INTEGRATION OR EXCLUSION?

The resettlement experiences of refugees in Australia

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Abstract

Recent policy changes have created a new era of refugee resettlement in Australia. As a result of the introduction of the onshore refugee program, a two-tier resettlement assistance system has developed. This system differentiates between refugees who have been issued protection visas offshore and onshore, and provides considerably less resettlement assistance to onshore-visaed refugees with Temporary Protection Visas (TPVs). The exclusion of TPV holders from resettlement assistance programs and the temporary nature of the visa has prompted this comparative study of the resettlement experiences of two groups of recently arrived refugees. This thesis considers the experiences of recently arrived refugees within the economic, social, cultural and political spheres of resettlement, in order to develop a deeper understanding of the inter-related nature of the resettlement process and the impact of visa category on the integration of refugees in contemporary Australia.

Kuhlman’s (1991) model of refugee resettlement, and definition of integration form the basis of the theoretical framework of the thesis. A multiple method approach has been applied to the study and data from the second cohort of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) was analysed to present a macro level understanding of the resettlement experiences of recent arrivals in Australia. In Adelaide, interviews with key informants and service providers were undertaken in conjunction with a series of in-depth interviews with 10 Sudanese offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants and 9 Iraqi onshore-visaed refugees, to provide detailed descriptions of the resettlement experience.

While the resettlement process is found to be difficult for all refugees, the TPV policy acts to compound the problems and disadvantages refugees face in resettlement. Under these circumstances it is found that TPV holders experience social exclusion during their early resettlement in Australia. The importance of host-related factors on the resettlement experience are therefore found to be extremely relevant in contemporary Australian refugee resettlement. Policies regarding visa conditions, and refugees’ eligibility for resettlement assistance have a significant impact in all spheres of the resettlement process. These findings suggest that the influence of host society policies must be accorded more
weight in theories of resettlement, given their ability to extensively influence the resettlement process. Further this thesis presents substantial evidence against the TPV policy and recommends that temporary protection in Australia be reviewed, in order to ensure the social inclusion and successful integration of future refugee arrivals.
Declaration

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

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available in all forms of media, now or hereafter known.

Julia Hinsliff
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### Abbreviations and Acronyms

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMEP</td>
<td>Adult Migrant English Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARA</td>
<td>Australian Refugee Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIMA</td>
<td>Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIMIA</td>
<td>Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>GHQ</td>
<td>General Health Questionnaire</td>
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<tr>
<td>HECS</td>
<td>Higher Education Contribution Scheme</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organisation for Migration</td>
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<tr>
<td>IHSS</td>
<td>Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSIA</td>
<td>Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>LSIA1</td>
<td>Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (first cohort)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSIA2</td>
<td>Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (second cohort)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRC</td>
<td>Migrant Resource Centre</td>
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<td>MRCSA</td>
<td>Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NESB</td>
<td>Non English Speaking Background</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Primary Applicant</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPV</td>
<td>Permanent Protection Visa</td>
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<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Post Traumatic Stress Disorder</td>
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<td>RPV</td>
<td>Return Pending Visa</td>
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<td>SAC</td>
<td>Special Assistance Category</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACE</td>
<td>South Australian Certificate of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAHT</td>
<td>South Australian Housing Trust</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBS</td>
<td>Special Broadcasting Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHP</td>
<td>Special Humanitarian Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>STTARS</td>
<td>Survivors of Trauma and Torture Rehabilitation Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>Technical and Further Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THV</td>
<td>Temporary Humanitarian Visa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>TIS</td>
<td>Translating and Interpreting Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>TPV</td>
<td>Temporary Protection Visa</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Australia has a long history of accepting refugees for permanent resettlement and has developed successful assistance programs, which have enabled many refugees to create a new life in safety. Until recently Australia has enjoyed a well-respected reputation in the international arena for providing excellent resettlement assistance to refugees. However, changes in the late 1990s to Australian refugee and migration policies have shaken this reputation. The introduction of mandatory detention of asylum seekers, temporary rather than permanent protection, the excision of islands off the coast of Australia from the migration zone and the “Pacific Solution” have drawn criticism both nationally and internationally (Human Rights Watch, 2002; Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission, 2004; Amnesty International, 2005). In particular, the differentiation of refugees by mode of arrival and the development of a two-tier resettlement assistance system has significantly altered the resettlement experiences of refugees in Australia, leading to accusations that the policies are causing social exclusion (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Marston, 2003a; Taylor, 2004).

The two-tier resettlement assistance system for refugees has developed as a result of the introduction of Temporary Protection Visas (TPVs) for onshore-visaed refugees in Australia. The provision of temporary protection, as opposed to permanent protection by nation states receiving large numbers of refugees, has become a more common mechanism of dealing with asylum seekers in recent years (Koser and Black, 1999). In Australia, TPVs restrict the entitlements of onshore-visaed refugees to basic resettlement assistance from the Australian government, while refugees who have been issued Humanitarian visas offshore are entitled to the full range of resettlement assistance services. Thus, under the two-tier resettlement assistance system, onshore-visaed refugees are treated like second-class refugees with limited access to services and reduced rights.
There has also been a shift in the regions of origin of refugees coming to Australia. The trend has been a move away from refugee arrivals from South East Asia in the 1980s and Eastern Europe in the 1990s, towards refugee arrivals from the Middle East and Africa. Refugees from the Middle East and Africa come from extremely different cultural and linguistic backgrounds to both earlier refugee groups and Australian society generally. The arrival of these new refugee groups in Australia during a period of international concern over terrorism, and rising Islamaphobia, have created additional problems during resettlement. The intersection of these two factors, the introduction of differential access to resettlement services by mode of entry, and the arrival of very different groups of refugees, have culminated in a new era of refugee resettlement in Australia.

This study seeks to explore the resettlement and integration experiences of recently arrived refugees in this new era. An overarching approach is undertaken in the exploration of the resettlement process, with economic, social, political, and cultural spheres of integration being investigated. The study is distinctive as it undertakes a comparative examination of the impact of refugee policy changes on two groups of refugees, from different countries and with different visas. The resettlement experiences of Sudanese refugees who have been issued Humanitarian visas offshore and Iraqi refugees who have been issued TPVs onshore have been selected as case study groups. Through providing evidence of the impact of the two-tier resettlement assistance system in Australia, it is hoped that a deeper understanding of the contemporary resettlement experiences of refugees will be developed.

1.2 The International Refugee System
The international organisation responsible for administering the protection of refugees and others of concern is the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The UNHCR was established on December 14, 1950 by the United Nations General Assembly and the agency is mandated to lead and co-ordinate international action to protect refugees and resolve refugee problems worldwide. Its primary purpose is to safeguard the rights and wellbeing of refugees. The Convention (1951) and subsequent Protocol (1967) provide the legal documentation that enables the UNHCR to help and protect refugees. The Convention relating to the status of refugees had its beginnings in the League of Nations, but was finally passed at a special UN conference on 28th July 1951. The Convention spells out who is a refugee and the kind of legal protection, other assistance and social rights he or she should receive from States party to the document.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Equally, it defines a refugee's obligations to host governments and certain categories of persons, such as war criminals, who do not qualify for refugee status. While the Convention was limited mainly to the protection of refugees displaced by the Second World War, a Protocol was added in 1967 to expand the scope of the Convention to encompass the plight of displaced people around the world. Australia has been a signatory to the Convention since 1954.

1.2.1 Definition of ‘Refugee’

A major component of the Convention is the important definition of the term ‘refugee’. Article 1 of the Convention defines a refugee as “A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution” (UNHCR, 1996:16). While this definition has been criticised on number of fronts, it is the definition that all governments and agencies work with.

1.2.2 Durable Solutions

At the end of 2005, there were 20.8 million ‘people of concern’ to the UNHCR in the world (UNHCR, 2006a:2). This group includes 8.2 million Convention refugees as well as Internally Displaced People, asylum seekers and those who had returned home but were still in need of protection. Despite continued press coverage of the ‘refugee crisis’ (Gale, 2004), there has been a gradual downward trend in refugee numbers (as defined by the Convention) worldwide but an upward trend in the overall population of concern in recent years (UNHCR, 2006a:3). Figure 1.1 shows the decline in the number of Convention refugees worldwide. Despite the decline in official refugee numbers, there still remains a huge group of people throughout the world who live in exile. Very few of these official refugees will be offered resettlement, as there will never be enough places in the West to accommodate them. In light of this, the UNHCR has three preferred durable solutions for refugees. They are:

1. Voluntary Repatriation

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1 The narrow definition of the term ‘refugee’ has attracted much attention (for example Kourula, 1997; Barutciski, 1998; Haddad, 2004) with the growing recognition of other groups of forced migrants warranting protection such as Internally Displaced Persons and environmental refugees.
This is the most preferred solution for refugees. However, it is only viable when repatriation to the home country can occur in conditions of safety and dignity.

2. Local Integration

If repatriation is not feasible, the integration of refugees into the local population is encouraged.

3. Resettlement in a Third country

When the first two solutions are unable to be implemented, the final option is to resettle refugees in a third country.

Figure 1.1 Global Number of Convention Refugees, 1976 to 2005

Source: UNHCR, *Global Refugee Trends*, various editions

First asylum is usually provided in the closest safe country from which the refugee has fled. This allows for the UN’s preferred ‘durable solution’ of return to the home country in safety and dignity when possible. However, for some refugees the country of first asylum can continue to be unsafe. Refugees may find that agents of their persecutors at home also operate across borders and women who do not have the protection of a male relative are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse in refugee camps and in the wider community of the host country (Newland, 2002:2). Refugee camps can also fall under the control of particular factions, and members of opposition factions may become targets of abuse and/or be excluded from assistance. In addition, local police, for a number of reasons, may not assist refugees facing victimisation (Beswick, 2001). Host countries can
have great difficulty absorbing large numbers of refugees, and the pressure on the host society can often create further instability (Chaulia, 2003).

The purposes of resettlement are varied, but most importantly resettlement is a powerful tool of protection for individual refugees. It can also be a means to secure other rights and provide a durable solution for those who cannot go home or integrate in the first country of asylum. Importantly, resettlement is a means by which states can share the responsibility for refugees with overburdened host countries, and by so doing can bolster their commitment to providing first asylum (Newland, 2002:2).

1.2.3 Sharing the Resettlement ‘Burden’

Resettlement prospects for the millions of displaced people are extremely limited, with only 83,700 persons resettled in a third country in 2004 (UNHCR, 2005a). Presently, ten countries host the majority of refugees who are resettled annually in programs organised by the UNHCR. These countries are the United States, Canada, Australia, Sweden, Norway, Finland, New Zealand, Denmark, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Recently there have emerged some new countries willing to take some of the burden of resettling refugees such as Chile, Benin, Burkina Faso, Brazil, Ireland, Iceland and the United Kingdom. Table 1.1 gives the official resettlement figures provided by governments for 2004, and demonstrates the unequal share of resettlement places between countries.

**Table 1.1 Refugee Resettlement Countries, 2004**

Source: UNHCR, 2005a:16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Resettled Refugees</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
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<td>Sweden</td>
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<td>Norway</td>
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<td>Finland</td>
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<td>New Zealand</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
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<td>United Kingdom</td>
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In addition to the number of refugees accepted by country, it is important to understand the impact on the local population. Table 1.2 shows the ratio of resettled refugees to the host...
population. It can be seen that while the United States had the highest number of resettled refugees, it was actually placed sixth in terms of refugees to population ratios. Australia’s resettlement program, in comparison tops the list with the lowest ratio of refugees to host population.

Table 1.2 Ratio of Resettled Refugees to Host Population, 2005
Source: U.S. Committee for Refugees and Migrants, 2005:10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Ratio of Refugees to Host Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
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NOTE: This table is included on page 6 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

1.3 Refugee Resettlement in the Age of Terror

Recent changes in the world migration system have impacted on the resettlement options for refugees throughout the world (Crisp, 2003). In the West, immigration policies have been tightened and anti-terrorist measures extended in attempts to limit threats to states from within (Pickering, 2004). While the events of September 11, 2001 might signify the major turning point and creation of a new world order for many, in terms of refugee policies, September 11 has been argued as an event of confirmation of earlier standards and procedures, rather than a major alteration of policies (Whitaker, 2002:29). Whitaker (2002) suggests that practices within the immigration and refugee security field had already been significantly influenced by national security discourses prior to the terrorist attacks in the United States. The ongoing trend of reaction to globalisation, resulting in the resurgence of nationalism, has also been noted by Freitas (2002:41) in relation to the rise of restrictive refugee policies prior to September 11. This shift in strategy towards the state as the central element of decision-making in international affairs is evident in refugee resettlement policies from the early 1990s onwards. The introduction of increased border security measures and temporary protection had already occurred in Australia, and other Western countries, prior to September 11. However, the subsequent terrorist attacks on New York and Washington enabled these measures to be promoted as important for national security. These effects were felt globally, and in Australia, strong support from the
public enabled some of the toughest refugee policies in the world to be adopted including the extended application of temporary protection for recognised refugees.

1.4 Temporary Protection

While temporary protection is a relatively new protection tool in Australia, the concept of temporary protection is not new in an international context. During the 1970s and 1980s different versions of temporary protection for refugees were applied in response to mass flight from South East Asia and Central America. In the 1990s temporary protection reappeared on the agenda in Europe, as solutions were sought to the mass outflows from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the USA, temporary protection was adopted in response to Salvadorans. According to Koser and Black (1999:523) temporary protection was used as a mechanism for burden sharing and the harmonization of asylum policy in the European Union. It was also politically expedient, as public support could be maintained by emphasising the temporary nature of the status for a group of people in need of immediate protection. Sadako Ogata, former UNHCR High Commissioner observed that “temporary protection is an instrument which balances the protection of the needs of people with the interests of states receiving them” (Ogata, 1997). Once the UN High Commissioner recommended the use of temporary protection as being the best practical solution to an acute situation, its application became increasingly widespread (Marston, 2003a:13). Research in the European Union has found that temporary protection, as a policy is difficult to define, as it has involved a series of different legal and administrative changes in different European countries. Koser and Black (1999) conclude in their critique of the temporary protection policies for Bosnians in Europe, that there is no consistent category of temporary protection and no conformity on how to end temporary protection. They proposed that a formalised status would be of assistance in ensuring a standard set of legal rights and processes for temporary protection. This formalised status has not occurred and individual countries, including Australia, have developed their own policies in response to calls for assistance from refugees.

A significant change in refugee policy in Australia, and the one of most importance for this study, was the introduction of Temporary Protection Visas for Convention refugees. This represented a break from tradition in Australia (and possibly an illegal change in the
context of the UN Convention on Refugees\textsuperscript{2} and led to refugees who had arrived in an unauthorised manner (most often by boat) being detained until their protection applications had been processed. Once officially recognised as refugees, they were released from detention and issued with TPVs. These visas are valid for three years after which time there is a requirement for refugees to prove an ongoing need for protection. The TPV grants this group of refugees a restricted range of resettlement services and was hailed by the Howard Government as a deterrence measure to stem the flow of illegal immigrants to Australia.

1.5 The Refugee Resettlement Experience

Refugee resettlement usually occurs at the end of a long process of forced migration. Kunz’ (1973, 1981) work has informed theoretical understanding of the displacement, flight and eventual resettlement of refugees. The journey to safety that refugees undertake, on fleeing war, oppressive political regimes and social upheaval have a considerable impact on their new lives, in a way that distinguishes them from economic migrants. Humanitarian entrants are known to have more difficulty and take longer in settling successfully in developed countries due to their pre-migration experiences and initially lower levels of material wealth (Richardson et al., 2002). These factors designate refugees as different from economic migrants and point to them being a group worthy of specific research into their resettlement experiences.

Aspects of refugee resettlement that have received attention cover the spectrum of experiences in housing (Zetter and Pearl, 1999; Beer and Foley, 2003), employment (Wooden, 1991; Lamba, 2003; Colic Peisker and Tilbury, 2006) education (Stevens, 1990; Hannah, 1999; Wilkinson, 2002), health (Biggs and Skull, 2003; Steel, 2006), identity (Cox and Connell, 2003; Houston, 2003) and cultural adaptation (Desbarats, 1986). However, perhaps the most important finding of these studies is the growing awareness of the interrelated nature of various aspects of the resettlement and integration process (Valtonen, 1994a; Bloch, 2002; Korac, 2003). The most widely acknowledged interrelationship is between English proficiency and nearly every other sphere of settlement (Boyd, de Vries and Simkin, 1994). Recent arrivals with a good command of English have been demonstrated to have success earlier in labour and housing markets, better health, improved education prospects and generally feel more satisfied with their

\textsuperscript{2} Crock and Saul (2002) and Matthew (2002) provide comprehensive discussions of the legality of Australia’s policies towards asylum seekers and refugees.
new life (Julian et al., 1997). On the other hand, for those new arrivals with little or no English, many aspects of the resettlement experience are greatly hindered due to poor communication. However, less is known about other interrelationships. In 2003, reflecting the need to better understand the interrelated nature of the resettlement experience, a DIMIA report of a review of settlement services, recommend that “further research on the settlement experiences and outcomes of newly arrived humanitarian entrants would contribute to a better understanding of the patterns of settlement experience for this group, and the interplay of factors affecting longer term settlement outcomes” (DIMIA, 2003a:85). This study is responding to this call by examining the multifaceted nature of the resettlement experience to be explored.

A particular factor of interest is the impact of visa category on the resettlement experience. The introduction in Australia of temporary protection for refugees has been demonstrated to have an influence on the resettlement experiences of onshore-visaed refugees (Mann, 2001; Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Marston, 2003a). The introduction of a new refugee regime in Australia initially drew interest from authors concerned over the legality of the policy (Mares, 2002a; Mansouri and Leach, 2002a; Crock and Saul, 2002; Edwards, 2003). However, as more refugees moved into the community and began trying to survive on TPVs, research interest moved away from legal concerns towards the social justice implications of the policy (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Marston, 2003a). The first research into the impact of the TPV was published in 2001 by Mann, which investigated the implications of the TPV for refugees, service providers and the wider community in Queensland. She found that the detention experience significantly affected refugees during resettlement. TPV holders were experiencing significant mental health difficulties and the ineligibility of TPV holders to access most settlement services, including English language tuition was creating barriers to participation in society. Mann’s (2001) report was followed by reports on TPVs in Victoria (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Marston, 2003a), in New South Wales (Pickering et al., 2003) and specifically in Sydney (Barnes, 2003) where similar findings on the impacts of the TPV were found. Procter (2004) conducted the only published research on the TPV in South Australia. His research has focused on the mental health of refugees living on TPVs and advocated the removal of visa on the grounds that it causes harm to refugees due to the uncertainty it perpetuates in their lives.
The serious settlement problems associated with the TPVs are mirrored in the lack of positive findings in temporary protection research. The only positive impacts of the TPV were identified in a project on the economic impact of TPVs in the rural town of Young, New South Wales. Stilwell’s (2003) investigation found that refugees were contributing to the economic improvement of a region through their living and working in the community. The benefits were twofold with refugees finding employment and the regional economy being boosted through increased production as a result of the larger available labour force. However, serious limitations in this research are evident, particularly as the research did not comment on the cultural appropriateness of the employment of Muslims in a non-halal abattoir, nor did it discuss the uncertainty for the refugees and the employers related to the temporary nature of the visa. The research did, however, contribute to the eventual policy shift enabling TPV holders to apply for skilled migration visas, as it demonstrated the economic benefits that the policy change would have for Australia. One reading of this would be that despite the growing evidence showing the negative impacts of the TPV on refugees, it might well only be negative economic consequences of the policy that would prompt any further changes by the Howard government. In light of this, research that considers the economic aspects of the two-tier resettlement assistance system would be better placed to have some influence on policy, than might research with a purely social, cultural or political focus.

Previous research into temporary protection has thus identified some significant impacts of the policy on refugees living in the community. However, there is yet to be research conducted at a broader level, which examines the differences in resettlement and integration experiences of both temporary and permanent refugees in Australia. This research will contribute to the understanding of the resettlement of refugees in this new era. By taking a step back from research concentrating on one specific group, research of a comparative nature can shed light on the differences between groups as a result of the new regime. This project addresses this gap in the literature and investigates the resettlement and adjustment experiences of two different groups of recently arrived refugees in Adelaide.

1.6 Aims and Objectives of the Research

From the above summary of research into refugee resettlement in Australia, a clear need is evident for critical investigation into the impact of visa category on resettlement of forced
migrants. This thesis intends to contribute to the body of knowledge concerning refugee resettlement in Australia and has the following overarching aim and specific objectives.

**Aim:**
The overarching aim of the thesis is to investigate the impact of current refugee visa category policy on the resettlement and integration experiences of recently arrived refugees in Australia.

**Objective 1.** To investigate the integration experiences of recently arrived refugees within four spheres of resettlement: social, economic, political and cultural.

**Objective 2.** To determine the influence of resettlement policies on the integration of recently arrived refugees.

**Objective 3.** To make recommendations for policy makers and service providers that could reduce social exclusion and improve the integration prospects for new refugees.

These objectives have been included to frame the direction of the research. Objective 1 reflects the conceptualisation of resettlement as a process that operates in many inter-related spheres and directs the study to investigate the experiences in four of these spheres, in order to ensure that a more holistic understanding of the resettlement process can be developed. Objective 2 requires the study to explore the relationships between visa categories; entitlements to settlement assistance and the integration of refugees in order to consider determine the influence of resettlement policy on the integration of recently arrived refugees. Specifically, this objective enables the study to explore the possibility that resettlement policies are contributing to the social exclusion of refugees. The third objective is included to ensure the research findings are translated into information and recommendations for policy makers that will provide further evidence upon which future policy decisions can be based.

### 1.7 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical basis for conceptualising the significance of resettlement in the forced migration process is drawn from Kunz (1973, 1981). Kunz developed models depicting the
process of refugee movement, the influence of home and host related factor on resettlement, and possible outcomes of policies in the host country. Kuhlman’s (1991) later model is employed to explain the influences on the adaptation process during resettlement. Adaptation may result in four different outcomes according to Kuhlman of which integration is the most preferable. Integration is conceptualised as a mutual exchange between the host society and refugee, which seeks the harmonious inclusion of refugees with the host society and this forms the foundation of the theoretical approach to analysing the resettlement experiences of refugees in Adelaide. Resettlement experiences are perceived as taking place within different spheres of resettlement (such as economic, social, cultural or political), which reflect the various aspects of people’s lives that are affected by forced migration. The possible social exclusion of refugees, resulting from poor integration in various spheres can then be considered. A framework for developing possible policy changes draws heavily on the principles of social justice in order to ensure social inclusion and improved integration prospects for new arrivals.

1.8 Methodological Approach

Research methodologies in particular resettlement spheres are often directed by the field of study, cultural integration being most often associated with qualitative research and economic integration associated with quantitative research. However, there is a strong justification to be made for refugee research to make use of multiple methodologies, in order to gain deeper understanding of the resettlement experience. Separately, quantitative or qualitative research methods would not enable the same depth or breadth of research into the resettlement experience. In this project the aim and objectives of the study have directly contributed to the selection of a suitable methodological approach. The project uses a multi method approach to investigate the resettlement and integration experiences of recently arrived refugees. Quantitative data from the second cohort of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA2) is analysed to provide a broader understanding of the resettlement experience of humanitarian entrants. Interviews with service providers and key ethnic community informants play an important role in providing the context for the experiences relayed to the researcher during the multiple in depth interviews. Eleven service provider and key informant interviews were undertaken in Adelaide, and 48 in-depth interviews were conducted with 19 recently arrived refugees living in Adelaide. The in-depth interviews were conducted over a series of three visits and used semi structured interview guides. The LSIA2 data and interview data is used to provide a multi level
understanding of the current refugee resettlement experience in Australia and a significant advantage of this multiple method approach is the ability to explore the complex factors which influence the resettlement experience.

