian Government Publishing Service	As a public policy multiculturalism encompasses government measures designed to respond to that diversity. It plays no part in migrant selection. It is a policy for managing the consequences of cultural diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole The Commonwealth Government has identified three dimensions of multicultural policy. • cultural identity: the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion; • social justice: the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth; and • economic efficiency: the need to maintain, develop and utilize effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.
National Multicultural Advisory Council **1997**, *Multicultural Australia: the way forward*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.	Australian multiculturalism is a term which recognises and celebrates Australia's cultural diversity. It accepts and respects the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy. It also refers to the strategies, policies and programs that are designed to: • make our administrative, social and economic infrastructure more responsive to the rights, obligations and needs of our culturally diverse population; • promote social harmony among the different cultural groups in our society; • optimise the benefits of our cultural diversity for all Australians.
Department of Immigration and Citizenship **1999**, *Australian Multiculturalism for a new century: Towards Inclusiveness*, by National Multicultural Advisory Council, Commonwealth of Australia.	Australian multiculturalism is a term which recognises and celebrates Australia's cultural diversity. It accepts and respects the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy. It also refers to the strategies, policies and programs that are designed to: • make our administrative, social and economic infrastructure more responsive to the rights, obligations and needs of our culturally diverse population; • promote social harmony among the different cultural groups in our society; • optimise the benefits of our cultural diversity for all Australians.

Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs **1999**, *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*, by Australian Government, Commonwealth of Australia.	The term **Australian multiculturalism** summarises the way we address the challenges and opportunities of our cultural diversity. It is a term which recognises and celebrates Australia's cultural diversity. It accepts and respects the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy. It also refers specifically to the strategies, policies and programs that are designed to: • make our administrative, social and economic infrastructure more responsive to the rights, obligations and needs of our culturally diverse population; • promote social harmony among the different cultural groups in our society; • optimise the benefits of our cultural diversity for all Australians.
Department of Immigration and Citizenship **2011**, *The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.	Australia's Multicultural Policy Principles Principle 1: The Australian Government celebrates and values the benefits of cultural diversity for all Australians, within the broader aims of national unity, community harmony and maintenance of our democratic values. Principle 2: The Australian Government is committed to a just, inclusive and socially cohesive society where everyone can participate in the opportunities that Australia offers and where government services are responsive to the needs of Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Principle 3: The Australian Government welcomes the economic, trade and investment benefits which arise from our successful multicultural nation. Principle 4: The Australian Government will act to promote understanding and acceptance while responding to expressions of intolerance and discrimination with strength, and where necessary, with the force of the law.

MONASH University

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)
Research Office

Human Ethics Certificate of Approval

Date:	**16 January 2013**
Project Number:	CF12/3436 - 2012001665
Project Title:	**Settlement of African refugee and humanitarian entrants in Australia: expectations, experiences and (community) integration**
Chief Investigator:	**Dr Catherine Flynn**
Approved:	**From 16 January 2013 to 16 January 2018**

Terms of approval
1. The Chief investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, and a copy forwarded to MUHREC before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation. **Failure to provide permission letters to MUHREC before data collection commences is in breach of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research.**
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash University letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must contain your project number.
6. **Amendments to the approved project (including changes in personnel):** Requires the submission of a Request for Amendment form to MUHREC and must not begin without written approval from MUHREC. Substantial variations may require a new application.
7. **Future correspondence:** Please quote the project number and project title above in any further correspondence.
8. **Annual reports:** Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report. This is determined by the date of your letter of approval.
9. **Final report:** A Final Report should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
10. **Monitoring:** Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
11. **Retention and storage of data:** The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

Professor Ben Canny
Chair, MUHREC

cc: Prof Susan Kneebone; Ms Paula Arias

From: **MRO Human Ethics Team** ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
Date: 4 December 2013 15:10
Subject: MUHREC Amendment CF12/3436 - 2012001665 - Settlement of African refugee and humanitarian entrants in Australia: expectations, experiences and (community) integration
To: Catherine Flynn ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

PLEASE NOTE: To ensure speedy turnaround time, this correspondence is being sent by email only. MUHREC will endeavour to copy all investigators on correspondence relating to this project, but it is the responsibility of the first-named investigator to ensure that their co-investigators are aware of the content of the correspondence.

Dear Researchers

Thank you for submitting a Request for Amendment to the above named project.

This is to advise that the following amendments have been approved:

Changes to Recruitment

− Researchers will contact Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) and NGOs to request their support for the research. If the organization can assist, the researcher will then speak to teachers or workers to explain the study to determine if they think there are any potential participants in their groups.

− If the teacher/worker thinks that there are potential participants who have the necessary level of English in their group the researcher will be introduced to the groups during the session at a time and day that suits the organization.

− If potential participants express a desire to join the study during the initial session/s, the researcher will negotiate a time and date when they could take part in the focus group, which will take place at the same venue where the classes or activities are held, most likely following an existing session.

Thank you for keeping the Committee informed.

Professor Nip Thomson
Chair, MUHREC

Human Ethics
Monash Research Office

Our aim is exceptional service

Monash University
Level 1, Building 3e, Clayton Campus
Wellington Rd
Clayton VIC 3800, Australia

Telephone: +61 3 9905 5490
Email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
Website: http://www.monash.edu.au/researchoffice/human
ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS Provider No 00008C

From: **MRO Human Ethics Team** ███████████████████
Date: 24 March 2014 14:48
Subject: MUHREC - Amendment - CF12/3436 - 2012001665 - Settlement of African Refugee and
Humanitarian Entrants in Australia: expectations, experiences and (community) integration
To: Catherine Flynn ████████████████████

PLEASE NOTE: To ensure speedy turnaround time, this correspondence is being sent by email
only. MUHREC will endeavour to copy all investigators on correspondence relating to this project, but it is
the responsibility of the first-named investigator to ensure that their co-investigators are aware of the
content of the correspondence.

Dear Researchers

Thank you for submitting a Request for Amendment to the above named project.

This is to advise that the following amendment has been approved:

- Provide a travel reimbursement of $10 to all participants who take part in the study from March
  2014.

 Thank you for keeping the Committee informed.

Professor Nip Thomson

Chair, MUHREC

Human Ethics
Monash Research Office

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Monash University
Level 1, Building 3e, Clayton Campus
Wellington Rd
Clayton VIC 3800, Australia

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Website: http://www.monash.edu.au/researchoffice/human
ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS Provider No 00008C