1.9 Refugee Case Study Groups
This study undertakes a comparative analysis of the impact of refugee resettlement policy on two groups of recently arrived refugees. The two groups have been selected from two visa categories in order to enable a comparative discussion of their experiences. The project investigates the resettlement experiences of refugees from southern Sudan who arrived in Australia with a Humanitarian Visa issued offshore. Respondents were from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, including Dinka, Bari and Kuku. Many refugees from Sudan have spent long periods in refugee camps in Africa (some up to twenty years), while others have lived in urban centres in Egypt and Kenya. The Sudanese refugees resettling in Australia are an extremely diverse group of people, and few generalisations can be made about their socio-cultural backgrounds. For example educational attainment levels, English proficiency and religion vary immensely among them.

The second case study group are Iraqi refugees who were initially granted TPVs onshore. These refugees arrived by boat in Australia waters and spent time (from months to years) in Immigration Detention Centres (either in Australia or offshore) before being released into the Australian community on three year Temporary Protection Visas. At the time of interview, some of these Iraqi refugees had been granted Permanent Protection Visas (PPVs), while others were still waiting for the outcome of their applications. The Iraqi refugees interviewed were all Shia Muslims. Some had travelled directly from Iraq, while others had spent time living in exile in Iran prior to arriving in Australia. The Iraqi TPV holders were also a diverse group of people, and few generalisations can be made about them, apart from their shared religion and detention experiences.

1.10 Study Area
The area selected for the study was metropolitan Adelaide in South Australia. This location is particularly suitable due to the increasing number of refugees resettling in the city under the Humanitarian Program in the past few years (DIMA, 2006:124) and the increased interest in refugee resettlement as a means of increasing the state’s population (State Government of South Australia, 2004). In 2004-2005 South Australia resettled 1196
offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants (DIMIA, 2006:124), a significant increase from 844 in 2003-2004 (DIMIA, 2005a:122) and 558 in 2002-2003 (DIMIA, 2004a:120). While these figures represent resettlement at the state level, the overwhelming majority of refugees have been settling in Adelaide, rather than in regional areas (DIMIA, 2004a:17). In addition, South Australia hosts an unknown number of TPV holders in the community. The politically controversial nature of the TPV regime has led to the restriction of information regarding the resettlement of TPV holders in the community, and there has been less publication of statistics relating to TPV holders than offshore-visaed refugees. However, the location of two Immigration Detention Centres in the state has lead to the initial release of TPV holders into Adelaide, and many have chosen to settle here, however no reliable statistics on the population are available.

1.11 Overview of the Thesis

The study is divided into three sections. Section A as introductory and provides the background to the thesis. The current chapter introduces the topic and investigation, while Chapter 2 examines the political, legal and social contexts that influence refugee resettlement in Australia. Chapter 3 presents the theories related to forced migration and settlement and introduces the concepts of integration, social exclusion and social justice. A theoretical framework for analysing the current experiences of recently arrived refugees and developing recommendations for policy is developed. Chapter 4 describes the methodology used in the project. The multiple method approach is discussed and details of the qualitative and quantitative research strategies are provided. The study area and refugee case study groups are introduced in Chapter 5.

Section B discusses the findings of the study. Chapter 6 begins with an examination of the typical journeys that the two refugee case study groups have taken to Australia. Their arrival and initial settlement experiences are then examined before the housing situation of refugees during early settlement is considered. Chapter 7 discusses the integration of recently arrived refugees within the economic sphere of resettlement, and specifically examines the employment, education and training, and financial experiences of refugees. Integration issues related to the social sphere of resettlement are then presented in Chapter 8. Finally the political and cultural spheres of resettlement are addressed in Chapter 9, with citizenship, identity and cultural adjustment themes being discussed.
Section C comprises the concluding comments of the thesis. Chapter 10 draws the major findings of each chapter together by highlighting the results of each objective. The limitations of the research, along with suggestions for further research, and a discussion of the implications of the findings for refugee resettlement theory is included. Some comments on the future of refugee resettlement and integration are also provided.

1.12 Conclusion
This chapter has explained that the focus of the study is to examine the impact of visa category policies on the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees. A preliminary discussion has identified the research gap of a need for comparative research on the experiences of onshore and offshore-visaed refugees resettling in Australia. Further, it has identified the need for further in-depth research into a range of interrelated spheres of integration. The thesis will proceed by contextualising the study through an exploration of the refugee resettlement system in Australia in Chapter 2.
Chapter 2
Refugee Resettlement in Australia

2.1 Introduction
Australia has a long history of offering protection to refugees and has traditionally assisted international efforts to assist refugees through an offshore resettlement program, providing permanent protection in Australia. However, in response to increased numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Australia in recent years, there has been a shift in policy and the development of an onshore refugee program that is substantially different from the offshore program. This new era of refugee policy in Australia has been termed by Hugo (2001) as a shift in operation and purpose from compassion to compliance. This chapter reviews the evolution of these refugee programs, and begins by considering the historical context of the offshore resettlement program. The events leading to the development of the onshore program are then explored before the two programs are compared in terms of the characteristics of the refugees arriving under each program and the visas they are issued. A significant difference between the programs is the entitlements to resettlement assistance accorded to refugees. The second part of the chapter explains the two-tier resettlement assistance system in detail and the differences in resettlement assistance entitlement are clearly laid out before a review of previous literature relating to the impacts of the TPV on refugees in resettlement is provided.

2.2 From Permanent Resettlement to Temporary Protection
The policies related to the resettlement of refugees in Australia have changed considerably since the first Displaced Persons arrived after World War II. For many years, the Australian policy was one of permanent protection, with resettled refugees offered ongoing protection and the secure opportunity to begin a new life in Australia. However, changes in the 1990s saw the introduction of temporary protection for refugees. This section tracks the development of policies regarding refugee resettlement during this period.
2.2.1 Establishing A Permanent Protection System

Since World War II, Australia has resettled over 600,000 refugees as defined by the UNHCR (Hugo, 2001:27). The first group of refugees arrived after World War II when Australia initially accepted 181,700 Displaced Persons from Eastern Europe as part of a program to increase Australia’s productivity (Kunz, 1988:43; Hugo, 2001:27). These new arrivals broke the longstanding dominance of Anglo Celtic migration to Australia and began the cultural diversification of Australian society. However, during this post-war period, Australian settlement policy was one of ‘assimilation’, and refugees were expected to ignore their cultural heritage and become “Australian” (Jupp, 2002). The government policy at this time was targeted towards attracting refugees and migrants who would settle permanently and help modernise the Australian economy through providing labour for industry. The ‘White Australia’ policy was still operational, and Australia was actively recruiting immigrants (including refugees) from Europe at this time.

Political changes during the 1970s saw the official ending of the ‘White Australia Policy’ and a change in direction for refugee settlement in Australia. Following the arrival of the first ‘boat people’ from Indo China in 1976, the Australian Federal government formulated a comprehensive refugee policy. The policy was still built upon the premise of permanent protection and permanent resettlement, and the arrival of the Indo-Chinese refugees represented the first major intake of Asians since the ending of the ‘White Australia Policy’. This group was significantly different to previous refugees, coming from different cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. The Indo-Chinese had no previous presence in Australian society and no ethnic community networks to draw on in resettlement, which considerably impacted on their resettlement experiences. The final resolution of the Indo-Chinese refugee crisis involved negotiations that culminated in the Orderly Departure Program, based on family reunion and, in 1989, by the adoption of an international approach, endorsed by 51 countries, known as the Comprehensive Plan of Action (York, 2003:10).

A more considered approach to the global refugee situation, than previously, was undertaken by Australia at this time (Hugo, 2001:28). The new policy included the provision of an allocation of settlement places each year for refugee and humanitarian migrants. This allocation comprised of refugees identified under the UN Convention on refugees and the Protocol of 1967, but also included two other categories for those of
humanitarian concern. The Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) provided resettlement places for people suffering persecution within their own country, or for those who had left their home country because of gross human rights violations. The Special Assistance Category (SAC) enabled the Minister of Immigration to provide additional resettlement places to certain groups who did not fit other categories. The SAC included internally and externally displaced people who had close links with family in Australia. This program established in the 1980s was the precursor to the current offshore resettlement program operating today. Table 2.1 summarises the major events, refugee groups and policy changes related to refugees in Australia since Federation.

Table 2.1 Chronology of Refugee Arrivals in Australia, Federation to 2006
Source: Adapted from York, 2003

NOTE: This table is included on pages 18-19 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.
2.2.2 The Development of Temporary Protection for Refugees in Australia

Australia’s use of temporary protection for recognised refugees is relatively recent and prior to the 1990s, all refugees accepted for resettlement in Australia were offered permanent protection. The first appearance of temporary protection occurred in 1990, after the Tiananmen Square Massacre. The personal intervention of the Prime Minister Bob Hawke lead to an announcement that Chinese students already in Australia would not be forced to return to China against their will. Those Chinese who applied for onshore protection were issued with four-year temporary visas. During the protection period, the visa holders had access to income support and other government services (Stevens, 2002: 874). Further, they were also allowed to sponsor spouses and children to join them in Australia. After the four-year temporary visa expired, people were entitled to apply for permanent residency subject to available places, or further four-year temporary visas. However, these temporary visas were abolished in 1993, when individuals granted refugee status were again given permanent protection. Persons meeting the UNHCR criteria of refugee status were provided with permanent residency in Australia. This included both refugees applying for refugee status offshore (in another country) and onshore (in Australia), although very few were arriving onshore at this time. There was no further differentiation between refugees once they had gained permanent protection. However, this policy changed again in April 1999, in response to growing pressure from the international community to take action and accept refugees from the former Yugoslavia. The Howard Government introduced a temporary ‘safe haven’ visa (King, 2001). This visa enabled refugees to apply for asylum from their refugee camps overseas and be processed quickly. It was designed as a temporary measure, with the refugees being expected to return to their home country when it was safe to do so. This, in fact, occurred and nearly all Kosovars
who arrived as part of ‘Operation Safe Haven’ returned home within a year (King, 2001). The ‘safe haven’ visa was also issued to East Timorese refugees evacuated from UN refugee compounds offshore in 1999 (York, 2003). In addition to the precedent of providing temporary protection rather than permanent protection to people in genuine need, the Howard Government also introduced a second precedent, of providing ‘reintegration packages’. These packages were financial inducement for refugees to return home when it was safe to do so (King, 2001:82). Taken up by Kosovars returning to a war torn country in winter, the packages were seen as a successful method of enticing the last group of refugees still here to leave. Reintegration packages were again used as enticement for Afghan refugees in 2002 (York, 2003). However, the safety of their return was more questionable than that of the Kosovars (Glendenning et al., 2004).

2.2.3 People Smuggling, Boat People and Temporary Protection

During the same period that temporary protection was introduced for ex-Yugoslavian and East Timorese refugees, Australia witnessed an increase in unauthorised arrivals from the Middle East (Table 2.2). Commonly referred to as ‘boat people’, they were the first major arrivals since Indo-Chinese refugees arrived on Australian shores in the late 1970s. The reasons for this increase are numerous and complex. The political situation in many Middle Eastern countries at this time was unstable and many states were ruled by military dictatorships. Strong internal divisions were fuelling civil war and the repression of citizens (UNHCR, 2000a). In many countries there were no Australian embassies or consulates for refugees to seek asylum (Maley, 2001). This led to many asylum seekers fleeing their country using the assistance of people smugglers. As Australia was a country known to take refugees for resettlement, people smugglers targeted Australia and many asylum seekers arrived by boat on Australian shores, or were picked up by authorities in Australian waters (Maley, 2001).

Government concern over people smuggling grew during 1999 and 2000 when the number of unauthorised arrivals grew significantly. The increase to 8315 arrivals in one year (from a total of 3950 in the previous 10 years) was accompanied by a change in region of origin (York, 2003:15). At this time the majority of asylum seekers were arriving from the Middle East. People smuggling operations were becoming more sophisticated and many

---

3 Recent media reports in Australia have again raised the issue of insecurity for Afghan returnees, with the Edmund Rice Centre reporting that 9 men may have been killed after being sent back to Afghanistan.
boats were found equipped with satellite navigation and radar systems. However, other vessels were unseaworthy and the sinking of an Indonesian fishing vessel (code named SIEV X) and death of 353 asylum seekers prompted the government to put in place further actions to deter people smugglers from bringing asylum seekers to Australia (York, 2003:15).

Table 2.2 Number of Boats and Unauthorised Persons aboard arriving and detected in Australia, 1989-90 to 2004-05.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Boats</th>
<th>Total Arrivals</th>
<th>Minimum/Maximum onboard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989-90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>26/119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>3/77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>10/56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-93</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>2/113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>4/58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-95</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1071</td>
<td>5/118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>4/86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>4/139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>3/30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>2/112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-00</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4174</td>
<td>3/353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4141</td>
<td>2/231</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001-02</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1210</td>
<td>60/359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No unauthorised boat arrivals detected in 2002-2003 and 2004-2005

2.2.4 Australian Political Response: Deter, Deny and Detain

The Australian political response to the unauthorised arrivals in 1999 and 2000 was shaped by the earlier unauthorised arrival of a small number of South East Asian asylum seekers in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The arrival of nine boats carrying Chinese, Cambodian and Vietnamese nationals between 1989 and 1991 prompted the introduction of mandatory detention by the Keating Government in 1992 (Stevens, 2001). The Migration Reform Act 1992 provided for unlawful arrivals to be detained until such time as an application for asylum had been processed and status finally determined. At the time of introduction, mandatory detention was envisaged as a short-term measure, with the determination of refugee claims to be processed as quickly as possible (Stevens, 2002). However this has
not occurred, and mandatory detention has become a contentious issue in Australia (Jupp, 2002).

Mandatory detention has been severely criticised for the location of detention centres in remote areas of Australia (Figure 2.1), poor conditions and impacts on mental health (Amnesty International, 2005; Steel et al., 2006). The detention of children has also been a significant point of contention, and prompted an inquiry by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC), which reported in 2004 and called for all children to be released from detention (HREOC, 2004). It took over a year for this recommendation to be carried out in full. Detention admissions reflected the significant increase in arrivals of asylum seekers by boat during the late 1990s (Table 2.3), which led to overcrowding in Immigration Detention Centres and the building of new centres over the past five years.

In addition to mandatory detention of unauthorised arrivals, further deterrence measures were introduced. These included the introduction of Temporary Protection Visas, the passing in July 1999 of the Migration Legislation Amendment Act (No 1.) 1999 which made people smuggling a specific offence, and in November of the same year the passing of the Border Protection Legislation Amendment Act 1999 which expanded Australia’s capacity to board, search and detain ships, and to detain persons aboard these ships at sea (York, 2003:16). In 2001 the Federal government invoked the ‘Pacific Solution’ (where asylum seekers were detained and processed at Manus Island (PNG) and Nauru) and passed legislation enabling the excision of certain territories from Australia’s migration zone (Figure 2.1). The government has since proclaimed these measures to be successful, as their introduction has coincided with a decrease in unauthorised arrivals (DIMIA, 2005b).

2.3 The Current Humanitarian Program in Australia

Australia’s present immigration program comprises two components – a Migration Program that processes skilled and family migrants, and a Humanitarian Program, which deals with refugees and others with humanitarian needs. Australia’s Humanitarian Program has remained steady at around 12 000 to 13 000 resettlement places per year. The Humanitarian Program is presently divided into two sub-categories of offshore applicants and onshore applicants after the policy changes discussed above. Figure 2.2 graphically represents the Humanitarian Program.
Table 2.3 Total Number of People Admitted to Detention in Australia, 1995-96 to 2004-05
Source: DIMIA, 2004b and DIMIA, 2005b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Unlawful Non-Citizens Detained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995-1996</td>
<td>1410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>2095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>2548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>3574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>8205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>7881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>7808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>6602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>6369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>7522</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HUMANITARIAN PROGRAM

Offshore Resettlement Program

- Permanent Visas
  - Refugee Subclass 200, 201, 204
  - Special Humanitarian Program Subclass 451

- Temporary Humanitarian Visas
  - Secondary Movement Offshore (Temporary) Subclass 447
  - Secondary Movement Relocation (Temporary) Subclass 451

Onshore Protection Program

- Permanent Protection Visa Subclass 866
- Temporary Protection Visa Subclass 785

Figure 2.2 Australia’s Humanitarian Program
Chapter 2: Refugee Resettlement in Australia

2.3.1. Offshore Resettlement Program
There are two categories of permanent visas and two categories of temporary visas under the Humanitarian Program that can currently be applied for offshore (DIMIA: 2005c).

Permanent Visas
The Refugee category includes visa subclasses 200 (Refugee), 201 (In-Country Special Humanitarian), 203 (Emergency Rescue) and 204 (Woman at Risk). These permanent visas are for people who are subject to persecution in their home country and who are in need of resettlement. The majority of applicants who are considered under this category have been identified by the UNHCR and referred to the Australian government for resettlement. The Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) category comprises visa subclass 202 (Global Special Humanitarian). SHP entrants are people who are outside their home country and have experienced substantial discrimination amounting to a gross violation of human rights. A proposer, who is an Australian citizen, permanent resident or eligible New Zealand citizen, or an organisation that is based in Australia, must support all applications for entry under the SHP.

Temporary Visas
Offshore temporary humanitarian visas (THVs) are for people who have bypassed or abandoned effective protection in another country and for whom humanitarian entry to Australia is appropriate. The Secondary Movement Offshore Entry (Temporary) subclass 447 offers a temporary visa to people who arrived unlawfully in Australia at offshore excised places and have moved from a safe first country of asylum. The visa is valid for three years. A second type of visa, the Secondary Movement Relocation (Temporary) subclass 451 offers a temporary visa to people who have moved from a safe first country of asylum to another country before applying to enter Australia. This visa is valid for five years and enables a person to gain access to a Permanent Protection Visa after four and a half years, if there is continuing need for protection.

2.3.1.1 Offshore-Visaed Refugee Arrivals
Since the introduction of the humanitarian program in 1978, different source regions have dominated the offshore-visaed refugee and humanitarian arrivals. Figure 2.3 indicates that the Middle East has been a consistent source of refugees, although the particular countries of origin have shifted from Lebanon to Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan in the past decade.
Chapter 2: Refugee Resettlement in Australia

(Hugo, 2001:28). The Americas have declined as a significant source region, as has Asia, yet Europe has remained an important source area of refugees, with continued political instability creating refugee movements into the late 1990s. A source region that has grown rapidly in importance is Africa, with 71% of Offshore Humanitarian Visa grants being made to Africans in 2004-2005 (DIMIA, 2006:34).

**Figure 2.3 Offshore Refugee and Humanitarian Visa Arrivals, 1978-79 to 2003-2004**

Source: DIMA Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update, various issues

Specific changes in country of origin are depicted in Table 2.4. The shift in source countries away from Europe is again evident. The new targets of resettlement assistance are now African and Middle Eastern refugees, and this is reflected in the larger number of refugees arriving in Australia in recent years. In the regions now targeted for resettlement, two countries experiencing serious conflict and insecurity currently provide the largest numbers of refugees referred by the UNHCR for resettlement in Australia. In 2004/2005 the largest number of offshore humanitarian visas were granted to Sudanese (5 220) followed by Iraqi (1 589) refugees (DIMIA, 2006:34).
Table 2.4 Top Ten Countries of Birth of Offshore Humanitarian Entrants 1995-96 to 2004-05
Source: DIMIA, 2005d:4

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Refugee</td>
<td>4640</td>
<td>3330</td>
<td>4010</td>
<td>3990</td>
<td>3800</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>4160</td>
<td>4380</td>
<td>4130</td>
<td>5511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Humanitarian Program</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>2538</td>
<td>4640</td>
<td>4350</td>
<td>3050</td>
<td>3120</td>
<td>4260</td>
<td>7280</td>
<td>7670</td>
<td>6585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Assistance Category</td>
<td>6910</td>
<td>3730</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>1190</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Offshore Visa Grants</td>
<td>15050</td>
<td>9598</td>
<td>10470</td>
<td>9530</td>
<td>7500</td>
<td>8000</td>
<td>8460</td>
<td>11660</td>
<td>11800</td>
<td>12096</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: This table is included on page 27 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Table 2.5 Offshore Humanitarian Program Visas Granted 1995-96 to 2004-05
Source: DIMIA Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, various editions
However, while the composition of offshore-visaed refugees and Humanitarian entrants has changed, the size of the program has remained relatively steady over the last decade. The rise in importance of the Special Humanitarian Program (sponsored arrivals) can be seen in Table 2.5 and is reflective of the desire of the government to draw on community resources to supplement the provision of Humanitarian resettlement places in Australia.

### 2.3.2 Onshore Protection Program

This program is for people already in Australia who arrived on temporary visas or in an unauthorised manner and who are been found to be in need of Australia’s protection under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. The onshore component includes the Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) subclass 785 (Temporary Protection) and the Permanent Protection Visa (PPV) subclass 885 (Protection). A further subclass of temporary visa (786) Temporary (Humanitarian Concern) has been granted to former Safe Haven Visa holders in Australia who are requiring ongoing medical treatment or counselling. Collectively, subclasses 447, 451 and 786 are referred to as temporary humanitarian visas (THVs) (DIMIA, 2004c).

#### 2.3.2.1 Onshore-Visaed Refugee Arrivals

In comparison with other developed countries, Australia has received very few unauthorised asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2006a). Australia has been protected somewhat from asylum seekers arriving on its shores as a result of being an island continent (Hugo, 2001:30) and the physical distance from many refugee-generating situations. An international comparison of onshore asylum applications is provided in Table 2.6.

### Table 2.6 Total Asylum Applications Submitted in Selected Destination Countries, 1995 to 2004

Source: adapted from Migration Information Source, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>1320</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td>1440</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>2350</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>2450</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2550</td>
<td>2600</td>
<td>2650</td>
<td>2700</td>
<td>2750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: This table is included on page 28 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.
Of the people who do seek asylum once in Australia, a division is made between those who enter Australia through some legal means and then subsequently apply for refugee status, and those who arrive in Australia without a valid visa and claim protection. This study is interested in the second group, namely the unauthorised arrivals that are issued refugee and humanitarian visas after claiming protection. This category can be divided into those who arrive by air, and those who arrive by boat. In the late 1990s there was an increase in unauthorised boat arrivals in Australian waters, predominantly carrying asylum seekers from the Middle East (Figure 2.4). This has been followed by a sharp reduction in boat arrivals since 2001-2002. Reasons for this decline were argued by the Howard government to be the result of new Border Control laws, which deterred asylum seekers from making the journey to Australia. However, the changing political circumstances in the Middle East may also account for the reduction in boat arrivals.

The source countries of onshore protection visa applicants have also changed over time, again reflecting changes in refugee-generating situations. Table 2.7 shows the top ten source countries of onshore asylum applicants over the last 5 years. While the number of applicants for onshore humanitarian visas was higher in 1999-2000 and 2000-2001, the total number of visas granted has remained at around one third of all applications (Figure 2.5).

**Figure 2.4 Unauthorised Boat and Air Arrivals in Australia, 1989-90 to 2004-05**

Source: DIMIA 2002 and 2005b
Table 2.7 Top Ten Source Countries of Onshore Humanitarian Visa Applicants

Source: DIMIA Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, various issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>PRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PRC*</td>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Iran</td>
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<td>Korea</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
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<td>Iran</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*People’s Republic of China

Figure 2.5 Onshore Humanitarian Visa Applications and Grants, 1995-96 to 2004-05

Source: DIMIA, Population Flows, Immigration Aspects, various editions

*Data not available 2001-2002.
Chapter 2: Refugee Resettlement in Australia

Of the large increase in applications and visa grants in 2000-2001, the majority of applicants were unauthorised boat arrivals originating from the Middle East (predominantly Iraq and Afghanistan) and boarding boats in South East Asia. Table 2.8 presents the main countries of citizenship of onshore protection visa grants between 1995 and 2005. The increased number of unauthorised arrivals during this period elicited new policies in relation to asylum seekers in Australia, in particular the introduction of temporary protection visas for onshore humanitarian applicants. The following section explores the introduction and execution of the Temporary Protection Visa in Australia.

Table 2.8 Protection Visa Grants by Main Countries of Citizenship, 1995-96 to 2004-05

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td><strong>1999-00</strong></td>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
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<td>Iran</td>
<td>98</td>
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<td>PRC</td>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
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<td>Pakistan</td>
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<td>PRC</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>Somalia</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>23</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>2000-01</strong></th>
<th><strong>2001-02</strong></th>
<th><strong>2002-03</strong></th>
<th><strong>2003-04</strong></th>
<th><strong>2004-05</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
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<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1325</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
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<td>Afghanistan</td>
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<td>Afghanistan</td>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>PRC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.2 Temporary Protection Visas

In October 1999, the Australian government introduced the Temporary Protection Visa for unauthorised arrivals found to be owed protection obligations under the Refugee convention. The government argued that the previous situation where all recognised refugees were given permanent protection and immediate access to settlement support was “far more generous than required by Australia’s international obligations” (DIMIA, 2003b:1). The new Temporary Protection Visa was promoted as a deterrence measure, by:

…removing the additional benefits that had been encouraging misuse of the protection process by unauthorised arrival, which included the use of people smugglers to assist people to travel unlawfully to Australia and the abandoning or bypassing of protection in other countries while travelling to Australia.

(DIMIA, 2003b:1)
Chapter 2: Refugee Resettlement in Australia

The TPV was carefully crafted to ensure Australia met its international obligations as a signatory of the Refugee Convention, yet severely limited the possibility of asylum seekers being able to successfully settle permanently. The Australian government justified this lack of assistance to recognised refugees by stating “temporary protection visa holders are provided with access to services consistent with the temporary nature of their stay” (DIMIA, 2003b:1). The result of these changes was that Australia now distinguishes quite harshly between refugees based entirely on their mode of entry into Australia.

Large numbers of TPVs were granted in the peak arrival years of 2000-01 and 2001-02 (Table 2.9). The majority of TPV holders have been refugees from the Middle East, predominantly Iraq and Afghanistan (Table 2.10).

### Table 2.9 Temporary Protection Visa Grants 1999-2000 to 2004-2005

Source: Phillips, 2005:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grant Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** This table is included on page 32 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

### Table 2.10 Temporary Protection Visa Grants by Country of Citizenship, 1999-2004

Source: Phillips, 2004:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Grant Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** This table is included on page 32 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

The initial TPV regulations in 1999 dictated that unauthorised arrivals (people arriving in Australia without a valid visa) were only able to access a three-year temporary visa, in the first instance. After three years, those still wanting protection were eligible to apply for further protection visas. In September 2001 new changes to the regime were put in place. The right to further permanent protection after the TPV expired was removed. From this time, people who were granted a TPV and who made a further application for protection were unable to access a permanent protection visa “if, since leaving their home country,
they have resided for at least seven days in a country where they could have sought and obtained effective protection” (DIMIA, 2003b). Refugees could now only apply for further temporary protection.

During 2002, asylum seekers who had been intercepted by the Australian Navy and relocated to islands such as Nauru and Manus for refugees claim processing and were assessed as genuine refugees according to the convention, were allowed to enter Australia on other classes of visa (secondary movement subclasses 447 and 451). These visa classes have the same limitations as TPVs.

**Changes to the TPV Policy**

Public support for these deterrence measures was strong leading up to and following the 2001 Federal election, and reflected wider international concerns regarding terrorism and Muslim extremists. McAllister (2003) has argued that the contiguous events of the terrorist attacks on September 11 and the *Tampa crisis* reinforced one another and made border protection a central issue in the 2001 Federal election. He concluded that the victory of the Liberal/National party coalition lead by John Howard was attributable, in part, to the politicisation of border protection issues, and the Australian public’s negative attitudes towards asylum seekers and particular dislike of arrivals from the Middle East (McAllister, 2003:462). In Parliament, support for the policies remained almost unopposed except for minor parties until the public scandal of the ‘Children Overboard’ case arose in 2001. From this point onwards, growing dissent within both the Labour and Liberal parties led to a slow process of amendments to the TPV regime. In July 2004 the Commonwealth government announced changes, which according to DIMIA acknowledged the contributions to Australia that some TPV holders had made, and the establishment of close links between Australians and TPV holders (DIMIA, 2004c). Growing community support for TPV holders, particularly in regional areas where they had filled a gap in the labour market (Stilwell, 2003), also contributed to a change of heart by the government. The new

---

4 The *MV Tampa* was a Norwegian freighter that responded to an Australian request on 29/8/01 to rescue 430 asylum seekers (mainly Afghan) from a sinking boat bound for Australia. The Australian government then refused the Tampa permission to land on Australian territory on the grounds that the incident had taken place in Indonesian waters. A stand off lasting several days ensued and a compromise resulted in 150 asylum seekers being taken by New Zealand and the remainder were sent to Nauru to have their claims processed.

5 In early October 2001 the Federal Government claimed that asylum seekers threw their children overboard after being refused permission to enter Australian territorial waters. These claims were later proven to be false and became the subject of a Senate Inquiry.
measures were also “consistent with Australia’s strong border control policies and the understanding that those who are found to no longer be owed protection should depart Australia unless they have some lawful basis to remain” (DIMIA, 2004c:2). These changes have been viewed as an attempt to appease public opposition to the TPV regime and begin to bring an end to the unrestricted temporary nature of the visas, without significantly altering the actual policy (Mares, 2004 and Mansouri, 2004).

The changes made to the policy were threefold. The first measure was the offering of a reintegration package to assist TPV holders who wished to return to their country of origin to re-establish themselves. The second measure was the introduction of a Return Pending Visa (RPV) to provide a further 18-month stay during which time refugees who were no longer found to be owed protection could make preparations to return to their country of origin. The final measure was the removal of barriers to apply for a range of non-humanitarian visas. For refugees still found to be in need of protection, DIMIA stated that further temporary and permanent protection visas would be issued depending on individual circumstances. Initially this announcement was well received, however on closer inspection, it was seen as a false hope of permanent residence in Australia, as very few TPV holders would have been able to compete for the particular visas offered (Mares, 2004).

Critics of the changes argued that the changes would only be of benefit to those TPV holders who had secured long-term employment in regional areas and who could secure employer assistance in visa applications (Mares, 2004; National Council of Churches in Australia, 2004; Refugee Council of Australia, 2004). TPV holders in capital cities, most of who had not secured permanent employment or were self-employed, had limited access to the permanent visa categories. At this time, only 9% of TPV holders were living in regional areas (Mansouri, 2004:1). Mares’ (2004) commentary highlighted the reality of the changes, demonstrating that over half the mainstream visas that TPVs would be eligible for were temporary visas, and that many were unrealistic for most TPV holders as they are forced to compete with other prospective migrants. Even for those who may be granted mainstream visas, they result in two year waiting periods for welfare, ineligibility for English classes and high application fees. The RPV has no clause to allow continued refugee protection if the situation changes in the country of origin, and re-establishment assistance is not available if refugees do not return voluntarily. There is an option for TPV
holders to apply for student visas. However, if granted, they are subject to full fees and lose access to Medicare and income assistance. The changes show some softening of the Federal government’s attitude towards onshore refugees, yet make limited improvements in bringing stability and security to these recognised refugees.

Another policy change regarding the mandatory detention of children followed in 2005. While evidence had been mounting for the release of children from detention to remove them from further psychological trauma (Mares et al., 2002; Dudley, 2003), it took the damning HREOC (2004) report on children in detention to finally prompt the policy changes. In addition, the government agreed to a speeding up of the determination process of permanent protection visa applications, with Iraqi TPV holders finally securing PPVs after many years in limbo (Table 2.11).

### Table 2.11 Number of PPV grants to Iraqi TPV holders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of PPV Grants to Iraqi Citizens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>1457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005*</td>
<td>2091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Year to Date 16/12/05

### 2.4 Refugee Resettlement Policy in Australia

While the previous section has explained the operation of the Humanitarian Migration Program in Australia in terms of visas, this section examines the implications of these visas for refugees in terms of their entitlements to settlement assistance. A brief historical examination of the development of settlement policy in Australia will be provided before the Two-Tier Resettlement Assistance System is explained in detail. A discussion of the impacts of the two-tier system will then be provided through a review of literature related to the impact of the TPV on refugees.

#### 2.4.1 Historical Development of Settlement Policy in Australia

Even from the beginning of Australia’s association with refugee resettlement it was known that special support was needed to assist refugees to start a new life in Australia (Price, 1986:81). The Australian government’s role in providing assistance has changed considerably over the years, and in many ways, the level and type of government
assistance for refugees has been linked to broader policies relating to the incorporation of new arrivals (refugees and migrants) into the mainstream community (Jupp, 2002). In the post-war years the emphasis was on new arrivals to assimilate into Australian society. Migrants (and refugees) were encouraged to discard their old customs and culture and embrace the new Australian way of life and contribute to the booming economy (Lack and Templeton, 1995). Government assistance was entwined with policies of assimilation and ensured basic English classes and Australian cultural education were priorities. The Good Neighbour Councils (community-based organisations set up to assist the assimilation of new Australians) played a major role on the ground (Jupp, 2002:22). During the post-war period in Australia the booming economy needed workers and ethnic origin was not a barrier to employment. Over time the emphasis moved away from assimilation towards the integration of migrants from different cultural backgrounds into society. The arrival of the first non-European migrants and refugees after the abolition of the ‘White Australia Policy’ saw a change in the role that governments took in settling migrants and refugees. The influential Galbally Report of 1978 played an integral role in shaping the future of settlement services in Australia, and reflects a growing commitment to a multicultural society. This report (Galbally, 1978) has been identified as the first major shift in settlement policy away from integration to multiculturalism. It reviewed existing settlement services and outlined a program of action based on four key principles:

All members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;
Every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;
Needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision; and Services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants become self-reliant quickly.

(Galbally, 1978:4)

The adoption of these recommendations led to further settlement services and multicultural policy amendments. The initiation of interest free loans to refugees to enable them to move out of hostels and the establishment of the Community Refugee Settlement Scheme (CRSS) in 1979 were early responses to the report. Funding for a range of migrant
associations and Migrant Resource Centres was introduced, English programs were also expanded and the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) was set up during this period. Multiple advisory institutions were also a product of this era (Jupp, 2002).

The principles of access and equity first established by the Galbally report have been confirmed by subsequent inquiries (for example Jupp, 1986; CAAIP, 1988). It was found that settlement services should be confined to the specific, mostly on-arrival needs of new migrants, while general needs should be met by community or mainstream services through the deliberate introduction of access and equity measures. This has led to DIMA-funded settlement services now operating within an overarching policy of mainstreaming of government services. Essentially, this means that when new arrivals have service needs similar to the general population, such as housing or employment, they are required to access mainstream agencies for assistance. Hence, DIMA-funded services are directed towards meeting on-arrival needs specific to the migration experience, such as English language classes and interpreting services. In this context, settlement services provided by DIMIA “represent a specific and limited investment in supporting new arrivals in their early years of settlement” (DIMIA, 2003a:32).

This emphasis on settlement services for new arrivals has incorporated the targeting of services towards those groups with high needs. DIMIA (2003a:33) “recognises that early access to settlement services, and targeted assistance to gain access to mainstream services, enables these arrivals to move towards full and active participation in Australian society as soon as possible”. Due to the selective nature of the skilled migration stream, and the introduction of sponsorship requirements for family migrants, the groups now recognised as ‘high need’ are overwhelmingly humanitarian entrants.

In 1994, Jupp identified a general lack of distinction between the needs of Humanitarian entrants and other migrants. While the resettlement experiences of refugees share many similarities with resettling migrants, refugees can face additional problems as a result of their previous experiences. Jupp succinctly identifies these additional problems:

Refugee and humanitarian settlers differ from the average (migrant) in several respects. They have suffered trauma, and in many cases torture. They have frequently lived in camps for long periods and have suffered other disruptions to normal life. They are unlikely to be proficient in English,
Chapter 2: Refugee Resettlement in Australia

have lower skill levels than other eligibility categories and are more likely to suffer long periods of unemployment in Australia.

(Jupp, 1994:xii)

Since 2000, the federally funded Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS) has provided a suite of specialised on-arrival services for humanitarian entrants in recognition of the high and complex needs of Humanitarian entrants and the benefits of early intervention. However, these services are only available to offshore-visaed refugees as the TPV policy excludes onshore-visaed refugees from accessing the same level of support as offshore-visaed refugees. This policy change has excluded TPV holders from accessing many settlement services that are designed to facilitate the social and economic participation of new arrivals.

2.4.2 The Two-Tier Resettlement Assistance System

The differentiation between onshore and offshore-visaed refugees and introduction of the TPV has led to changes in the provision of settlement assistance to new arrivals. The significant differences between the entitlements of refugees with permanent visas compared to refugees with Temporary Protection Visas lead Mares (2002) to describe the current program of assistance as a two-tier system. Under this Two-Tier Resettlement Assistance system refugees are treated differently according to the visa that they hold. The following section examines the Two-Tier Resettlement Assistance System, beginning with the assistance provisions for refugees during early resettlement, then moving on to discuss the entitlements of refugees to longer term resettlement and mainstream government services.

2.4.2.1 Early Settlement Assistance

Government funded resettlement assistance for recently arrived refugees varies significantly depending upon the visa class and situation of the individual. Currently, the Federal Government provides initial settlement assistance for holders of permanent visas through the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS) (DIMIA, 2004d). This programme provides intensive on-arrival settlement support to Refugee and SHP entrants, and some assistance to PPV holders (who are thought to require less assistance than new arrivals due to their time spent in the community already) and very basic assistance to TPV and THV holders (DIMIA, 2003a). The IHSS contracts service providers to deliver a range
of programmes to eligible humanitarian visa holders during their initial settlement period of about 6 months. Once a humanitarian entrant exits the IHSS they are referred to general settlement services provided by Migrant Resource Centres and other similar organisations. In addition to these government funded programmes, volunteers and charities provide considerable assistance to new arrivals. The eligibility of each visa type to services included in the IHSS is shown in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy Eligibility
Source: DIMIA 2004d:5

| NOTE: This table is included on page 39 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library. |

2.4.2.2 Long Term Settlement Services
In addition to the specific assistance available during early settlement, are mainstream settlement services, which are also available to other migrant groups. Again, the eligibility of TPV holders for these services is restricted (Table 2.13). The Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) is a specialised English language program for migrants and has two core functions – to assist eligible new arrivals to develop basic English skills and to provide general orientation to eligible new arrivals to help them participate in the wider Australian society and access available services. Migrants eligible for the AMEP receive 510 hours of English tuition, with some humanitarian entrants eligible for additional assistance under the Special Preparatory Program, which helps students become familiar with the learning environment before beginning formal lessons. The AMEP also includes a course on Citizenship and life in Australia to prepare students for citizenship ceremonies.

The Translating and Interpreting Services (TIS) offers fee-free telephone and onsite interpreting and translation of settlement-related documents for eligible migrants and
refugees (permanent visa holders). TPV holders can access some TIS assistance, however some services are “user-pays”.

Table 2.13 Recently Arrived Refugees Eligibility for Long Term Settlement Services
Source: DIMIA, 2004d: 8

| NOTE: This table is included on page 40 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library. |

Migrant community services are provided through organisations such as Migrant Resource Centres and Migrant Service Agencies and are designed to assist migrants and refugees to participate equitably in Australian society. DIMIA (2004d:8) states “services are targeted to meet the settlement needs of recent arrivals with low English proficiency” and they include the provision of settlement information and referral service, the facilitation of community capacity building and the promotion of client needs to mainstream service providers. As TPV holders only hold temporary visas, they are ineligible for these services.

2.4.2.3 Mainstream Government Services
Beyond the specific settlement services available to refugees are mainstream government services, which are again subject to different eligibility criteria depending on the type of visa a refugee holds. Table 2.14 indicates the range of mainstream services available in Australia and the eligibility of each visa category. While the table indicates that TPV holders would be eligible for nearly all mainstream government services, the reality is that TPV holders have only limited eligibility to such services. For example, while TPV holders are eligible for employment seeking assistance through the Job Network, their eligibility only entitles them to the most basic level of assistance – the use of computer touch screens that display job advertisements. More specialised one-on-one job search assistance is only available to permanent visa holders. Another example is the eligibility of TPV holders for social security payments from Centrelink. The only income support
payment available to TPV holders is the Special Benefit, a lower-rate payment with more conditions than other payments.

Table 2.14 General Government Services available to Humanitarian Entrants
Source: DIMIA, 2004d:9

NOTE: This table is included on page 41 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Finally, two other conditions of the TPV must be considered. The TPV does not permit refugees to apply for family members to join them in Australia, nor does it permit the right of return if a refugee leaves Australia. Under these circumstances, the TPV effectively prohibits family reunion for TPV holders, further distinguishing them from offshore-visa ed permanent refugees who are free to leave and return and apply for family to join them in Australia. The lack of resettlement assistance and barriers to family reunion, while introduced as a strategy of deterrence, has been argued to have had little effect on deterring boat arrivals (Mansouri, 2002:3), but has had a significant impact on the lives of TPV holders in Australia. The following section will review research already conducted on the TPV policy in Australia.
2.5 Impacts of the TPV Regime on Refugees During Resettlement

Due to the limited access to federally funded settlement services for TPV holders, research on the implications of the TPV regime has been split between the impact on resettlement experience of TPVs and the impact on other non-federal service providers. Qualitative methods dominate this research. In depth interviews and focus groups with TPV holders and service providers have been the primary source of information. Published research reports have been funded by both state and local governments and community organisations, and in some ways have been restricted in their scope and aims. At present no longitudinal studies are being conducted into the longer-term resettlement experiences of TPVs.

Initial research undertaken in Queensland found a range of negative implications of the policy regime for TPV holders, service providers and the wider community (Mann, 2001). Service providers that were able to assist TPV holders were found to be overworked and severely under resourced. A significant amount of cost shifting was occurring from the Commonwealth to State and Local government agencies and non-government organisations. These patterns have been reported in later research in Victoria (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Marston, 2003) and New South Wales (Barnes, 2003). However, the impacts upon TPV holders themselves were the most worrying. While not focussing on the detention centre experience, Mann (2001) found that the repercussions of poor treatment in mandatory detention followed TPV holders into the community. The uncertainty of their situation was found to be more distressing once the initial relief of leaving detention and beginning to live and work (for some) wore off. Barnes (2003) reported that “TPV holders become increasingly distraught over uncertainty that surrounds their own future and that of their families” once they had moved through the first stages of resettlement. These concerns, together with the existence of mental health problems relating to their experiences in their home country, flight and detention in Australia lead researchers to assert that TPV holders have more chaotic and less successful resettlement experiences than other refugee groups.

Health issues related to the poor physical and mental health of TPV holders were identified in many reports and were related to the detention experiences and accessibility of TPV holders to health care in resettlement. Despite the official policy stating that on release from Immigration Detention all TPV holders would be provided with information in their
own language on how to apply for Centrelink payments and Medicare cards, Mansouri and Bagdas (2002) reported that some TPV holders had waited up to five months for Medicare cards after release from detention (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002). Access to dental services was also found to be difficult, with long waiting lists for public dental services found to prolong dental health problems.

Mental health issues have been a core concern in all research on TPV holders conducted in Australia. Mansouri and Bagdas (2002) found that the TPV policy created uncertainty, insecurity, isolation, powerlessness and health problems for TPV holders. While TPV holders are entitled to trauma and torture counselling as one concession by the government, these services have been overwhelmed by the demand by TPV holders. A clinical psychologist in a torture/trauma centre, describes the impact of the TPV on TPV holder’s mental health thus:

Most TPV holders present as anxious and agitated, full of unexpressed anger against the perceived injustice related to their detention experience and temporary visa status and against those remaining indifferent or perceived as unhelpful. They report insomnia and agitation and also tension headaches, gastro-intestinal disturbances and bodily aches and pains. Through denial, dissociation and thought suppression they have learnt to alter an unbearable reality. The majority are bitter and feel forsaken by both ‘man and God’. The psychological losses combine, resulting in a chronic state of depression. Believing they are being held captives at the mercy and control of the Government of Australia, many describe themselves as being reduced to a subhuman/animal life form. The resultant symptom picture perhaps provides evidence for the existence of a complex form of PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder).

(Fernandes, 2002:10)

The TPV regime has clearly created additional mental anguish for this group of already traumatised refugees and the restriction of resettlement services further compounds these problems. Hoffmann’s (2003) investigation into the lived reality of the TPV regime focussed on the individual’s experiences in Australia as a result of the government’s policy of deterrence. His research is strongly critical of the government’s role in denying TPV holders the possibility of “living a viable life”. The imposition of temporary status for asylum seekers “leaves them in a state of social isolation, homelessness and exhaustion” (Hoffmann, 2003:57). Exclusion from the AMEP, restricted access to education and no right to family reunion reinforce these outcomes. Without English language, social interaction beyond the individual’s ethnic group is severely restricted, as are employment
prospects. Hoffmann found that social exclusion has necessitated the development of some autonomous social networks, but these are usually among other TPV holders, which he argues, only reinforces their exclusion. For the TPV holders he interviewed, this left very little meaningful social interaction to alleviate their social isolation.

As a result of Australian society’s stigmatisation of the refugee category (Pickering, 2001; Leach, 2003; Kampmark, 2006), it has become a risky business identifying as a refugee in Australia. This is compounded for those who arrived as asylum seekers, who have been systematically demonised by the media (Pickering, 2001). Examples of newspaper headlines depicting asylum seekers as terrorists, criminals, illegal and diseased were common during the period of increased boat arrivals and detention centre riots. Hoffmann’s (2003: 33) interviews “suggest that for TPV holders their ‘refugee’ identity must be denied and concealed, because the terms of participation as a temporary refugee are undermining the possibility of dignified personal identity”. The social illegitimacy of TPV status has prompted some to construct new biographies, including new names, threatening to erase their whole culture and history. TPV holders do not have a group identity as ‘refugees’, but they have been grouped objectively as ‘boat people’ or ‘queue jumpers’ who are asking too much, and may even be dangerous.

Marston (2003:5) reported that his respondents identified employment as “being very important in helping maintain a sense of personal pride and dignity”. In objective terms financial independence is an important indicator of successful refugee resettlement experience. However for many refugees the right to work is an abstract concept when it is not matched by supports and services that enable refugees to find appropriate work. Barnes (2003:45) found that because “the desire to work is so strong, and the obstacles to finding work are so great, exploitation of TPV holders in the workplace appears to be widespread” with under-payment and bribery being identified in her report.

Employers, without adequate knowledge of temporary protection visas, had been wary of employing TPV holders as they were unsure of their eligibility to work, and how temporary their stay in Australia was. A lack of Australian work experience and references were also discussed as barriers to employment. Similarly, Hoffmann (2003:20) found that because TPV holders employment options are limited, they often will not tell others if the
have a new work opportunity, in the hope it will allow them to move beyond their restricted social circles.

TPV holders are not eligible for on-arrival accommodation as offshore refugees are. Beer and Foley (2003:17) report that refugees, especially TPV holders, are experiencing increasing accommodation problems and many end up homeless in Australian cities, or are at a high risk of becoming homeless. Without the settlement services usually provided to refugees, TPV holders were found to have considerable difficulty in setting up a home after being released from detention. Ethnic community members, church members and other TPV holders already in the community provided short-term accommodation. Reports of severe overcrowding in short term accommodation are recorded in research from Queensland, Victoria and New South Wales (Mann, 2001; Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Barnes, 2003). Difficulty finding affordable appropriate rental accommodation has exacerbated the overcrowding problems for many TPV holders. Discrimination against TPV holders on the basis of ethnicity, being temporary visa holders and employment status and were found to restrict accommodation options (Beer and Foley, 2003:17). Service providers mentioned the increased demand for household items by TPV holders, particularly furniture and whitegoods that were unable to be met by donations. Other needs identified by service providers included more interpreters and assistance in document translation, legal assistance and assistance with immigration issues, homework assistance for students and general orientation and settlement services (Barnes, 2003).

Several authors have made calls for further research (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Marston, 2003). The longer-term impacts of the policy as well as positive accounts of refugee coping strategies have been identified as areas warranting further research. Mansouri and Bagdas (2002:18) called for “further research on the long term impact of detention and the TPV policy on the capacity of individual asylum seekers to rebuild their lives successfully and on members of the relevant ethnic communities affected by such crises in the way they relate to their communities of origin, as well as in the way they view their place in contemporary Australian society”. Marston also identifies a need for further research into the experience of refugees on temporary protection visas that “should involve national independent monitoring of the resettlement experience, documenting barriers to participation in social and economic spheres, as well as the positive steps that are taken to overcome discrimination, prejudice and policy constraints” (Marston, 2003:83).
2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has contextualised refugee resettlement within Australia. The significance of several contiguous events, including the increase in unauthorised boat arrivals from the Middle East and the September 11 attacks by Muslim extremists, have been identified as contributing to the development of new migration and border protection policies in Australia. In addition to these new migration policies have been changes to policies related to settlement. The introduction of the Temporary Protection Visa for refugees issued visas onshore, and the subsequent two-tier settlement assistance system have been examined in detail and demonstrated to have had a significant impact on the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees. Chapter 3 will present the theoretical framework of the study.
Chapter 3
A Theoretical Framework for Examining the Resettlement Experience

3.1 Introduction
While migration theories based on voluntary movements have attracted profound interest from theorists, forced migration has not enjoyed the same treatment and the developing field of refugee research, with a focus on reporting on events and developing policies, has suffered from a lack of theoretical advancements (Gold, 1992; Robinson, 1993; Richmond, 1994; Wahlbeck; 2002). For example, theories on forced migration put forward by Kunz in the 1970s have not been exposed to the same reviews and revisions as Lee’s (1966) theory on migration. Black (2001:65) argues “it would be untrue to say that theoretical reflection, including consideration of terminology, is completely absent from the field of refugee studies”, and yet accepts that there is “no theory of refugees”(Bascom, 1998), and as such there isn’t going to be. Despite this limited theoretical reflection, some important contributions have been made to the field of refugee studies. This chapter presents the theories that have been developed in relation to the migration of refugees. In addition, a theoretical framework will be introduced based on a modified version of Kuhlman’s (1991) Comprehensive Model of Refugee Integration. This model will be used to locate the focus of this research within the field of refugee studies. The chapter will then move on and discuss refugee integration and possible methods of measurement. The development of a two-tier system of refugee resettlement in Australia has raised concerns over issues of equity and social justice (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002; Marston, 2003). A theoretical framework is therefore developed which enables the integration of refugees in Australia to be analysed in terms of social exclusion. Finally, the concept of social justice will be discussed as a starting point for developing recommendations to improve the integration prospects of refugees in the host society.

3.2 Forced Migration
Forced migration processes are influenced by a wide range of factors. Ager (1999:13) recognises that these factors range from global trends in politics, policy and philosophy, to
local social and cultural processes, through to the personal characteristics and capacities of refugees. The interaction of factors at every level shapes the experiences of forced migrants. This section discusses theoretical approaches to three aspects of forced migration; causal factors leading to forced migration, the forced migration process and the settlement and adjustment of refugees after migration.

3.2.1 Causal Factors of Refugee Movements

While many authors (for example Kunz, 1981; Beyer, 1981; Richmond, 1988, 1993) have attempted to develop checklists of causal factors of refugee movements, Zolberg (1983) was the first to introduce an integrated explanation of forced migration. Prior to this, refugee movements had been viewed as unpredictable and were thought to be unable to be explained theoretically because they were seen to result from non-economic circumstances such as war, civil unrest and political regime changes. Each refugee event was seen as a unique event with unique causes. However, Zolberg argued that while voluntary migration generally had its roots in economic forces, refugee movements were intrinsically linked to political forces. Zolberg asserted that the refugee generating process is a by-product of the secular transformation of empires into nation states. The protracted process of progression towards political stability creates situations of refugee movements. The role of international factors (such as foreign policies) was later added to this explanation of refugee movements (Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo, 1986). The theoretical framework of analysis of causes of refugee movement needed to be expanded to “reflect the transnational character of the processes involved” (Zolberg et al., 1986:151). Their statement that “refugee movements thereby reflect a fundamental characteristic of the contemporary world, namely its transformation into an interconnected whole within which national societies have been profoundly internationalised” (Zolberg et al., 1986:154) shows the strong connections between refugee movements and globalisation (see also Richmond, 1993; Castles, 1998; Crisp, 2003).

While voluntary migration is essentially motivated by economic or family reunion factors, forced migration, as noted above, is characterised by political factors (Kunz, 1973). Yet this distinction has been rejected. Richmond (1988:19) claims “an absolutely clear distinction between the economic and the socio-political determinants of population movement is not appropriate” given that the majority of population movements are a complex response to the reality of a global society in which ethno-religious, social,
economics and political determinants are bound together. King (2002:93) continuing this argument more recently, highlights the “blurred boundaries between the migration forces of free will, encouragement, virtual compulsion and force exerted by violence or threat”. Hence, a multivariate approach is preferred as the “majority of population movements are a complex response to the reality of global society in which ethno-religious, social, economic and political determinants are inextricably bound together” (Richmond, 1988:20). This would lead to a continuum between socio-political motivating factors and economic motivating factors.

In addition, Richmond (1988:20) asserts that a distinction between voluntary and involuntary (or forced) migration is untenable. Drawing on structuration theory, Richmond (1988:20) argues that migration decisions are more appropriately designated “reactive” and “proactive”, according to the autonomy exhibited by the actors involved. A continuum between proactive and reactive migration can also be developed (Richmond, 1993). Figure 3.1 represents these continuums graphically, and includes some examples of where different types of migrants may fall.

**Figure 3.1 A Typology of Forced Migrations**
Source: Richmond, 1988:21

NOTE: This figure is included on page 49 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.
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For example, proactive migrants include retirees, returnees, reunited families and ordinary emigrants. Clear examples of reactive migrants include UN Convention refugees, stateless persons and slaves. However, between the two extremes a large proportion of people crossing boundaries combine these characteristics, responding to economic, social and political pressures over which they have no control, but also exercising some degree of choice in the selection of destinations and the timing of movements (Richmond, 1988:20).

3.2.2 Forced Migration as a Process

In seeking to develop a theoretical understanding of the forced migration process, several models have been proposed, and many draw on the influential work of Kunz (1973). Kunz developed a detailed model that specifically explores the refugee process in flight. His kinetic model identifies two types of refugee movements – anticipatory and acute refugee movements. Anticipatory movements are generally door-to-door movements from home to host, and occur before the deterioration of political situations. Due to a more planned departure, anticipatory refugees are more prepared on arrival for their new country. They may have some language skills, financial security and knowledge of the labour market. Anticipatory refugees can be mistaken for economic migrants, but if they were voluntary migrants, Kunz argues, they would move earlier. Acute refugees on the other hand, flee once the political situation reaches a crisis. The acute refugee movement is either en mass or in small groups, with their primary purpose to reach safety in a neighbouring country. Little preparation is possible, and acute refugees are more often identified as ‘convention’ refugees than anticipatory refugees. Kunz reworked the ‘push-pull’ migration model to explain refugee movements. As a result, anticipatory refugee movements follow a ‘push-permit’ model whereby the refugees are pushed by political forces and only move when they have secured permission to enter another country. In comparison, acute refugee movements could follow three models:

- Push – Pressure - Plunge
- Push – Pressure - Stay
- Push – Pressure – Return

Of these, the ‘push-pressure-plunge’ model is “perhaps the most useful kinetic and motivational model of acute refugee settler movements” (Kunz, 1973:134). It recognises the importance of pressure, both from internal sources, and possibly from anticipatory...
refugees already in safety, that builds up and creates a situation where refugees are plunged into a situation requiring flight.

While anticipatory refugee movements are triggered by refugee motivations, they occur when freedom of movement, safe travel and planned departure is still possible, and as such are not impacted by forms of displacement. However, acute refugee movements can be a result of three forms of displacement (Kunz, 1973:141). The first, displacement by flight, can either occur in the form of mass flight or individual or group escapes. Displacement by force “takes place when persons, either under the force of discipline or subdued by organised force, are moved outside the border of their countries of origin” (Kunz, 1973:141). Thirdly, displacement by absence involves the least numbers and includes people who have left their country of origin peacefully in normal circumstances, but who refuse to return after a change in events. Kunz model is quite detailed, and more recent theoretical models of the forced migration process have refined the conceptualisation of the process and presented forced migration in terms of a series of stages that refugees may move through. Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998) use an 8-stage model, which not every refugee could be expected to experience exactly. The eight stages are as follows:

1. Perception that a threat exists
2. The decision to flee
3. A period of extreme danger leading up to and including flight
4. Arrival at a safe destination
5. Reception camp life
6. Onward migration to a third country
7. Initial resettlement
8. Mid to late stages of resettlement

This model offers possibilities of expansion or contraction, depending on the situation of individuals. Ager (1999:3) identifies a shorter framework with essentially the same progression as Boyle et al. (1998). The five phases Ager uses are pre-flight, flight, temporary settlement and resettlement (or repatriation). These two models present the key processes in forced migration, and identify resettlement (or repatriation) as the last stage of the forced migration process. Given that problems and experiences in the preceding stages will have an influence on resettlement, this stage of the forced migration process can be the most difficult for refugees. During resettlement, refugees have to adjust to a new
Chapter 3: A Theoretical Framework for Examining the Resettlement Experience

environment, often at the same time as dealing with a terrible past. These factors can combine and result in extremely complex situations during resettlement.

3.2.3 Resettlement Theories

Stein (1981) proposed a detailed model of the refugee adjustment process during resettlement. He believes “the general pattern of refugee adjustment over time can be analysed in four stages” (Stein, 1981:325). These stages encompassed:

1. The initial arrival period of the first few months
2. The first and second years
3. After four to five years
4. A decade or more later

Stein (1981) argued that within the resettlement spheres of occupational and economic adjustment, social adjustment, cultural adjustment and mental health a pattern developed. The first stage of adjustment is dominated by the refugee’s recognition of what has been lost. The loss of occupational and social status, culture and identity will be realised. The second stage of one to two years after arrival in the new country sees “the refugees display an impressive drive to recover what has been lost, to rebuild their lives” (Stein, 1981:325). During this stage, some of the initial downward mobility can be improved through language acquisition, training, hard work and understanding of the new culture. As most refugees were successful in their home country, those qualities are drawn on during this stage of settlement. Stein also believes that the refugee experience makes them “more aggressive and innovative” (1981:326). During this stage a refugee may undergo changes in employment, school and residence. Problems within the family and mental dysfunction may increase at this time.

The third period of four to five years after arrival, sees the completion of the major part of adjustment. After this point less change will occur. Stein (1981:326) sees this stage as one where “the refugee has acquired the language and the culture, been retrained and worked hard. If the goal is not near or at hand now, the refugee is likely to abandon the effort”. At this point many refugees will talk of their exodus as being for their children’s sake, particularly if they have become resigned to their lower social and occupational status. The fourth stage, occurring around a decade after arrival, will see the refugee group achieving
some stability. Lost status will have been recovered to a point, however the overall sum of the decade will be one of lower status than that in the country of origin.

Criticisms of Stein’s model have been forthcoming. Joly (2002) notes that the length of each stage is likely to vary as a result of several factors, not all of which are controllable by the refugee. In addition, different types of refugees may not go through all these stages. Bihi (1999 cited in New Zealand Immigration Service, 2001: 23) is also critical of Stein’s model and its emphasis on a psychological interpretation of the refugee experience. Bihi (1999) argues that reliance on such a model could lead to a “misunderstanding that refugees are unable to adjust due to previous suffering” and overlook the possible interpretation that settlement difficulties are a result of policy failure (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2001:23). This criticism is important and must be given careful consideration, given that this study is seeking to examine the impact of policy on the resettlement experience. As such, Stein’s (1981) model of resettlement appears problematic and could lead to the blame for unsuccessful resettlement being placed on refugees, without the system in which they settle being sufficiently and critically examined.

Kunz’ (1981) influential work on resettlement presents a typology based on the influence of home and host related factors on the resettlement experiences of refugees and as such improves on the shortcomings of Stein’s (1981) model. Refugees are categorised by Kunz (1981) depending on their relationship with the population of the home country, their attitude to flight and their ideological-national orientation while abroad. In addition to these home-related factors, factors associated with the host society are considered, including the resettlement system that refugees engage with.

The three host-related factors thought to influence settlement are categorised as cultural compatibility, population policies and social attitudes in the host country. Kunz (1981:46) states “perhaps no other host factor has more influence on the satisfactory resettlement of the refugee than cultural compatibility between background and the society which is confronted”. Cultural compatibility includes language, values, traditions, religion, politics, food and interpersonal relations.
Chapter 3: A Theoretical Framework for Examining the Resettlement Experience

Population policies can either be augmentative or self-sufficient in the host country. An augmentative population policy actively supports population growth through immigration. Resettlement for refugees in these countries holds many advantages, with limitless opportunities often cited. However, within these societies refugees can be seen primarily as a pool of labour to be exploited. Countries with an augmentative population policy may be unsympathetic to homeward oriented refugees. In contrast, a country with a self-sufficient population policy is less likely to accept large numbers of refugees and is less anxious to retain and assimilate them. These countries are more tolerant and willing to offer sanctuary without requiring the adoption of a new way of life. Australia could be seen to have made a transition from an augmentative population policy in the post-war years, to a more self-sufficient population policy today, as a shift has occurred away from the requirement of newcomers to assimilate towards a multicultural policy embracing diversity and promoting tolerance within the society.

The final host related factor influencing resettlement, is the attitude of the host society. A monistic society will be more concerned with assimilation; a pluralistic society with integration and a sanctuary society will be more tolerant towards refugees.

While Kunz’ (1981) work is important in developing theoretical outcomes for a range of policies and socio-cultural host environments, it fails to examine in detail the strategies and modes of settlement as related to the typology (Joly: 2002). In response to these limitations in Kunz typology, Joly has developed another. She proposes two broad categories to represent “two types which will display differentiated patterns of adaptation in the land of exile and settlement” (Joly, 2002:9). The first category are referred to as Odyssean refugees, who were not victims of the structure of the conflict in their country of origin but were positively committed to the political struggle and to a project of society in their homeland. This group has bought this project into exile with them, so they are committed to the project in the homeland despite defeat and forced migration. This group can include religious refugees. For all Odyssean refugees, return is their objective and they aim to continue their project in resettlement.

The second category described by Joly is termed Rubicon refugees. This group, in contrast to the Odyssean refugees, have turned their back on their society of origin. They do not retain a commitment to it, however they may be concerned with the fate of kin or others of
Chapter 3: A Theoretical Framework for Examining the Resettlement Experience

their groups left behind. Many Rubicon refugees still have an attachment to their culture of origin, but understand their exile is definite and do not hold hopes of returning home. This group may possibly have a greater propensity to positive attitudes towards the host society however the involuntary nature of their migration can have adverse impacts on their settlement. Joly believes that assimilation is possible for this group. Joly’s typology goes further to discuss each category’s boundary between “us and them”, the group’s social organisation, their goals and meaning of action and the factors of changes that shape each type. These are identified in Table 3.1.

Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2003) have developed another typology of refugee resettlement style, which they depict as a product of the interaction of a number of factors, including cultural, group and personal characteristics. Their resettlement styles are again divided into two types: active and passive styles. Refugees with an active resettlement style will pursue goals and have a positive attitude towards resettlement. They are most likely to learn English, look for jobs, undertake study or training and be employed. They have links with the ethnic community and the mainstream community. Active refugees may have left as anticipatory refugees. Overall they are future-oriented and goal-oriented. Within this active type a further distinction is made between achievers and consumers.

Table 3.1. Odyssean and Rubicon Refugee Typology

Source: Joly, 2002:10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Odyssean Refugees</th>
<th>Rubicon Refugees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unstable Regime</strong></td>
<td><strong>Stabilised Regime</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in country of origin</td>
<td>in country of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boundary Us/Them</strong></td>
<td>Us: Those oppressed by homeland regime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Them: homeland regime allies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Organisation</strong></td>
<td>Political Associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goals and Meaning of Action</strong></td>
<td>To regain position as social and political actors in homeland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Factors of Change Shaping Groups</strong></td>
<td>Viability of homeland projects and what impacts it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Refugees who approach resettlement in a passive way are more likely to have an attitude towards resettlement of “making ends meet”, both emotionally and materially. Passive resettlers see their pre-migration experiences of loss of family, property and social status as irreparable. Many live in social isolation from the mainstream and ethnic communities. This type has high rates of unemployment or employment in occupations requiring lower skills than they possess and many feel they are “too old to learn”, either to upgrade skills or learn a language. Passive resettlers can be further identified as either endurers or victims. Endurers and victims are more at risk of marginalisation, as they are less successful in recreating the feeling of ‘a normal life’. Active styles however, are more successful in achieving social and emotional wellbeing.

The typologies of Joly (2002) and Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2003) go some way to explain the modes of adaptation adopted by refugees in resettlement. It can be seen from this overview of theories related to refugee movements and resettlement, that there are many factors influencing the resettlement experiences of refugees. The following section introduces a model that draws together these factors and demonstrates their influence on the adaptation process of refugees.

### 3.3 Locating Integration within Forced Migration Theory

The range of factors that researchers have found to influence the resettlement of refugees is extensive, as the discussion above demonstrated. Kuhlman (1991) has drawn together these factors, and combined two models of forced migration to develop a Comprehensive Model of Refugee Integration. Kuhlman primarily draws from Kunz’ model of refugee movement (1973) (which in turn had its origins in Lee’s (1966) explanation of migration movements being attributed to origin (push) and destination (pull) related factors) and Kunz’ (1981) model of resettlement. Kuhlman sees Kunz’ model as being supplemented by Goldlust and Richmond’s Model of Immigrant Adaptation (1974) which also considered the many possible conditions in the receiving society and defined the different dimensions of integration, classifying them as either subjective or objective. Kuhlman recognised the need to incorporate the additional issue of the impact of migration on the receiving society and produced the following model (Figure 3.2). Within the model, integration is

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6 Goldlust and Richmond’s (1974) model of immigrant adaptation also suggest ‘length of residence’ as an important factor and this is incorporated in Kuhlman’s (1991) model.
Figure 3.2 Kuhlman’s Comprehensive Model of Refugee Integration

Source: Kuhlman, 1991:12
considered as a possible outcome of a more general process of adaptation, and will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

The model shows independent variables on the top level and the dependent variables of adaptation type below. The impact of the adaptation process is broken in two; impact on the refugee and impact on the host society. Group E represents events since flight, and is an intermediary, being influenced by the same factors that affect adaptation, while also influencing adaptation. Kuhlman identifies that interrelations exists within the top level of independent variables, as well as within the impacts of the adaptation process.

Kuhlman’s model was produced from research conducted in a developing country (Sudan), and as such several factors are perhaps less important in developed host societies such as Australia. The host-related factors such as the natural resource base of the region may be less important in a developed country, as the much smaller number of refugees resettling in developed countries will have less direct impact on the environment than larger numbers in developing countries.

In addition, the actions of foreign aid donors would be less important in developed countries where foreign aid is less common. However, internal NGOs may be a more relevant factor that needs to be considered. For example, Kuhlman describes the actions of the UNHCR and bilateral donors as having a bearing on the integration of refugees in developing countries. However these types of organisations have little influence on the resettlement experiences of refugees once they arrive in developed countries. Rather it is locally based non-government organisations in developed countries that have a bearing on integration through their assistance programs for refugees (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2006). It is thus suggested that the model is applicable to refugee resettlement in developed countries, if the emphasis on natural resources of the host country is reduced and the exchange of foreign aid donors for internal NGOs is made.

Importantly, the model is designed to be a comprehensive representation of the refugee integration process. Kuhlman reminds readers that the model is a multidisciplinary one, and that researchers from different disciplines will be concerned with particular aspects. The model is intended to enable particular projects to be viewed within the overall social process. In relation to this thesis the model facilitates the major foci of interest to be
Chapter 3: A Theoretical Framework for Examining the Resettlement Experience

identified. The model shows how the independent variable of ‘Policies’ is a factor influencing residence in the host country for refugees as well as the adaptation process. The impact of the adaptation process, while affecting both refugees and the host community in the model, is considered in this project only in relation to refugees.

Given that the theoretical literature on refugee integration is scarce, Kuhlman’s model has not been subjected to intense scrutiny, making a review of critiques difficult. In addition, the model drew on experiences of refugees in developing countries, and it is these situations in which the model has been applied (Michel, 2002; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2004). Despite the limited application of Kuhlman’s model of integration, Kuhlman’s definition of integration (discussed in the next section) has been more widely recognised. It is argued that the combination of the model and the definition of integration make this approach to examining the resettlement experiences of refugees a valuable one, and the most appropriate for this study, given the opportunity it provides for considering the influence of the policies of the host society on refugees. Kuhlman himself recognises that integration is not the only possible outcome of the adaptation process (other directions possible include assimilation, separation or marginalisation) but advises it is a useful one, which can be applied as a goal of policy. In situations where the host society does not expect assimilation and accepts the 1951 Convention on Refugees as a basis for dealing with refugees, the path towards integration may be followed. Contemporary Australia fits these criteria, and as such refugee integration becomes a valid approach to investigating the adaptation experiences of recently arrived refugees. The following section will explore integration as understood by various theorists and present Kuhlman’s definition of integration.

3.3.1 Defining Integration

Prior to presenting the definition of integration used in this thesis, a discussion must be included on the background of the term, and the alternative ways it has been applied in the past. Integration as a concept has been criticised as being vague and slippery, and being able to be applied to mean whatever people want it to (Castles et al., 2002:23). Indeed, integration has been used to refer both to theory and policy at different times. In Australia the term was initially applied to policies replacing the assimilationist ideal of migrant and refugee settlement. A realisation that immigrants (and refugees) were not willing to completely give up their distinctive ethnic identities led to new policies which still
expected migrants to fit in with the dominant culture and way of life but accepted that they may continue to practice their own culture in private. This form of integration implied a one-way process of adaptation, and has come to be viewed as a watered-down version of assimilation.

A second, more recent application of the term has become widely used in the international arena of migrant and refugee settlement. When used in this new context, the term integration refers to a *two-way* process, involving change in values, norms and behaviour for both the newcomer and host society. It is this application of the term that is used here.

Kuhlman’s (1991) definition of integration was arrived at after considerable discussion of earlier attempts to define integration in relation to the adaptation of refugees in resettlement. While Kuhlman initially developed the definition for use with refugees settling in countries of first asylum, it can be applied in situations of third country resettlement as well. Described as more of a paradisiacal state rather than one that may actually be achieved, it can provide a measure for progress and the comparison of alternative policies. The definition states:

> If refugees are able to participate in the host economy in ways commensurate with their skills and compatible with their cultural values; if they attain a standard of living which satisfies culturally determined minimum requirements (standard of living is taken here as meaning not only income from economic activities but also access to amenities such as housing, public utilities, health services and education); if the socio-cultural change they undergo permits them to maintain an identity of their own and to adjust psychologically to their new situation; if standards of living and economic opportunities for members of the host society have not deteriorated due to the influx of refugees; if friction between host population and refugees is not worse than within the host society: then refugees are truly integrated.

(Kuhlman, 1991:7)

Within the context of refugee studies literature, integration is mainly understood in terms of practical or functional aspects of integration. Castles *et al.* (2002:32) note that this situation is embedded in the fact that refugee status implies the right to special protection. These rights include the provision of social protection and the access to social services to facilitate the settlement and integration of refugees. Aspects of functional integration include housing, employment, training, language assistance and political participation.
Integration is understood as a process through which individuals and groups maintain their cultural identity while actively participating in the larger societal framework (Berry, 1980). Integration is therefore also concerned with issues of identity, belonging, recognition and self respect (Castles et al., 2002). Integration can be used as an umbrella term to discuss the multitude of processes and spheres of adjustment, as well as the different speeds with which integration will take place. Castles and his colleagues in the UK have stated that successful integration can only take place “if the host society provides access to jobs and services, and acceptance of the immigrants in social interaction” (Castles et al., 2002:113), which links back to Kunz assertion of the importance of host related factors. Above all, “integration in a democracy presupposes acquisition of legal and political rights by the new members of society, so they can become equal partners” (Castles et al., 2002:113). Within a multicultural society, integration could be understood as the process through which the whole population acquires civil, social, political, human and cultural rights, creating the conditions for greater equality. Integration would also mean that minority groups should be supported in maintaining their cultural and social identities. As can be seen, integration can be an umbrella term for a wide range of smaller processes, which together represent a preferred outcome of the adaptation process. Measuring the degree to which the integration of refugees is occurring is considered in the next section.

3.3.2 Measuring Integration

While integration is now thought of as a two-way process, discussions related to the measurement of integration lag behind. When possible indicators of integration are considered, the primary emphasis is still placed on the level of adaptation of the newcomer, rather than the newcomer and community. In this study, it is the integration of refugees into the host society that is of most relevance. Research into migrant and refugee settlement has a long history of attempting to select the ‘right’ indicators to demonstrate the level of adaptation of newcomers and the range of indicators that have been used is extensive. The majority of these indicators can be categorised into common spheres of the integration process. Kuhlman’s model of refugee integration suggests a range of aspects of integration, for which indicators can be developed. Spatial, economic, social, political, legal and psychological integration are referred to in his model. A wide range of indicators are seen as important (Castles et al., 2002) because an undue emphasis on a limited number of indicators (such as employment, residential concentration or crime rates) may produce misleading results. The mapping exercise conducted by Castles and his colleagues
(Castles et al., 2002:40) demonstrated that researchers and the NGO sector (in the UK) were “inclined to give preference to economic integration without denying the importance of other factors”. This preference can diminish the importance of other aspects of integration that refugees themselves may rate as more relevant. Indicators of integration can be classified into objective and subjective categories, the first being easily quantifiable, the second more qualitative in nature. A comprehensive list of typical indicators developed in the mapping exercise (Castles et al., 2002) is presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 A Sample of Integration Indicators
Source: adapted from Castles et al., 2002:134-136.

| NOTE: This table is included on page 62 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library. |

From the above discussion it can be seen that the selection of suitable indicators of integration is an important, yet complex task for researchers. The need to select a wide range of indicators that cover the key dimensions of integration is crucial, however
selection is often constrained by the availability of data. This has lead to a range of indicators being used in various studies, which complicates the comparability of integration experiences between different groups, locations and over time. In choosing indicators for this study, the key aspects of integration have been considered, and indicators were selected that covered the economic, social, political and cultural integration experiences of recently arrived refugees.

The measurement of integration during the resettlement period can therefore contribute to further understandings of the resettlement process. Integration processes can be both short and long-term, however long-term outcomes may be influenced by early experiences, and individuals with limited rights and opportunities may integrate in ways that lead to disadvantage and marginalisation (Castles et al., 2002). In recent times, discussion of this marginalisation and disadvantage has been within the realms of social exclusion.

3.4 Social Exclusion

The term ‘social exclusion’ was part of a move away from discussions of deprivation and poverty, which focussed primarily on economic disadvantage. Ballah and Lapayere (1999) understand that social exclusion and poverty are interrelated concepts, but see social exclusion (by going beyond economic and social dimensions) as a distinct concept, which is able to emphasise new social problems. Social exclusion broadens the focus of deprivation away from purely financial deprivation and enables other dimensions of deprivation to be discussed. Distributional as well as relational aspects of exclusion are able to be to be examined. This leads to “social-relations deprivation” being included within discussions of social exclusion. In addition, the dimension of civil and political rights and citizenship further distinguishes exclusion from poverty. The European notion of exclusion (described in Bhalla and Lapayere (1999) sees exclusion as embracing multidimensional processes and points to the malfunctioning of the institutions that should guarantee social integration.

Thus, social exclusion is seen as superior to poverty in that it:

a. Focuses on the multidimensional nature character of deprivation and can provide an insight into the cumulative factors that keep people deprived, and

b. Enables the analysis of deprivation as a result of dynamic causal factors.

(Bhalla and Lapayere, 1999:15).
Giddens (1998:104) and other writers (de Haan, 1998; Sen, 2000) also see social exclusion as a dynamic process; “exclusion is not about graduations of inequality, but about mechanisms that act to detach groups of people from the mainstream”. The outcomes of these mechanisms have been classified into several dimensions by different authors. Burchardt and her colleagues (1999) suggest five dimensions, namely

- Consumption activity
- Savings activity
- Production Activity
- Political Activity
- Social Activity

Other authors reduce the classification to economic, social and political dimensions of social exclusion (Bhalla and Lapayere, 1997). Yet another framework reworks social exclusion into the arenas of rights, resources and relationships (de Haan and Maxwell 1998). However each classification highlights the multidimensional nature of the concept social exclusion and it is this characteristic that has appealed to researchers and policy makers alike.

In particular, the concept of social exclusion has been applied in refugee studies and Chile’s (2002: 255) research examining the socio-economic status of Black African refugees in New Zealand was able to identify several factors and processes that created “an impoverished community that is increasingly excluded from mainstream society”. The concept enabled Chile to explore the multidimensionality of deprivation among the community and lead him to argue that the lack of basic language skills has the effect of economic disenfranchisement and excludes refugees from participating in politics and civil society.

In Australia, an early report into the experiences of refugees on temporary protection visas by Mansouri and Bagdas (2002) examined the prevalence of social exclusion as a result of refugee policy. Research in the mental health arena has also employed a social exclusionist framework (Steel, 2003) and concluded that TPVs have a significant impact on the mental health of refugees by affecting most aspects of their lives, and compounding typical issues faced by refugees. White’s (2004) review of asylum policy in the UK and Australia demonstrated similarities in the two countries’ policies that lead to social exclusion. Using
Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud’s (2002) definition of social exclusion, White examined the four dimensions of social exclusion in relation to both asylum seekers and those granted refugees status. Within the consumption dimension, the two-tier system of support for refugees contributes to exclusion in Australia by a process of differential entitlement to welfare benefit, settlement support and health services. The production dimension of social exclusion is highlighted in difficulties for refugees accessing training, language classes, gaining skills recognition and cultural barriers to employment. The political inclusion of refugees is viewed as a dimension that is reliant on other settlement aspects being met first, such as language acquisition and citizenship. Exclusion from social interaction is produced through policies that prevent family reunion, language acquisition and travel. White (2004) concludes that a ‘hierarchy of rights and entitlements govern modern day citizenship’ and lead to systematic exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers from host societies.

The concept of social exclusion and inclusion will be employed in this thesis in relation to the integration of refugees into the host community. The multidimensionality of the concept, as well as its ability to enable causal factors to be examined in a dynamic way, will assist in understanding the experiences of refugee integration more successfully than the concept of poverty. The similarities in the components of social exclusion and integration (essentially social, political and economic) warrant their discussion in complementary ways to increase the understanding of the settlement experience.

3.5 Towards Social Inclusion – A Theoretical Framework for Policy Change

The concept of social exclusion is important for understanding the impacts of the adaptation process as it allows the inter-related nature of the resettlement process to be considered. It also proves valuable in providing a guide towards improving outcomes of that process. As social exclusion can be viewed as negative, a positive outcome of integration is conceptualised as social inclusion. This section develops a theoretical framework that can also provide direction for policy changes leading to social inclusion. Principles of social justice are examined which could be applied to the development of policies to improve the integration of refugees.

3.5.1 Social Justice

When Australia accepts refugees, there is a responsibility not only to provide social protection but also to provide access to services to enable successful resettlement.
However, the current situation of differential policies towards groups of refugees warrants investigation within a social justice framework, in order to understand how these policies are creating unequal access and adjustment, and point to possible changes which would lead to refugees’ social inclusion rather than exclusion.

Social justice is the distribution of society’s benefits and burdens, and how this comes about (Johnston et al., 2000:754) and rests on the primary belief that “society is a cooperative venture for mutual advantage” (Rawls, 1971:4). When discussing social justice principles, attention is often focussed on the distribution of income and other sources of need satisfaction on which the material conditions of a population depend. The principles of social justice are a basis for assigning rights and duties in the basic institutions of society and define the appropriate distribution of benefits and burdens of social cooperation (Rawls, 1971:4). A just distribution requires there be equality of opportunity to attain the benefits (and burdens) of society.

The legal status of refugees affects their entitlement to consideration as members of society. This can create some confusion when assessing refugees’ legal entitlements to society’s benefits and burdens. However, an alternative, more humane approach would see all people recognised as refugees under the 1951 Convention considered as citizens whilst living in a country of asylum. This would ensure that refugees’ rights of inclusion are fulfilled during resettlement.

In the event of unequal distribution, Harvey (1973:100) identifies eight possible principles of re-distribution, these are:

1. Inherent equality – all individuals have equal claims on benefits irrespective of their contribution.
2. Valuation of services in terms of supply and demand – individuals who command scarce and needed resources have a greater claim than do others.
3. Need – individuals have rights to equal levels of benefit which means that there is an unequal allocation according to need.
4. Inherited rights – individuals have claims according to the property or other rights, which have been passed on to them from preceding generations.
5. Merit – claims may be based on the degree of difficulty to be overcome in contributing to production.
6. Contribution to common good – those individuals whose activities benefit most people have a higher claim than do those whose activities benefit few people.

7. Actual productive contribution - individuals who produce more output – measured in some appropriate way – have a greater claim than do those who produce a lesser output.

8. Efforts and sacrifices – individuals who make a greater effort or incur a greater sacrifice relative to their innate capacity should be rewarded more than those who make little effort and incur few sacrifices.

Harvey (1973) suggests that the ordering of these criteria should be ‘need’ as most important, then ‘contribution to common good’ and then ‘merit’. The outcome of re-distribution should be improved wellbeing for all.

Typically, theorists have been primarily interested in income when discussing distributive justice (Rawls, 1971; Harvey, 1973). However, “the central issue in any theory of justice is the defensibility of unequal relations between people” (Barry, 1989:3). Rawls (1971) argued that inequality can be justified, providing society’s poorest benefit from this, and there are equal opportunities to acquire the positions of advantage. This is known as the difference principle.

A pre-occupation with distributive justice has characterised most discourse of social justice within philosophy as well as geography. Young (1990:25) explains the implications of this:

The distributive paradigm implicitly assumes that social judgements are about what individual persons have, how much they have, and how that amount compares with what other persons have. This focus on possession tends to preclude thinking about what people are doing, according to what institutionalised rules, how their doings and havings are structured by institutionalised relations that constitute their positions, and how the combined effect of their doings has recursive effects on their lives.

Young’s position leads to a framework through which an investigation into the settlement and adjustment of recent refugees in Australia can be undertaken. To Young, “social injustice concerns the domination and oppression of one group in society by another, not merely the distributional outcomes” (Johnson et al., 2000:756). Smith recognises that the
concept of social justice includes patterns of distribution, both general and spatial; it also
extends to incorporate attributes relevant to how these patterns came about (Smith,
1994:26). Both government policies and the implications for groups and individuals can be
investigated by discussing them in relation to the principles of social justice. Smith
(1994:75) attests that if the worst off could be made better off by some alternative, even
with greater inequality, then this would be more socially just. Barry (1989:216) suggests a
line of investigation, which asks, “Does this set of institutions operate in a way that the
worst off group – those who do least well out of them – could not do any better under any
alternative set of arrangements?”.

In terms of analysing refugee policy and attempting to present alternatives that would be
more socially just, it can be seen that options which may appear to be unequal, are justified
when they can improve the opportunity individuals have in participating in society. The
application of these principles of social justice will be demonstrated later when
recommendations for policy changes are presented.

3.6 Conclusion
This chapter has presented a broad insight into the forced migration process and
demonstrated how this research fits within the process of forced migration. Integration has
been introduced as a concept for discussing the adaptation experiences of refugees in a new
society. The possible outcome of negative adaptation experiences, social exclusion, is
examined and a possible framework for developing more socially just policies was
presented. Chapter 4 will explain the methodology behind the project and present the
techniques used during data collection and analysis.
Chapter 4
Methodology of the Research

4.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the methodology used to examine the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees. It begins with a discussion of approach, followed by a description of the research design which employs complementary multiple methods. Specific attention is placed on the critical importance of ethical and culturally appropriate research with refugees. Finally, the researcher briefly reflects on her experiences of conducting research with refugees.

The three sources of data are discussed and details of data analysis presented. This chapter provides a valuable opportunity to describe the research journey that was undertaken to meet the objectives outlined in Chapter 1. In doing so, the practical application of the theoretical framework, described in Chapter 3, can be discussed. The research journey can be a difficult process, particularly when sensitive cross-cultural issues are encountered. It is hoped that through discussing this particular research journey, additional knowledge will be available to those contemplating strategies for research with refugees in the future.

4.2 Methodological Approach

In refugee studies neutral research is not an option. And thus, paradoxically, the political character of refugee research on the one hand requires that we acknowledge the partiality of our knowledge and truths, while on the other hand the national and global politics that force people into exile indeed call for a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a real world.

(Lammers, 2005a:14)

Refugee studies have a long tradition of engagement with both advocacy and political issues. This project also follows in this tradition and thus accepts Lammers’ assertion that neutrality is impossible given this background and this thesis’ explicit commitment to investigating the impact of resettlement policy. Lammers’ quote highlights a dual imperative in light of this impossible neutrality. The dual imperative of acknowledging the
partiality of knowledge and truths, while also endeavouring to present faithful accounts of the real world, initially led the researcher to view the project as being caught between two paradigms. A post-positivist approach was clearly required to enable the researcher to acknowledge the partiality of the research. Yet the call for ‘faithful accounts’ originally led the researcher towards positivist notions of knowledge production, due to initial ideas that a faithful account must include ‘the truth’, which would be sought through observation only. However, further consideration of the meaning of a ‘faithful account’ led the researcher back to a post-positivist approach to the research. On reflection, it was felt that to be able to present a ‘faithful account’ of the reality of refugee resettlement experiences the research must be presented in a reflexive way. Once the dual imperative was reconsidered in terms of methodological approach, a tempered, reflexive post-positivist approach was decided on.

A tempered post-positivist approach is considered appropriate in this setting, as the fundamental aim of the project is to provide policy makers with additional knowledge on the impacts of the Two-Tiered Resettlement Assistance System. While some post-positivist approaches are rather extreme in their reflexivity and positioning of the author within the project (for example Hones, 1998), the aim of this study prevents the application of some of the more adventurous techniques of post-positivism. Rather, a tempered approach to post-positivism is conceptualised as one that is more palatable to policy makers and not so purely academic. Particularly, the location of the researcher at the heart of the research has not occurred, in part in response to the need for the research to be accessible to policy makers, and also as a mark of respect to the refugees who took part in the study. It is their stories that are considered most important and it was felt that the use of techniques such as first person narration by the researcher would draw attention away from their experiences. However, the researcher has not been “left out” of the research process, and the final section of this chapter considers the researcher’s experiences, and their impact on the research process is acknowledged. A multiple method research design was therefore selected, which enables the respondents to have their own voice included in the research, yet triangulated this qualitative data with more accepted quantitative data from a well regarded survey.

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6 Berg and Mansvelt (2003) note that it is difficult institutionally to present some forms of research that use a first–person narration.
4.2.1 Research with Refugees

The need for culturally sensitive, ethical and methodologically sound research with refugees has recently been discussed in the refugee studies literature. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) raised concerns that much research on forced migration was based on unsound methodologies and that the data and policy recommendations produced are often flawed or ethically suspect. Their criticism of small scale, qualitative studies focussed on what they saw as poor designs, short time periods and unrepresentative samples common in this type of research. Jacobsen and Landau called for researchers to produce data that was more representative, more objectively scientific and collected in ways that could be analysed quantitatively. Rodgers (2004), in his reply to Jacobsen and Landau’s paper, reasserts the benefits of small scale qualitative research and he argues that “hanging out” with refugees remains an indispensable research tool (Rodgers, 2004:49). The advantages of qualitative research with refugees include:

- Keeping open the channel for voices of forced migrants, without claiming to definitively represent them
- Fostering an appreciation for the complexity of forced migration, by sustaining some perspective on the multidimensional nature of forced migration
- Opening up some space for the ‘problem’ of forced migration to be configured in more locally intelligible terms, by permitting the simultaneous presence of multiple and contradictory experiences and perspectives
- Sustaining humanism within research that is arguably essential for informing ethical and accountable policy decisions.

Rodgers (2004) identifies some practical and institutional challenges to conducting and applying qualitative research, such as the packaging of knowledge in ways palatable to policy-makers and humanitarian workers, and the security dangers and discomforts of doing research in refugee settings. However, he highlights the importance of this type of research in developing deeper understandings of the experiences of refugees. The importance of both styles of research are thus recognised, and each play a valuable role in providing policy makers, service providers and researchers with additional information on the refugee experience. The research design for this study was therefore developed to encompass complementary research methods that provide the best opportunity of meeting the research objectives.
4.3 A Multiple Method Approach

The development of multiple method research strategies has grown out of the limitations of strict quantitative and qualitative methodologies. McKendrick (1996:5) portrays the *raison d’etre* of the multi-method approach as the need to combine research methods to improve a researcher’s ability to address a research problem. Yet, the ultimate benefits of multiple methodologies to research have been restricted in many areas of social research by critics unable to see past their epistemological positions. For many critics of multiple method research, quantitative and qualitative methodologies are associated with distinctive epistemologies, which cannot be brought together. Findlay’s (1996) reading of the history of population geography suggests that methodologies for studying migration have tended to be taken for granted by migration researchers, in terms of accepting the dominant methodology of the geographical community at the time. This resulted in most migration researchers seeing specific epistemologies (positivism, humanism or structuralism) as leading directly to a specific methodology. Epistemologies were not seen as able to be combined and consequently neither were different methodologies. However, notable exceptions abound, particularly in developing countries in Asia, Africa and the Pacific. For example the doctoral work of Bedford (1971), Hugo (1975) and Skeldon (1974) are significant examples of migration research that employed qualitative fieldwork as major components of the research. Thus, the application of multiple method research within the field of population geography is not as uncommon as Findlay attests. However, it has been less favoured in the past by researchers working in developed countries.

Building on McKendrick’s discussion of the benefits of multiple methodologies, the following points outline the major advantages, beyond improved research performance, of employing a multiple methodology approach to research:

1. Multiple method research strategies assist researchers in their desire to expand the breadth of understanding of a particular issue or phenomenon. Consistent with the traditional academic ideals of scholarship, breadth of knowledge is facilitated by the ability to draw on different techniques and methodological approaches in the search of knowledge.

2. Multiple method approaches, where a “general overview to isolate case studies for more detailed examination and the inverse whereby a researcher begins with a
Chapter 4: Methodology of the Research

case study, before seeking to situate the findings in a broader context” can be more entwined with the research problem under investigation (McKendrick, 1996:6).

3. Multiple method research builds on the principles of triangulation and can be used for confirmatory purposes, strengthening a research conclusion with a supporting argument derived from an independent approach which can instil more confidence in the ultimate conclusions. In contrast, multiple method research can also be used to consciously attempt to draw attention to inconsistencies between conclusions.

4. The tactical deployment of multiple method research allows the researcher to gain the confidence of an audience. Policy makers have tended to be wary of conclusions drawn from small scale, in-depth qualitative investigations. A careful integration of quantitative survey results with qualitatively based findings can be necessary to gain the trust of an audience and thereby facilitate the communication of key insights from qualitative data (Philip, 1998). As many qualitative approaches are still not understood or are deemed inappropriate by people outside the academy, multiple method approaches have the ability to enable research findings to be accepted within these circles.

5. Multiple method research can be used to investigate different aspects of the same research question. In situations where both qualitative and quantitative data are collected, the most appropriate technique can be selected for each aspect of the phenomenon.

6. “The multiple-methods approach represents a poly-vocal approach to research, where employing a range of methodological strategies means that the researcher does not necessarily privilege a particular way of looking at the social world” (Philip, 1998:261).

A discussion by Sale et al. (2002) of multiple method research within the health sciences presents a solution to the problems and criticisms of multiple method research (such as ontological and epistemological differences). They suggest that multiple method approaches can be applied in situations of complementary purpose. This stems from an
understanding that a distinction of phenomena is crucial in multiple method research, and it can be “clarified by labelling the phenomenon examined by each method” (Sale et al., 2002:50). This example from the health sciences illustrates their suggestion well, “a mixed methods study to develop a measure of burnout experienced by nurses could be described as a qualitative study of the lived experience of burnout to inform a quantitative measure of burnout” (Sale et al., 2002:50). The phenomena “burnout” first appears the same across methods, the distinction between “lived experience” and “measure” enables a reconciliation of the phenomenon to its respective method and paradigm. Following Sale et al. (2002) a description of the approach to this study of refugee resettlement can be put in the following way; a quantitative analysis of secondary data to inform a qualitative study of the lived experience resettlement. Further exploration of the approach is revealed in the next section.

Philip (1998) urges researchers to allow the research topic itself to play a prominent role in determining the research methodology, rather than the researcher automatically using a methodology because of historical tradition or epistemological positioning (Philip, 1998). Following this call to choose research strategies appropriate to the topic, and as a result of the relatively new emergence of the field and resulting lack of methodological tradition, multiple method research strategies have become commonplace in refugee studies in a wide range of research areas. Internationally, Wren (2003) used a multiple method approach in her investigation of the impact of refugee dispersal in Denmark, and Danso (2001) gathered quantitative and qualitative data in his study of African refugees in Toronto. Danso (2001:5) argues “even though much of the recent research in the social sciences has resorted to using mainly qualitative information, it is my contention that the best dataset is one that utilises a judicious mix of qualitative and quantitative data in the same analysis to help give a more comprehensive picture of the subject under investigation. No one type of data would be optimal enough for social science research given that social phenomenon are very complex and closely related and, therefore, less amenable to explanation by use of single methodologies or datasets”.

4.3.1 Structure of Research

A multiple method approach has been chosen as the most appropriate research strategy for this topic for the following reasons:
In order to investigate the lived experience of resettlement in Adelaide, in-depth interviews were required to gather adequate level of data for analysis. Quantitative data was needed in order to readily establish the context of the detailed qualitative findings. Quantitative data was also required to complement the qualitative data collected in interviews and provide a broader understanding of the resettlement experiences of refugees throughout Australia. A multi method approach will enable the research findings to be communicated and accepted beyond academia, improving the chances of policy recommendations being acted on.

The multiple methods selected include statistical analysis of quantitative data, thematic analysis of interviews with service providers and key informants and thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with refugees.

A suitable source of secondary data was identified as the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (Gartner, 1996). While not specifically focussed on refugees but rather all migrant arrivals, the survey covered a comprehensive range of issues related to the settlement and integration of recent migrant arrivals in Australia. The survey included two cohorts of respondents; the first cohort was interviewed three times, the second cohort was interviewed twice. While data from both cohorts was available to the researcher, policy changes in certain areas had rendered the first cohort data less reflective of the current situation for refugees. It was thus decided that data from the second cohort would be analysed for this study.

Interviews with key informants and service providers were selected as a precursor to the in-depth interviews with refugees. Data from service providers and key informants was used to identify issues for further exploration in the in-depth interviews. The in-depth interviews with refugees were then undertaken to explore the personal lived experiences of refugees during resettlement in Adelaide. Respondents were selected from two groups, the first group were Humanitarian entrants from Sudan who were issued visas offshore, and the second group were Iraqi refugees who had initially been issued with Temporary Protection Visas on release from immigration detention. The table below provides a
Chapter 4: Methodology of the Research

A graphical representation of the research model and further detail on these data sources and analysis is provided later in the chapter.

Table 4.1 Research Model

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1</th>
<th>Secondary Data</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
<th>Method of Analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSIA Cohort 2 (wave 1 &amp; 2)</td>
<td>Statistical Analysis</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 2</th>
<th>Primary Data</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
<th>Method of Analysis</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews with Service Providers and Key Informants</td>
<td>Thematic Analysis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In-depth Interviews</td>
<td>Thematic Analysis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) Sudanese Humanitarian Entrants</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) Iraqi Temporary Protection Visa Holders</td>
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4.4 Ethical Considerations

Due to the sensitive nature of the qualitative research being undertaken, considerable care was taken to ensure the research complied with the ethical responsibilities of researchers (set out in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct Involving Humans (NHMRC, 1999)). In addition, the vulnerability of the respondents, given their life experiences, was also considered. Preliminary interviews with key informants and service providers assisted in identifying ethical operational issues that needed addressing. The issue identified as most important was the need for complete confidentiality for all respondents. While this is a requirement of the Statement (NHMRC, 1999: 47), additional issues were regarding the lack of confidentiality (and horrific consequences) that refugees may have experienced prior to arrival in Australia. Under these circumstances, particular care was urged by the key informants, in the context of demonstrating confidentiality in front of respondents. This concern guided the approach used in interviewing and rewriting notes.

Other ethical considerations have shaped the semi-structured interviews. As many refugees have fled their country after witnessing or experiencing traumatic situations, it was decided that the study would not cover in detail the pre-migration experiences of respondents, in order to avoid the possibility of causing respondents unnecessary distress. As a result, respondents were not directly asked about the situation and experiences that led to their departure from their home country. Adequate details about the situation in Sudan (for example Idris, 2001; Johnson, 2003; UNHCR, 2000b) and Iraq (for example Human Rights Watch, 2003; Robson, 1995; UNHCR, 2000a) were already available from...
secondary sources. Information was sought, however, about their journey to Australia. This migration history information was sought from respondents in a factual manner, without requiring them to discuss their feelings or emotions during the journey. However, many respondents chose to give extremely detailed accounts of their journeys to Australia despite the line of questioning by the researcher. Under these circumstances it was recognised that the researcher could not stop these accounts being given, and more importantly should not, as they were clearly deemed of great relevance to the refugees who were being asked to describe their experiences.

Interview respondents were asked to select a pseudonym that was recorded on all information they provided to the researcher. Respondents were asked to select a name that reflected their gender and cultural background in order to avoid inappropriate pseudonyms being selected by the researcher. Some respondents opted to use their initials.

The operational issues related to recording interview material were carefully considered by the researcher, and after much deliberation and discussions with key informants and her supervisors, a decision was made not to tape-record interviews. This decision was ultimately based on the importance of distancing the research from any formal interrogation processes that respondents were likely to have been subjected to in their past. Previous research with refugees had identified problems associated with tape recording (Omidian, 2000; Goodkind and Deacon, 2004; Glazebrook, 2005) and it was known that refugees could perceive tape-recorded interviews as akin to ‘official interrogations’ (Omidian, 2000). As the research was endeavouring to gain detailed information on the lived experiences of recently arrived refugees, this association with official interrogations would have been a severe hindrance in the interviews, and could likely have led to many refusals to participate. Respondents, particularly those who were still concerned for their family’s safety overseas, and those who were still wary about taking part while they were awaiting a decision on the permanent visas by the federal government, welcomed this approach.

In addition, the benefits of transcribed interviews were likely to be lost when interpreters were used. The verbatim quotes, which are easily transcribed from taped interviews, would not be available when an interpreter was used, as the quotes would have been the
interpreters, not the respondents. This decreased the benefits of tape recording considerably, and also contributed to the final decision not to tape record interviews.

4.4.1 Ethical Clearance
The University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee gave approval for the study. A copy of the Application for Ethical Approval of a Project involving Human Subjects, and accompanying documents are provided in Appendix A.

4.5 Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia
The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) is a longitudinal dataset on the early settlement experiences offshore-visaed immigrants in Australia. This section presents a discussion on the development and use of longitudinal migration surveys, with particular reference to the LSIA.

The LSIA was developed to collect data on how well immigrants settle into their newly adopted country, and a longitudinal approach was taken in response to increasing awareness that a full understanding of the immigration and settlement process requires the study of the same individuals at different times during the process (Gartner, 1996; DIMIA, 2002b).

4.5.1 Background to the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia
The development of the LSIA began in the late 1980s and was associated with the development of the Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR) in 1989. This quasi-governmental institution was established after the findings of the independent inquiry headed by Fitzgerald, into immigration and settlement were released (Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (CAAIP), 1988). Its directive was to co-ordinate and implement research into immigration to Australia, and an early issue identified by the BIR was the limitation of existing sources on immigration and settlement for policy development. A strong argument was put forward that deeper, policy-relevant insights into migration settlement processes could only emerge through the ability to follow migrant’s experiences at each stage of the settlement process (Hugo, 2000). The need for longitudinal data was therefore recognised, as previous research had predominantly been small scale, one-off studies, often orientated to particular ethnic groups, places or policies. A feasibility study incorporating a prototype longitudinal survey (set up in 1991) produced results of
considerable usefulness for policy makers. The prototype also demonstrated the survey’s ability to provide valuable results after each wave of interviews, thus rendering the survey useful to policy makers prior to full completion of all interview waves. Hugo (2000) claims this was an important rebuttal to a common criticism of longitudinal survey - that being the substantial time delay commonly experienced as a result of needing to wait until a cohort has passed completely through all stages of the settlement process. The successful prototype survey led to the first cohort interviews beginning in 1993. The first cohort (LSIA1) completed the three wave interviews in 1999.

After the 1996 federal election, the incoming Liberal government made significant changes to the migration and settlement policies. The revised selection criteria for migrants and some humanitarian entrants developed in the new policies meant that the LSIA1 was no longer an accurate indication of the new arrival’s experiences. This led to the inclusion of the second cohort, which due to budget restraints was limited to 2 waves of interviews. A specific requirement of the second cohort was to investigate the impact of the introduction of a two-year waiting period for social security benefits for some migrants (DIMIA, 2002b).

4.5.2 Sampling and Survey Design

4.5.2.1 LSIA2 Survey Population

The population represented in the LSIA2 sample is all Primary Applicants (PAs) aged 15 years and over who arrived in Australia as offshore-visaed immigrants. The period of arrival was one year, from September 1999 to August 2000. The following groups were not included in the survey population:

- New Zealand Citizens
- Immigrants granted a visa while resident in Australia
- Immigrants who had special eligibility visas (eg former Australian citizens)
- Immigrants who did not have an identifiable country of birth

For the LSIA2, the proportion of offshore-visaed PA immigrants under 15 years of age was 4%, and after other exclusions (1%) the size of the remaining population for LSIA2 is around 32,500 PAs (DIMIA, 2002b:14).
4.5.2.2 Geographical Coverage

PA immigrants selected for interviews were predominantly from urban areas and were settled in State and Territory capital cities or in major urban centres close to capital cities such as Newcastle and Wollongong. Immigrants excluded from the survey because they lived outside these areas make up about 4% of the total PA immigrants aged over 15 years. No adjustment was made in the final estimates for PAs settling outside the above areas not being interviewed. This is recognised as resulting in a minor bias in estimates (DIMIA, 2002b:15).

4.5.2.3 Interview Schedule

Immigrants were interviewed twice for the LSIA2. The first interview was conducted five or six months after arrival, the second interview one year later. Figure 4.1 shows the interview periods for each wave of interviews.

![Figure 4.1 LSIA2 Interview Schedule](image)

4.5.2.4 Sample Size and Stratification

The final LSIA2 sample was 3,124 PA arrivals. This represented around ten percent of the total in-scope PAs that arrived in the survey period. The sample was stratified by visa entry categories (Preferential Family, Concessional Family, Business Skills and Employer Nomination Scheme, Independent and Humanitarian) and by country of birth. Initially the survey was designed to sample immigrants from the DIMIA Settlement Database (SDB). The SDB drew the majority of addresses from the Settlement Assistance Information Form which permanent settlers were requested to complete in their country of origin. However, form completion is voluntary and it was found that some groups had lower completion rates than others. Thus, contact address information was supplemented with the inclusion of addresses provided on the arrival cards filled in by all persons entering Australia.
4.5.2.5 Questionnaire
The LSIA questionnaires developed into long and quite complex questionnaires as a result of responding positively to the many stakeholders interested in the survey. The interviews were conducted with the PA and spouse/partners in the migrating unit, however the spouse/partner questionnaires only covered some of the topics included in the PA questionnaires. Table 4.3 (adapted from Cobb-Clarke, 2001:471) demonstrates the range of topics included in the study, and over 300 individual questions were included in the PA questionnaire. Interviews were conducted face to face by a commercial company in order to put the survey at ‘arms length’ from the government. Interviews were conducted in languages other than English if required, and a variety of interpreters were used including family and friends, official interpreters and bilingual interviewers.

4.5.2.6 LSIA2 Data
Attrition between the two waves was accounted for under the following categories (Table 4.2). It can be seen that relatively little attrition among the waves were related to refusals at the second wave.

Table 4.2 Attrition between LSIA2 Wave 1 and Wave 2
Source: DIMIA, 2002b

| NOTE: This table is included on page 81 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library. |

4.5.2.7 Limitations of the LSIA2 As with any survey, there are some limitations of the LSIA2 that must be acknowledged. The lack of a native-born comparison group reduces the ability for analysts to compare the experiences of immigrants with the host population. Cobb-Clarke (2001:469) argues “while comparisons can be made between different types of immigrants – that is, between those with different qualifications and skills, holding different visas, or in different family structures – it is not possible to say anything about immigrant status per se”. The lack of a native-born comparison group therefore restricts analysis on such topics as whether recent arrivals have poorer labour market outcomes than similar natives.
### Table 4.3 Topics Included in the LSIA2 Primary Applicant Questionnaire

Source: adapted from Cobb-Clarke, 2001:471

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Selected Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demographic</td>
<td>Gender, age, marital status, ancestry, religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Structure</td>
<td>Characteristics of household members (gender, age, relationship, marital status, citizenship, country of birth, year of immigration, income, education and work status) relatives elsewhere (in and out of Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant Status</td>
<td>Visa category, sponsorship status, date of immigration, former home country, country of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before Immigration</td>
<td>Conditions in former home country, previous migration history, labour market status, occupation, industry, hours, job tenure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Immigration Process</td>
<td>Decision process, countries applied to, reasons for migration, prior visits, information and perceptions about Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td>Citizenship status, citizenship intentions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social services use</td>
<td>Extent and type of assistance provided (government and non-government agencies), satisfaction with assistance, waiting period for benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return visits and emigration</td>
<td>Overseas travel since migration, emigration plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>Highest qualification, field of study, where obtained, use on job, qualification assessment process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Ability</td>
<td>Languages spoken well, language spoken at home, best language spoken, English ability (speaking, reading and writing), use of English on the job, use of an interpreter, English Competency Test rating, English instruction before and after immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further study</td>
<td>Current student status, institution of further study, type of qualification, field of study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Labour Market Status</td>
<td>Current employment status, current main activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job search</td>
<td>Hours, multiple job holding (hours, occupation industry of second job) start date, earnings, occupation, industry, job satisfaction, job search while employed, previous unemployment, difficulty finding this job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently unemployed</td>
<td>Assistance in job search, length of unemployment, difficulty finding job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous jobs</td>
<td>Number, start and stop date, occupation, industry, hours, reason for job ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Location, dwelling type, ownership status, mortgage or rent paid, size, value, difficulties in finding housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Long-term conditions, overall health status, use of health services, mental health assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Budget</td>
<td>Assets transferred to and from Australia, number and value of motor vehicles, consumption (food, transport, childcare, utilities), financial help given or received (friends, relatives, government agencies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income and finances</td>
<td>Amount of government payments by source, earnings, wage and salary, business income, unearned income, total income</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second limitation is the shortness of the panel data (Cobb-Clark, 2001; Black et al., 2003). While the LSIA data can provide quite detailed information on the early settlement
period, it offers no opportunity to collect data on the long-term equilibrium behaviour of immigrants by restricting the panel length. Such a restriction limits the ability of researchers to gain a deeper understanding of the long-term prospects of immigrants arriving in Australia. For example, important research into the influence of initial labour market advantage experienced by skilled migrants, on long-term settlement, cannot be undertaken with the LSIA dataset (Cobb-Clarke, 2001:469). While this limitation is not a concern for the present study, the final limitation discussed below has significant implications for the analysis.

The third and most important deficit in LSIA2, as far as this research is concerned, is the exclusion of onshore-visaed humanitarian entrants from the sample population. While the LSIA2 includes humanitarian entrants who were issued visas outside of Australia, it does not include any respondents who were provided visas in Australia. This has meant that a comparative analysis of onshore and offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants’ early settlement experiences cannot be made from LSIA2 data. This is particularly important to remember when data from the LSIA2 is used in this thesis. While a direct comparative analysis cannot be made, the LSIA2 data is still immensely useful in providing a meso-level description of the experiences of offshore-visaed humanitarian entrants in Australia. When the qualitative descriptions of early settlement experiences are combined with this, insight can still be gained into the differences in settlement experiences that onshore and offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants have.

4.5.3 LSIA2 Data Analysis

LSIA2 data was analysed using the SPSS software package. As the LSIA2 cohort did not cover onshore-visaed humanitarian entrants, detailed analysis with the two selected humanitarian visa categories was not possible. Therefore most analysis was undertaken at a broader level, with comparisons being undertaken between those new arrivals issued visas under the Humanitarian, Family reunion and Skilled migration streams. Limited analysis was undertaken at the level of country of birth groups within the Humanitarian visa category because the actual number of respondents in each of these categories was quite small and would therefore have been less reliable. Table 4.4 shows the size of the weighted population in each of the migration streams and for each case study group. All data analysed for this research has been weighted to correct for the different sample proportions
between different groups of migrants as required by DIMIA in the user documentation (DIMIA, 2002b:19).

The statistical analysis undertaken was primarily basic descriptive analysis, with frequencies and two and three-way cross tabulations used to produce the tables included in the thesis. Due to the LSIA2 questionnaire including open ended questions, many variables were recoded in order to reduce the range of answers to a manageable level for cross-tabulations.

**Table 4.4 Interview and Weighted Sample Size for Selected Categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: LSIA2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Respondents</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewed Sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skilled</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Humanitarian</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.6 Service Provider and Key Informant Interviews**

Interviews with key informants and service providers were undertaken early in the research process. The selection of service providers was undertaken by identifying agencies and organisations that worked with the two case study groups, or could provide a broader perspective of humanitarian entrant settlement in South Australia. Some interviews were the result of referrals from initial respondents either within their organisation or from another organisation. Interviews were conducted with service providers at their place of work and lasted between one and two hours. The service providers were asked questions regarding background information on the refugee communities, refugee policies, settlement issues and possible operational problems for the in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted with 8 representatives from the following organisations:

- Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia (MRCSA)
- Australian Refugee Association (ARA)
- Multicultural Communities of South Australia
- South Australian Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission
- Anglican Church
- Survivors of Trauma and Torture Rehabilitation Service (STTARS)
While several other service providers were contacted for interviews, the researcher was informed that the organisations were already overworked and would not be able to spare the time for interviews. This was particularly the case for health care providers, housing assistance providers and employment services. Thus it must be recognised that these interviews with service providers were not able to provide a comprehensive understanding of the range of issues related to service providers due to the exclusion of some important aspects of the settlement process.

Interviews with key informants from the two case study groups were facilitated through the service providers. Referrals from the service providers were seen as the best method for contacting key informants, as initial direct approaches were found to be unsuccessful due to publicly available contact information being out of date. Service providers therefore were asked to identify people from each community who would be able to provide some background information on the communities and specific assistance with issues related to cross cultural communication and interviewing members of their communities. Approaches were made through the service providers and then contact details were passed to the researcher. Four interviews with key informants were undertaken at this stage and interviews took between one and two hours and were conducted at the key informant’s homes.

The interviews were used as a testing ground for the main focus and topics of the research. Service providers and key informants were very generous with their comments and suggestions. Issues relating to cross-cultural communication and culturally appropriate interviewing were discussed and assisted the researcher with preparations for the interviews with refugees.

4.7 In-depth Interviews with Refugees

4.7.1 Developing Links with Communities

Throughout the project the researcher attended many events related to refugees and multiculturalism in Australia. The interviews with key informants identified that developing strong links with the communities would be an important aspect of the study in order to gain the confidence of the communities. The researcher received several invitations from the key informants to community events. She also attended several forums run by the Australian Refugee Association. Multicultural festivals were also attended,
often at the invitation of a gatekeeper or respondent. Specific events held by the Sudanese community and attended by the researcher included a Sudanese wedding and a welcome party for new arrivals and new babies. While the researcher was also invited to several events (including a pre wedding party for women) with the Iraqi community, the researcher was already experiencing difficulties dealing with the personal impacts of the research (discussed further in the last section of this chapter), and declined most of the invitations. However, she did attend an opening of an exhibition of quilts made by Iraqi refugee women in Australia and had contact with Iraqis at multicultural events.

Additional activities undertaken by the researcher included voluntary tutoring work with Sudanese refugee students at a private Catholic college in Adelaide, attendance at a cross-cultural awareness workshop for service providers and an information session run by the providers of the IHSS in South Australia.

4.7.2 Multiple Interview Technique
The research design included a series of in-depth interviews with recently arrived refugees. A series of three interviews using a semi-structured interview guide was developed. A multiple interview approach was designed for a number of reasons. Several interviews were considered necessary to develop a trusting relationship with respondents and to fully explore the issues raised (Pflegerl et al., 2003) and multiple interviews with the same respondent enabled the researcher to clarify previous interview comments (if needed) at a subsequent interview, leading to a lower probability of misinterpreted data. Whilst three interviews was a significant commitment for respondents to agree to, it was felt that the quality of data collected in a one off interview would not be sufficient. Interviews were planned approximately one week apart and designed to be completed over a three-week period.

4.7.3 Interview Schedule
The interview schedule was developed in such a way that topics deemed by the researcher to be most sensitive were left until the final interview, when a certain degree of trust and rapport had been developed. This approach was successful and none of the respondents refused to discuss any topics, although some gave less detailed information than others. The interview topics were introduced in the following order in each interview, however as the interviews were semi structured, flexibility was important and topic sequences were
rearranged if respondents naturally progressed to another topic during their discussions. The complete interview schedule, including the demographic background sheet and starting questions is included in Appendix B. Table 4.5 shows an overview of the planned structure of interviews.

### Table 4.5 Topics Planned for Each Interview

| Interview 1                                      | • Background Information  
|                                                | • Migration History  
|                                                | • Early settlement assistance  
|                                                | • Initial experiences and reactions |
| Interview 2                                      | • English Language  
|                                                | • Social Networks  
|                                                | • Housing  
|                                                | • Cultural Adjustments |
| Interview 3                                      | • Education  
|                                                | • Employment  
|                                                | • Health  
|                                                | • Income/Expenditure  
|                                                | • Remittances  
|                                                | • Identity  
|                                                | • Visa Category |

#### 4.7.4 Timing of Research

The in-depth interviews with recently arrived refugees took place between March and December 2005. The Sudanese refugee interviews were undertaken first (between March and August), and the Iraqi interviews took place between August and December. It was decided that the Sudanese interviews would be started first, as the researcher had made more contacts with the Sudanese community than the Iraqi community at that stage. In addition, it was felt that the cross-cultural differences were slightly less between the researcher and Sudanese refugees (the majority in Adelaide are Christian) than the Iraqi refugees (the majority in Adelaide are Muslim). Beginning with the Sudanese enabled the researcher to develop her skills in cross-cultural interviewing before interviewing respondents from a different religious and cultural background.

The interview stage of the research took considerably longer than anticipated. The respondent selection process and interview procedure selected were time consuming and highly dependent on respondents, removing control of the process from the researcher. However an unanticipated benefit of the drawn out process was that it enabled time to reflect on interviews and follow up on comments made by respondents.
The political climate during the Iraqi interviews shaped some discussions during interviews outside of the interview schedule. During interviews with the last few Iraqi respondents, the initial stage of Saddam Hussein’s trial was being telecast on satellite TV. At some interviews the broadcasts were on in the background while the interviews were conducted. The respondents and their families demonstrated extreme anger towards Sadam’s regime during the interviews. The researcher was shown photographs of family members who had “disappeared” or knowingly been murdered as the respondents demonstrated the impact of the regime on their lives. Discussions took place on the fairness of the trial and the likelihood of Sadam ever being brought to account for his atrocities. Respondents were also considering the possibility of returning home, often for reunions with parents and other family members, but still showed concern that the old regime still wielded power. Several Iraqi respondents told the researcher of Iraqis who had been deported from Australia and were murdered on return for being traitors of the state when they fled as refugees. It was felt that these respondents were in some ways trying to convince her that even though the trial had begun, it was still not safe in Iraq and probably never would be for these families. This mood during the interviews had a significant impact on both the researcher and the respondents, and was a major difference between the interviews with Iraqis and Sudanese respondents, whom spoke much less about the atrocities in Sudan during their interviews.

4.7.5 Finding Respondents

Many difficulties were faced when selecting a method of identifying possible respondents for interviews. As the research was seeking refugee respondents in the early resettlement period, several traditional sampling methods were found to be unsuitable. The use of electoral roles was ruled out as most refugees in this period would probably not have enrolled to vote yet. Up-to-date figures on the community size in Adelaide were also unavailable, in part due to the lack of information available on TPV holders, and the high mobility rates of refugees. Census data was ruled out as a method of determining the size of the community, as many had arrived since the last census count in 2001. Further, as the case study communities were new and emerging communities, there were no comprehensive lists of community members from which to draw a sample. As a result, a snowball sampling method was selected, initiated through community gatekeepers. This method had some limitations, and meant that community members with weak links to their community would most likely have been excluded from the sample. This limitation has a
ramification for the findings, in the development of a bias in the selection of respondents towards those who were engaged with other community members.

In addition, the ethical considerations for the project included the need for respondents to be completely free from coercion to take part in the study. Thus sampling problems, ethical issues and the sensitive cultural norms related to male and female interactions in the communities, lead to the researcher approaching gatekeepers from the respective communities to assist in finding possible respondents for the study. Gatekeepers were contacted through the MRC and ARA (service providers in Adelaide) and were either employed or worked as volunteers in settlement support roles with these organisations. The gatekeepers, as members of the communities, had a broad knowledge of the settlement issues and excellent advice about undertaking research with the groups. Once gatekeepers were identified, initial meetings were established to explain the research project and the need for interviews, and the role the gatekeepers would be asked to play in identifying respondents. Gatekeepers were informed of the need to interview respondents from a variety of backgrounds.

However, it was found that the gatekeepers were extremely busy people and unable to provide enough contacts in a timely manner. Gatekeepers also had difficulty identifying willing participants and in a few cases the researcher felt interviews were being agreed to as a favour to the gatekeeper. In addition the researcher felt that the gatekeepers were tending to provide contacts to “suitable” respondents who had particular stories that the gatekeepers felt were important to tell. This topic was never broached with the gatekeepers, however, a decision was made on practical and methodological grounds that another technique of selecting respondents was required.

Extending the snowball technique to include respondents as recruiters was therefore employed to find additional respondents for interviewing. Respondents who were already taking part in the study were asked if they could think of someone they knew (if possible someone different in some way from them) who might be interested in also taking part in the study. The researcher then asked them to contact that person before the next interview to explain the study and ask if they would be interested in taking part. The researcher was given their phone number at the next interview if it was suitable for them to make contact with the next respondent. This process worked quite well as many respondents said they
felt comfortable taking part because their friend already had, and they had told them it was easy to talk about the questions. However, some respondents did not want to provide referrals to the researcher until they had completed all three of the interviews, which delayed the interview process somewhat. Overall, the extended snowball technique was found to be more useful in seeking out “alternative” experiences of resettlement, and perhaps additional experiences that would not have been revealed if the researcher had relied on the gatekeepers for all interview contacts.

Interviews were generally arranged through the gatekeeper or directly on the telephone once the respondent had been contacted by the gatekeeper (or previous respondent). Mutually convenient times were selected, however the researcher preferred daytime appointments for safety reasons. This was suitable for nearly all respondents, as most were not working or worked shifts. The researcher, at times, needed to be extremely flexible, and do “whatever it took” to get the interviews. This meant that she acted as a taxi service for some respondents, picking them up from work or dropping them off, or taking them to the shops or a friend’s house. These drives were often quite useful in gaining an understanding of how long the orientation process in a new city takes, with many wrong directions being given!

4.7.6 Interview Respondents

Selection Criteria
A selection criterion for respondents was developed that prescribed that respondents needed to be at least 18 years of age at the time of interview, and had been resident in the Australian community (not including time in immigration detention) for at least 6 months and not longer than 5 years. The criteria also required Sudanese respondents to have been issued a Humanitarian visa (either a refugee visa or SHP visa) offshore. The Iraqi respondents were required to have been issued a Temporary Protection visa on release from immigration detention.

These selection criteria were decided upon as the research was concerned with the resettlement experiences of adults during their early resettlement stage. Stein (1981:326) recognised that “after four or five years the refugee has completed the major part of adjustment. Less change occurs after this point”. A minimum residence period was set at 6
months as it was felt that, any earlier than this, respondents may not have had enough time to reflect on their experiences and may still be going through quite extreme culture shock.

As a fairly small number of respondents were to be interviewed, the study was designed to select respondents who were able to represent a range of experiences. This meant that respondents of different educational and employment backgrounds were sought, as well as respondents of both genders and from a wide age range. Respondents living in a variety of living arrangements were also sought, from single people living alone, to large, multi-generational families.

**Respondents**

A total of 19 refugee respondents participated in the in-depth interviews. Ten respondents were Sudanese born refugees and nine respondents were Iraqi born refugees. The gender balance was difficult to achieve for a range of reasons for both groups. Of the Sudanese respondents, 3 were male and 7 were female. Two Iraqi respondents were male and 7 were female. Table 4.6 provides the pseudonyms, gender and age range of each respondent. The gender imbalance was felt by the researcher to be related to her own gender and the cultural issues related to male and female interactions. While the Sudanese respondents often referred the researcher to people they knew would have time to participate (generally women at home caring for children), the researcher felt that she was not referred to prospective Iraqi male respondents as it would be inappropriate for the female respondent to contact males, and for the Australian born female researcher to visit them unaccompanied. The first male Iraqi interviewed was a younger male who was not living a strict Muslim lifestyle and had taken on western social customs. The second respondent was the husband of a female respondent and the couple were interviewed together. These two male respondents were both referred by gatekeepers.

A total of 48 separate interviews were conducted over a period of 9 months in 2005. Due to circumstances beyond the control of the researcher, not every respondent was able to commit to interviews on three separate occasions. Nine of the Sudanese respondents were interviewed on three separate occasions. The other Sudanese respondent completed the first two interviews and was un-contactable for the last interview. Five Iraqi respondents completed the series of three interviews. One Iraqi respondent completed the first

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7 Additional information (such as marital status and occupation) about each respondent is not included in this profile as it was felt that it would make some respondents identifiable
interview and then travelled interstate for work. A couple were interviewed together on two occasions, and the third interview was with the wife only. One respondent asked to complete all the interview topics in only two visits and another Iraqi respondent agreed to a one off interview in which all topics were discussed, but in less detail.

Table 4.6 Profile of In-Depth Interview Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>JL</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Wheezy</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Monica</td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Kegi</td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Akiki</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Vicki</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Lo</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>FK</td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Souad</td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Wail</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Shamis</td>
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<td>Loma</td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Rim</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7.7 Refusals to Participate

As the initial contacts were not made by the researcher and were made on her behalf by gatekeepers and respondents, it is difficult to know how many respondents were approached and refused to take part. However, Sudanese gatekeepers and respondents informed the researcher that several prospective respondents had refused due to childcare or employment commitments. In one instance a phone number of a prospective respondent was passed on to the researcher and when the prospective respondent was contacted by the
The researcher was very surprised (and pleased) when this man offered to find another to take his place. This experience was typical of the Sudanese, who were generally very helpful in assisting the researcher to make appointments with new respondents. Overall the researcher’s perception was that those Sudanese respondents who refused to take part did so because they were actually too busy to take part, not because of concerns with the study or interviews.

In contrast, the researcher was aware of more refusals from Iraqi refugees. The Iraqi gatekeeper told the researcher on several occasions that the Iraqi people “want to forget everything” and get on with their lives in Australia. The gatekeeper specifically mentioned two families who had refused to take part in the project due to concerns that their participation may jeopardise their Permanent Protection visa processing. While the researcher made every effort to convince the gatekeeper (and hopefully in turn the prospective respondents) that their participation was completely confidential and could not jeopardise their permanent visa applications, difficulties were still experienced in seeking Iraqi respondents, leading to only nine Iraqis being interviewed (instead of the planned ten). In one instance the gatekeeper had arranged an interview appointment and an interpreter had been organised, only for the gatekeeper to ring the morning of the interview to inform the researcher that the family would not be taking part in the research. Upon further discussions it became apparent that the wife had initially agreed to the interview, but then her husband had forbidden her to take part in case it had anything to do with the government. The family could not be persuaded that the researcher was an independent researcher from the University and was never interviewed.

These experiences were not unanticipated by the researcher, but the difference in attitude towards the research between the two groups was. The high level of suspicion and mistrust within the Iraqi community was evident in some individual’s attitudes towards the study. These attitudes were not apparent in the Sudanese respondents (however they may have been shielded by the gatekeepers) and many comments regarding the Sudanese respondents of gratitude towards the Australian government were made. Prior to fieldwork being undertaken, the researcher had been prepared to experience a high level of suspicion and mistrust from both groups, as each had come from countries where the government and universities often worked together against the people. The actual experience with
refugees during fieldwork has led the researcher to believe that while individuals within each group may have had an understanding of the independent nature of university research in Australia, the experiences each group had of the Australian government significantly affected their attitude to a study which was specifically described as being an investigation into visa category, something the respondents knew was organised by the government.

4.7.8 Conducting Interviews

Location

Respondents were asked to nominate their preferred location for each interview. Interviews were conducted with respondents in a variety of locations including the researcher’s office and respondent’s place of employment, however the majority took place at the respondent’s home. Despite some initial concerns for the researcher’s safety, conducting interviews in respondent’s homes increased the possibility of gaining interviews. Most respondents interviewed were women, and the majority had childcare responsibilities making it difficult for them to travel to interviews. In addition, many recently arrived refugees had not yet gained a driver’s licence or had limited access to transport. It was also felt that it was important for respondents to be in familiar surroundings during interviews, to ensure their comfort as much as possible. Further, by interviewing in respondents homes, the researcher gained additional insight into the home life of recent arrivals.

Developing Rapport

The importance of developing rapport with respondents was reiterated both in the literature on interview technique (Hynes, 2003; Pflergerl et al., 2003; Powles, 2004) and by gatekeepers and key informants. Consideration was made when arranging interviews to find mutually convenient times when the interviews would not be rushed, enabling the researcher and respondent to get to know each other through discussions not always related to the interview topics. In many instances the researcher found herself being questioned back by respondents and was happy to answer their enquiries. At some stages the researcher felt that she was a primary source of information for recent arrivals and was often asked to explain the idiosyncrasies of government bureaucracy, Australian cultural norms and social etiquette. These discussions were unanticipated by the researcher and actually led to a better understanding of the difficulties involved in adjusting to a completely new society.
Length of Interviews

Interview length varied from 45 minutes to just over 4 hours. The respondent generally dictated the interview length, with shorter interviews generally occurring with respondents who had trouble expressing themselves in English (with and without interpreters present). The longer interviews generally occurred on the final visit, when both the respondent and researcher had developed a good rapport with each other. In many cases the researcher was invited to at least share a cup of tea with the respondent and their family, and in some cases the researcher was invited for meals.

Children often interrupted interviews, as did phone calls and visitors, and few interviews actually occurred in private, with family members or friends nearly always present. This was not seen as a problem for the respondents, and the researcher became used to interviews being stopped and started. The researcher was introduced to a wider variety of experiences as the other people present at interviews also added comments. While not recorded or analysed, the comments added to the researcher’s understanding of the variety of resettlement experiences refugees have.

Using Interpreters

Interpreters were used in situations when the respondents felt that they were required. This meant that in some instances respondents could actually answer in broken English but felt more comfortable with an interpreter, and at other times an interpreter would have been useful to provide more depth to an answer which the respondent could not give in English due to their limited vocabulary.

Respondents were asked to nominate their own interpreter to ensure they felt comfortable discussing personal matters in front of them. In many cases the interpreter was a family member or the respondent who had referred the researcher to the new respondent. A decision was made not to use official interpreters due to the limited number of suitable official interpreters in Adelaide and the high probability of respondents having had the same interpreters in the past at meetings with DIMIA, Centrelink and other government agencies.

Working with interpreters was a new experience for the researcher and took some time to get used to. As the interpreters changed for nearly every respondent interview it was
difficult to develop a good working relationship with individual interpreters. Interviews using interpreters were actually shorter in many cases than those with English speaking respondents due to interpreters paraphrasing the respondents answer when translating it back to English. This was found to reduce the details recorded in the interviews conducted with interpreters.

**Note taking**
As previously discussed the interviews were not tape-recorded, and as a result, note taking during interviews was very important. However, the researcher often had difficulty keeping up with the discussion. This lead to a personal form of short hand being developed. In a few instances the rapid flow of discussion was halted while the researcher made sure that the respondent’s story was being recorded accurately. This was felt to be a downside to the decision to only take notes as it interrupted the flow of the discussion and led to the respondent needing to wait for the researcher to catch up. However, respondents appeared happier with this situation when they knew it meant that the details and complexity of the discussion were being accurately recorded.

**4.7.9 Writing Up Interviews**
The process of rewriting notes from the personal shorthand into a word document on the computer was required to take place within a day of the interview occurring, as the researcher often relied on short notes and cues to remind her of additional comments to make in the rewritten notes. Due to the absence of tape-recordings and the need for rapid note taking during interviews, few verbatim quotes were recorded. The majority of the interview material rewritten into the word document was in the form of comments, opinions and observations made by respondents, but written into simple sentence and paragraph form for the computer. A benefit of having multiple interviews was that any confusion that was identified in the notes from the previous interview could be rectified, and any topics found to require more explanation could be expanded on at the next interview.

**4.7.10 In-depth Interview Analysis**
In selecting a technique for analysing the in-depth interview material, it was recognised that the form of the data precluded the use of some techniques given that there were no transcripts from which to analyse the actual words used by the respondents. A particular
form of content analysis – thematic analysis was selected as a suitable technique as it enabled the interview material to be examined at a manifest level with the themes directly observable from the information (Boyatzis, 1998:4). Content analysis is argued by Patton (2002:452) to refer to any “qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” and the “core meanings” are often called patterns and themes. The process of searching for these patterns or themes is called, respectively, pattern or theme analysis. However, the distinctions between pattern and theme analysis is not very clear-cut and researchers are often looking for both as they analyse data. Ryan and Bernard (2000:780) discuss themes as constructs that investigators identify before, during and after data collection. In this study, themes were identified before the in-depth interviews from the literature review and interviews with service providers and key informants. Additional themes were added during the data collection process as respondents raised new issues. Finally, more themes were added as the interview material was coded and additional themes emerged.

Miles and Huberman (1994:56) assert that “coding is analysis” given that reviewing field notes and “dissecting them meaningfully while keeping the relations between the parts intact, is the stuff of analysis”. Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the material compiled during a study and codes can be used to retrieve and organise the material in a form that relates back to the research question and objectives. In this study the in-depth interview notes were initially entered into a word document, before being imported into the NVivo qualitative software program developed by QSR International. Once all interviews were imported, interviews were coded to nodes developed from the topics in the interview schedule and new topics that arose in the interviews. These nodes were organised around the themes, for example with all topics from the interview schedule being coded to tree nodes and new topics outside of the interview schedule coded to free nodes. An example of a parent node for a tree node would be ‘Housing’, and the child nodes included ‘Housing Trust’, ‘Private Rental’ and ‘Condition’. This led to interview responses being coded into a total of 41 nodes.

Once the interview material was coded, it was organised according to the themes, which were re-organised into particular spheres of resettlement (economic, social, political and cultural) as well as journey and arrival experiences. The researcher then looked for patterns among the experiences of the respondents, noting the similarities and differences between
individuals and case study groups. These similarities and differences have formed the basis of selection of case studies and examples used in Section B of the thesis.

4.8 Reflections on the Research Process

In this final section of the chapter, the personal impacts of the study on the researcher are briefly addressed, as part of a reflexive reflection on the research process. Widdowfield (2000:201) in her article on the place of emotions in academic research considers the value and validity of discussing the personal impacts of research, given that emotions have a “real and tangible” impact on the research process. In this study, the highly emotive nature of the topic had a significant impact on the researcher, and in turn the research process. Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the study for the researcher was learning to deal with her reactions to reading and listening to refugee’s stories. Feelings of helplessness and despair were quite overwhelming for the researcher, who experienced periods of “research paralysis” (Widdowfield, 2000:201) during the study. These periods acted to postpone the commencement of the fieldwork, as the researcher felt unready to begin interviewing, and then continued to delay the fieldwork as the researcher experienced some post-traumatic stress symptoms related to an ‘over-exposure’ of horrific refugee stories. On reflection, while unrecognised at the time, the researcher also drew back from the in-depth interviewing strategy somewhat, preferring to tightly stick to the interview schedule, as these experiences affected her more and more. This was evident in the depth of information available in the Iraqi interview material compared to the Sudanese material where more detailed information had been recorded as a result of the researcher asking additional questions. As a result, the analysis concentrated on the topics included in the interviews question schedule as these responses were available from both groups.

Lammers (2005a, 2005b) discussion of power-relationships between the researcher and researched have also prompted a reflection of the power dynamics in this study. Initial concerns related to an unequal power balance between the researcher and researched, and pre-occupation with a need to understand the ‘real’ situation have been reconsidered. Discourses on power in the literature (particularly anthropology) are argued by Lammers (2005a:4) to reflect the power issue in terms of ‘giving voice’. Western researchers, considered ‘powerful’ vis–a-vis the people they studied, entailed a responsibility which required them to ‘make heard’ the voices of those who lacked power. However, postcolonial scholars (for example Said, 1989, Spivak, 1988) rejected this view and
responded by characterising it as arrogant, in that white scholars were appropriating these voices for their own scholarly purposes. The ‘realisation’ that research subjects had a ‘voice’ of their own then shifted the power-relationship. Lammers (2005a:7) viewed this shift in terms of an emphasis on do’s (a responsibility to use one’s power) to don’ts (admonitions not to abuse it) for researchers. These discussions of the power held by the researcher often neglect the power held by the research subjects, and portray respondents as victims. However, Lammers (2005a:4) insists that respondents can “decide what to tell, how to tell it and what to hide or be quiet about” and as such, hold much power in the research process.

When reflecting on the power dynamics of this study, Lammers remarks helped reconcile the researcher’s feelings about the power balance she felt had occurred in the study. While it was recognised that the researcher held a great deal of power in relation to the final stage of presenting the experiences of refugees to a broader audience, during the actual fieldwork and interviews, the researcher felt quite powerless in terms of her dealings with refugees. The removal of control from the researcher at this time, as the recruitment of respondents was in the hands of gatekeepers and then respondents, and the granting of interviews and actual divulgence of information was controlled by respondents, led to the researcher sensing that she did not hold as much power as the respondents at this stage.

Further, another power relationship has since been considered – that between the gatekeepers and respondents. While gatekeepers are often considered a vital link between researchers and the community (Bloch, 1999) their personal motivations for assisting in the research process, and selection of interview respondents can have an influence on the study. On reflection, there was some concern over the referral of respondents by gatekeepers and the decision made by these respondents to participate in the study. Particularly in the case of younger respondents, the power relationship between them and the (older) gatekeepers could have placed pressure on them to agree to the interviews. However, this problem was beyond the control of the researcher, as the interpersonal relationships between respondents and gatekeepers were never fully explained to the researcher. Also, the extension of the recruitment method to a snowball technique using respondents as recruiters probably decreased the gatekeeper bias of the sample. While the power dynamics within research must always be considered, it must be recognised that refugees, while vulnerable in many ways, are not always passive victims and can wield
considerable power in the research process through the granting of interviews and sharing of stories. In considering this, the ‘voice’ in this research is ultimately that of the refugees, because it is their stories and experiences that have produced this thesis. Yet respondents have selected these stories and experiences. This has meant that despite the researcher’s desire to portray the ‘real’ experiences of resettlement, this study can, in fact, only show the reality that the refugees chose to share with the researcher.

4.9 Conclusion
A post-positivist methodological approach has been taken in this research. This chapter has argued the relevance of this paradigm in relation to the topic, citing the distinctive situation of resettled refugees as an important factor directing the line of enquiry. The multiple method research design has been explained, with the quantitative aspect of the research encompassing the statistical analysis of the LSIA data. The qualitative data has been drawn from two sources, the interviews with Service Providers and Key Informants and in-depth interviews with recently arrived refugees from two visa categories. A detailed explanation of the in-depth interview process has been provided, as well as a discussion on the impact of interviewing on the researcher. The next chapter will introduce the location of the study and the refugee case study groups.
Chapter 5
Study Area and Case Study Groups

5.1 Introduction
The previous chapters in this section have introduced the study and explained the theoretical and methodological approach of the thesis. This chapter provides background information about the study area and the refugee case study groups. The first part describes the study area of Adelaide. It includes a description of the migration history of Adelaide, and compares the current status of refugee arrivals in Adelaide with refugee arrivals in Australia more generally. The second part of the chapter begins with a discussion on the selection of refugee case study groups for this study. It then presents background information on the Sudanese and Iraqi refugee case study groups.

5.2 Study Area
5.2.1 Geography and History
The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in metropolitan Adelaide. The capital city of South Australia, Adelaide is located on the plains between the Mount Lofty Ranges and Gulf St Vincent (Figure 5.1). The metropolitan area stretches along the coast and covers 870 square kilometres. At the last Census, the population of Adelaide was 1,025,864, which was 73% of the South Australian population (ABS, 2002:1). The Adelaide metropolitan area has a higher population density that the Australian average (2.5 people per square kilometre), with 1,312 people per square kilometre (ABS, 2002:5).

The climate is Mediterranean in type, with cool, wet winters and hot, dry summers. The mean maximum temperature is 28°C in summer (January) and 15°C in winter (July), with mean minimum temperatures of 17°C in summer and 7°C in winter (ABS, 2005:3).

Prior to European settlement, the local Indigenous Kaurna tribe inhabited the Adelaide area. South Australia was first sighted by Europeans in 1627 but no settlements were established until the 1800s, the first being a temporary settlement on Kangaroo Island by American seal hunters. A permanent European settlement was established in Adelaide in
1836 with the Proclamation of South Australia as a British settlement (Prest et al., 2001). The first Surveyor-General, Colonel William Light set out the planned city near the River Torrens, using a grid system that has required little alteration. The first land allotments were made in 1837 after the British government passed legislation allowing British citizens to take up the land. Free settlers established Adelaide city, a difference from other Australian cities such as Sydney and Hobart, which were initially established as penal colonies. The Adelaide settlement grew quickly and in 1855 the Constitution Act established a responsible system of government (Prest et al., 2001).

Figure 5.1 Location Map of Metropolitan Adelaide

The South Australian economy has been dominated by primary industries, in particular agriculture and mining. Adelaide’s development was enhanced as a service centre for these industries but manufacturing began to play a role in the local economy from the 1920s (Prest et al., 2001:160). Manufacturing became a major employer during the post-war boom years, with the establishment of many factories. Currently agriculture makes up 5% of the State’s economy, while manufacturing is the dominant industry comprising 15% of the gross state product (Gelber, 2005:1). Motor vehicle production and food and beverage production are the dominant products exported from South Australia. Manufacturing is now joined by the service industries, such as information technology, defence, education
and tourism as important sectors in the South Australian economy (Gelber, 2005). The South Australian economy has a low growth rate (2.6% per annum over the last decade), which is 1.2% lower than the national average (Gelber, 2005:1). Low economic growth has been identified as a contributing factor towards low job growth and subsequent out-migration from the state, particularly by young people (Gelber, 2005).

### 5.2.2 Migrant Settlement in Adelaide

Immigration has played a critical role in the population growth of Australia since European settlement. In South Australia, substantial amounts of revenue were channelled into immigration for the first 150 years of European settlement, which has led to a fairly homogenous society derived predominantly from the British Isles (Prest et al., 2001:352). Initially, South Australian colonisation occurred through the auspices of the Wakefieldian system (named after Edward Gibbon Wakefield, an early colonialist), which synchronised the sale of land with a subsidised inflow of labour into the colony. The careful planning of the scheme achieved an effective balance of the sexes and occupations and the state’s population increased fivefold between 1844 and 1855 (Prest et al., 2001:353). The second half of the 19th Century was dominated by a discretionary immigration policy, with shorter bursts of immigration flows to the states and a subsequent slower growth of the population. German immigrants were the main exception to the majority of British settlers during this period, with small numbers of Chinese, Afghans and Syrians also arriving. Racial prejudice was rife in the colony and South Australia provided full support for the Immigration Restriction Act (White Australia Policy) upon Federation in 1901.

From Federation to the end of the World War II, immigration to South Australia and Adelaide was moderate to slow and the state fell into a demographic slump until 1947. The next two decades (1947 to 1966) saw an amazing transfusion of people into the state. Both state and federal governments fostered the vigorous growth of manufacturing industry and an associated program of European immigration. As the sustained demand for immigrants was unable to be fulfilled by British migrants, large numbers of non-English speaking immigrants were sourced from the Baltic countries, the Netherlands, Germany and then from Italy, Greece and Eastern Europe. Housing shortages were a problem and many immigrants spent time in reception hostels at Pennington (in the western suburbs of Adelaide) and Woodside (in the Adelaide Hills). Many immigrants were refugees from the Second World War. By the mid 1970s, ten percent of the South Australian population had
been born in a non-English speaking country, and the state’s homogenous character had changed substantially.

From the 1970s onwards, low immigration and population growth has been recorded (Hugo, 2005). However, the migrants who did settle in South Australia were increasingly from non-European countries during this period, reflecting even greater cultural diversity despite the slowdown in immigration. The most dramatic growth occurred in the Asian-born population, with a seven-fold increase between 1971 and 2001 (Table 5.1) (Hugo, 2005:30). Many of the Asian-born arrivals were from Vietnam and the Philippines. Arrivals from Oceania were mostly comprised of New Zealanders, and this population increased more than three times during the same period. The African-born population more than doubled, becoming more diverse, with fewer South Africans of European descent arriving in South Australia.

Table 5.1 South Australia: Birthplace of Population, 1971 and 2001
Source: adapted from Hugo, 2005:30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: This table is included on page 104 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Most recently the state has embraced new initiatives to attract migrants to settle in South Australia. Predominantly aimed at increasing the population and labour force, the State-specific migration categories have had some impact on increasing migrant settlement (Hugo, 2005:31). In addition, new programs to target refugee resettlement into regional areas are being considered for South Australia, with resettlement places being allocated not only to Adelaide but also regional South Australian towns.
5.3 Case Study Group Selection

The selection of two groups of refugees as case studies was required by the study methodology. The selection criteria were based on the need for two groups to represent the specific Humanitarian visas under investigation. Several key selection criteria were established in order to direct the selection of groups.

To reduce the variability between the case study groups it was decided that each group should represent a single country of birth, in order to reduce the possible differences between group members. As the study was looking at recent arrivals, it was important to select two groups, which had a significant proportion of new (last five years) arrivals in the population. In addition, the size of the population of interest was important, to enable statistical analysis of the LSIA2 data and ensure an adequate population from which to draw respondents for the in-depth interviews. A shortlist of countries of birth was then drawn up, reflecting the criteria (Table 5.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.2 Possible Countries of Birth for Refugee Case Study Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Offshore-Visaed Refugees</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two groups selected as case studies were Sudan for the offshore-visaed refugees and Iraq for the onshore-visaed refugees. Sudan was selected because of its consistent trend of new arrivals over the past few years (Figure 5.3), the relatively large number of new arrivals in Australia (compared to other new arrival groups from Africa) and the fact that less research had been undertaken with this group than other groups such as those from the former Yugoslavia.

The choice of the country of birth group to represent the onshore-visaed refugees was actually changed after consultations with service providers in Adelaide. Initially the researcher had selected Afghanistan as the country of birth for the onshore-visaed refugee case study group, however this was ultimately changed to Iraq. Discussions with service providers had identified possible problems that the researcher would face as a female
attempting to work with the Afghan community in Adelaide, related to cross cultural
gender issues. In addition, several service providers held the opinion that the Afghan TPV
holders were receiving more assistance in resettlement than the Iraqis, due to some Afghan
TPV holders more assertive personalities. Also, many of the Afghan refugees on TPVs
were being prompted to return home rather than be issued further protection in Australia at
the time the study began. For these reasons it was decided to change the selection to Iraq as
the country of birth for the onshore-visaed refugee study group. As both groups were the
two largest onshore-visaed refugee groups in Australia, there was no problem in making
the change with regard to the population size of the group.

5.4 Sudanese Refugees
At the end of 2005, the number of Sudanese refugees recognised by the UNHCR was
693,267 and the total Sudanese population of concern to the UNHCR was 1,567,214,
(UNHCR, 2006a:15). This number has decreased during the past few years as the conflict
in Sudan has abated after several years of civil war. The refugee-generating situation in
Sudan, the plight of displaced persons and refugees, and possible solutions to the Sudanese
refugee crisis have received considerable attention in the literature (for example Abusharaf,
1997; Idris, 2001; Johnson, 2003). The history and context of Sudan’s refugee situation is
complex and protracted, and cannot be dealt with in great detail here but some context is
required. An excellent analysis of the civil war in Sudan is provided by Idris (2001) in
which he examines not only the religious background but also the historical development
of racial divisions within Sudan. These two issues have impacted significantly on the
prolonged civil wars that have ravaged Sudan, as will be demonstrated, if briefly, below.

5.4.1 The North/South Divide
Sudan’s recent history is marked by several significant eras, beginning with the Turco-
Egyptian conquest in 1821, which led to the first real penetration of southern Sudan by
northerners. The rulers of northern Sudan prior to this had developed Islamic states and
adopted an Arab identity. Slave raiding into peripheral lands was a state activity, but was
restricted southwards by the Dinka and Shilluk tribes. After the Turco-Egyptian conquest,
northerners moved into the south, and the slave trade increased. This is commonly agreed
as the beginning of the north/south division of Sudan, and the time when the southern
Sudanese people lost their independence. The infiltration into the south of Arabic speaking
Muslims seriously undermined the southern people’s previous systems of governance. The
Chapter 5: Study Area and Case Study Groups

The southern part of Sudan was not united politically or culturally, and northerners regarded it as a land where fortunes could be made through slave trading. While the potential at this stage for Islam and Arabisation to create an integrated society was present, the desire to continue slave trading ruled out converting southerners to Islam as it gave them equal status and thus prohibited slavery. At this time separate identities of northern Muslim Arabs and southern non-Muslim Africans developed.

Following the initial infiltration of northerners into southern Sudan, the British colonial administration of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium (1898 to 1955) adopted an administrative policy of “devolution” for the entire country. This allowed those in the north to observe Islamic ‘Sharia’ law, and those in the south observed laws free of Islamic influence. During the 1930s the British developed a “Closed District” Ordinance in the south in an attempt to restrict the slave trade by preventing northerners access to the south. During this time however, the British did not develop local economic and administrative structures, as the emphasis was placed on tribal administration. Very few southerners were thus ready for Independence and self-governance after the Juba Conference in 1947.

5.4.2 Civil War

Sudan has experienced two, prolonged civil wars since Independence. The first civil war lasted from Independence to 1972. A series of civilian and military governments ruled during this period. Religion became a political issue in Sudan when politicians in the capital Khartoum attempted to create an Islamic state. The Addis Ababa agreement in 1972 ended the war and led to the formation of the Southern Regional Government. However, some serious issues remained, including internal disputes between ethnic groups in the south, and the south’s relationship with the north. In 1980-81, the regional government still had significant concerns over regional border disputes, the exploitation of oil reserves and the lack of funding for regional development. There was also discussion at this time over the subdivision of southern Sudan.

In 1983, President Nimeiri declared Islamic “Sharia” law in Sudan, which led to the outbreak of the second civil war, lasting from 1983 to January 2005. While many see the civil war as an ethnic and cultural struggle between the Muslim Arab dominated government in the north and the Non-Muslim, African rebels in the south, some observers have come to recognise that the war is also a battle for resources, in particular the oil
fields. During 2004, peace negotiations took place between the Khartoum government and the leaders in the south. An agreement was reached in January 2005, ending the civil war between the north and south. However, violent conflict continues in the Darfur region in the west of Sudan (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Map of Sudan
5.4.3 Famine
The civil war in Sudan has created serious food security issues, and hampered efforts by international organisations to supply food aid. Sudan, like many other African countries, has experienced famines both as a result of drought and war in the late 20th Century. One of the worst famines was in 1998, when the humanitarian situation in Bahr-Al-Ghazal deteriorated and over 2.6 million people were affected by famine (UNHCR, 2000b:4). The starvation of civilians is a well-known method of warfare and is commonly used in Africa. Human Rights Watch (1999) has produced clear evidence that there was an intention to starve civilians in southern Sudan in 1998.

5.4.4 Human Rights Abuses
Sudan has had a notoriously bad human rights record (Human Rights Watch, 1999). The civil wars led to a list of abuses perpetrated by both sides, including summary execution, involuntary disappearance, and the use of child soldiers, torture and ill treatment of civilians. The government of Sudan has failed to protect its citizens and has been known to use arbitrary detention, excessive and severe punishments, aerial bombardment of the civilian population and civilian objects, and has applied restrictions on freedom of religion, association and peaceful assembly. The el-Bashir Government’s program of Arabisation, coupled with the extension of Sharia law, have led to restrictions on the rights of women and limitations on the rights of non-Muslims. The Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) has been accused of diverting food aid and exacerbating or causing famine. These abuses have significantly affected the entire population of Sudan, but the most impacts have been felt by the Southern Sudanese.

5.4.5 Sudanese in African Refugee Camps
These circumstances of civil war, famine and serious human rights abuses have led to the flight of huge numbers of Sudanese people within Sudan and into neighbouring countries. Many have been accommodated within the local community and others have settled in refugee camps. Refugee camps both within Sudan and in neighbouring countries have become home to many Sudanese escaping war and famine. Due to the prolonged nature of the conflict in Sudan, many refugees have been living in camps for many years, and some young adults have only ever lived in exile in refugee camps (Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000). The disruption that family separation has on the cultural traditions of Southern Sudanese is extensive, with many young people not passing through initiation ceremonies,
and other traditional ceremonies such as naming ceremonies, marriages and funerals not being undertaken properly.

Refugee camps have many problems, and do not necessarily mean that families in exile are in safety. Camps often have limited water, food and healthcare facilities. Many refugees in camps are in danger, as the refugee communities compete with locals for firewood, food and water. Women without male relatives in the camp are particularly at risk (Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2002).

5.4.6 Sudanese Refugees in African Host Societies
Many Sudanese have fled to Egypt, and most end up in Cairo. The Sudanese in Cairo represent the second largest caseload for the UNHCR regional office (after Somalis). Resettlement in a third country has been identified as the most viable solution for this population of Sudanese refugees in Cairo as local integration as a long-term solution is very limited. The problems are not only related to social integration, but more importantly are “due to the lack of rights to employment, education, medical and other social services able to assist them in establishing self-sufficiency and viable livelihoods” (Riak Akuei, 2004:2).

5.4.7 Sudanese Refugee Resettlement
As the situation of political and civil unrest has continued for many decades in Sudan, the resettlement of many refugees from camps and other countries of first asylum has been a preferred durable solution for many Sudanese refugees. Sudanese refugees have been resettled by the UNHCR in three major countries, Canada, the United States and Australia. Increases in Sudanese refugees being resettled in third countries are evident over the past few years as the following tables demonstrate (Table 5.3 and 5.4).

Table 5.3 Sudanese Refugee Resettlement in Third Countries
Source: UNHCR, Global Refugee Trends, various editions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>4655</td>
<td>6937</td>
<td>3388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>1349</td>
<td>1305</td>
<td>964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>2326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.4 Resettled Sudanese Refugees

Source: UNHCR, 2005a:31

NOTE: This table is included on page 111 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

5.4.8 Sudanese Refugees in Australia

Since the shift in resettlement emphasis by the UNHCR, Australia has been accepting an increasing number of Sudanese Humanitarian entrants over the past five years. The Sudanese have been coming to Australia on a variety of Humanitarian visas and these include both the government funded Refugee visa and the SHP visas which require a local sponsor. Very few Sudanese have settled in Australia on skilled migration visas. The number of Sudanese in Australia has increased significantly in the past few years (Figure 5.3). The majority of Sudanese refugees resettling in Australia are coming directly from refugee camps in Africa and have been referred to the Australian government by the UNHCR for resettlement. The estimated resident population of Sudanese-born people in Australia was 23,787 in mid 2005 (ABS, 2006:37). The median age of this population was 22.8 years and the sex ratio was 135 males to 100 females.

Figure 5.3 Number of Sudanese Arrivals in Australia 1994-95 to 2004-05

Source: DIMIA, Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update, various issues
Adelaide has received over 1500 Sudanese Humanitarian entrants since 2001-02. The number of arrivals has grown each year, partly as a result of the dispersal policies of DIMIA and the chain migration effect of earlier refugee entrants sponsoring family members under the SHP visa provisions. Table 5.5 shows the increase in Sudanese arrivals in the past five years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2000-01</th>
<th>2001-02</th>
<th>2002-03</th>
<th>2003-04</th>
<th>2004-05</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Arrivals</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 Iraqi Refugees
At the end of 2005, there were 262,142 Iraqi refugees recognised by the UNHCR and the total population of concern was 1,765,011 (UNHCR, 2006a:16). The generation of refugees in Iraq has slowed in recent years since the occupation of Iraq by Coalition Forces in 2003. Prior to the latest conflict after the fall of Saddam Hussein, the total number of Iraqi refugees was estimated at some 400,000 spread over more than 40 countries (Chanaa, 2005). The following section outlines the conditions in Iraq, which have led to the flight of so many people.

5.5.1 Refugee-Generating Situation in Iraq
The circumstances leading to the forced migration of refugees from Iraq are complex but are related to the religious, ethnic and political persecution that occurred during the regime of Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein first came to power in 1979, at which time Iraq had a rapidly growing economy and population. The subsequent demise of Iraq’s economy and growth of internal strife, along with incessant war severely impacted on the country and population. However, it was the serious nature and extent of human rights abuses that caused many refugees to flee Iraq.

5.5.2 Human Rights Abuses
The UNHCR (2000a) has identified serious abuses of human rights within Iraq. The Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights situation in Iraq, Mr Max van der Stoel, observed in 1999 that the repressive nature of the political and legal systems precluded application
of the rule of law (UNHCR, 2000a:8). The government was known to engage in mass arrests, torture, summary executions, disappearances and forced relocation.

Northern Iraq (Figure 5.4) was considered a strategic region due to the presence of oilfields and a government policy of Arabisation was put in place, which included the internal deportation of non-Arabs in order to increase the proportion of Arabs in the region. Turkomen, Assyrian, Kurdish and Yazidi ethnic groups were targeted under this programme of discrimination. Non-Arab citizens were denied equal access to education and employment and were physically threatened. Kurds were only allowed to sell their homes to Arabs, and Kurds who left were not allowed to return (Chanaa, 2005).

Figure 5.4 Map of Iraq
The Shi'a Marsh Arabs in the south were also victims of human rights abuses at the hands of the government. The civilian population experienced military attacks during the 1990s. Religious persecution by the government was extensive and the government was known to conduct murders, summary executions and protracted arbitrary arrests against religious leaders and followers of the Shi'a Muslim faith. In addition, Faili Kurds were still being held in Abu Ghraib prison from the Iran-Iraq war and UN Special Rapporteur reported allegations that they were being used as experimental subjects for chemical and biological weapon development.

Children were not spared from human rights abuses, and reports of mal-distribution of medicines and inappropriate management of the “Oil for Food” program by the government (which did not import enough food appropriate for 1 to 5 year olds) caused grave concerns. There were also reports of the government conducting military training courses for children aged 10 to 15 years, requiring them to train for as long as 14 hours a day. The UNHCR also reported that families were threatened with the loss of ration cards if they refused to enrol their children in the training (UNHCR, 2000:17).

5.5.3 Gender Issues
Historically, Iraqi women and girls have enjoyed more rights than women in other Muslim countries. Women were entitled to equal rights which assured them the right to vote, attend school, run for political office and own property (Robson, 1995). However, after the first Gulf War the position of women in society seriously declined. The United Nations economic sanctions disproportionately impacted on women and girls, and they lacked access to food, healthcare and education. In addition, changes in legislation restricted women’s mobility and access to the formal sector to ensure jobs were available to men and to appease religious and tribal groups. The UN Special Rapporteur for Violence against Women reported that since the passage of new legislation which negatively impacted on women’s legal status in the labour market and criminal justice system, an estimated 4,000 women and girls had been victims of “honour killings” (Human Rights Watch, 2003:4).

5.5.4 Iraqi Refugee Movements
Under Sadam Hussein’s rule, the Iraqi government regarded those who left the country without permission as criminals. Refugees faced 10 years imprisonment and confiscation of goods if they returned. For these reasons most refugees fled Iraq under dangerous
circumstances. A major deportation of Faili Kurds occurred during the 1970s. However, two major waves of refugees have left Iraq since 1980, with smaller numbers of refugees leaving when opportunities arose. The first exodus was in the early 1980s during the Iran-Iraq War. The second was in 1991 after the regime reacted to popular uprisings during the first Gulf War. In recent years many people have been fleeing persecution and human rights abuses, and have found asylum in countries beyond the Middle East.

5.5.5 Countries of First Asylum

Many Iraqis fleeing their country sought asylum in adjacent countries. Official UNHCR figures for the number of Iraqi refugees worldwide is thought to be lower than the real number, as many Iraqi refugees have not contacted the authorities for fear of being deported back to Iraq. A figure of four million Iraqis worldwide has been suggested (Chanaa, 2005), however this includes those who have left for non-asylum seeking reasons. Prior to the invasion of Iraq in 2003, an estimated 400 000 Iraqi refugees were spread over 40 countries. However, most refugees live in countries neighbouring Iraq, with over 50% in Iran. Jordan has also received many Iraqi refugees, with over 300 000 Iraqi unskilled labourers working in Jordan illegally. Refugees from Iraq are also found in smaller numbers in Saudi Arabia, Syria, Kuwait, Yemen, the United Arab Emirates and Lebanon (Chanaa, 2005). Many of these asylum seekers live in these countries illegally and are marginalised by the local community. Outside of Iran, only small numbers of refugees have official refugee status. Without official status they have severely restricted mobility, and are vulnerable to police harassment, beatings, sexual violence, extortion and possible deportation.

The chances for Iraqi refugees being offered resettlement in third countries by the UNHCR are very limited. Iraqi refugees have had problems integrating into local societies and in gaining access to work permits (Chanaa, 2005). As a result, many Iraqis have risked their lives and those of their families to flee with the assistance of people smugglers to Western countries to seek asylum.

5.5.6 Iraqi Refugees in Australia

Australia has granted both permanent and temporary asylum to refugees from Iraq over the years and has also accepted many more Iraqis through the Migration program. In mid 2005, the estimated resident population of Iraq-born people in Australia was 37 290 (ABS,
The median age was 34.5 and the sex ratio of the Iraq born population was 120 males to 100 females.

A significant number of Iraqis arrived in Australia after the first Gulf war, with around 2000 Iraqi refugees arriving on permanent Humanitarian visas during 1991 and 1992 (DIMIA, 2003b:1). Figure 5.5 shows the fluctuation in offshore-visaed Iraqi Humanitarian entrants over the past 15 years. However, the most recent Iraqi refugee arrivals have entered Australia without visas, as asylum seekers. As a result of the changes in migration policy discussed in Chapter 2, these Iraqi refugees were issued with Temporary Protection Visas onshore. Table 5.6 shows the sharp increase in TPV grants to Iraqi nationals in 2000-2001 and 2001-2002 during the peak of boat arrivals in Australia, however no figures have been published indicating the number of Iraqi TPV holders in Adelaide. Many of these asylum seekers have spent time in immigration detention prior to being issued with Temporary Protection Visas. Further discussion on the experiences of Iraqi refugees migration process will be provided in the next chapter.

**Figure 5.5 Offshore-Visaed Iraqi Humanitarian Arrivals in Australia 1990-91 to 2004-05**

Source: DIMIA, Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics and Immigration Update, various issues
Table 5.6 Number of Initial TPV grants to Iraqi Nationals

Source: R. Bernabe (DIMA) 2006 pers. comm. 17/2/06

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>TPV Grants to Iraqi Refugees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>2379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>1538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided background information on the study location of Adelaide, South Australia in order to describe the environment into which refugees are arriving. In addition, a discussion on the selection of recently arrived refugee groups for case studies has described the reasons for the choice of the two refugee case study groups. Sudanese-born offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants, and Iraqi onshore-visaed refugees have been selected as case studies for this study. This chapter concludes the introductory section of the thesis. The next part, Section B presents the findings of the study. The first chapter in the section (Chapter 6) begins the refugee resettlement story by discussing the refugees’ journeys to Australia and their initial reception and resettlement experiences.
Chapter 6
A New Home in a New Land

6.1 Introduction
This chapter begins the story of the resettlement experience of recently arrived refugees in Australia. Refugee migration to Australia follows significant upheaval in refugees’ lives and the initial resettlement period can be extremely overwhelming for new arrivals as they struggle to adjust to their new environment. The journeys that the Sudanese and Iraqi refugees have undertaken on their way to Australia are explored first. This is followed by an analysis of the initial reception that the two refugee groups received in Australia. The official reception experiences are considered alongside the reception from the Australian community and the refugee’s own ethnic communities. The initial resettlement needs of new refugees can be quite complex and it is well understood that refugees generally require more assistance in resettlement than other migrants (DIMIA, 2003a). It will be shown that the two-tier resettlement assistance system is failing to meet the needs of all refugees during early resettlement due to the exclusion of TPV holders from accessing critical services when they are released from detention. The final section of this chapter examines the housing experiences of recently arrived refugees, and identifies a need for adequate on-arrival housing, as well as ongoing housing assistance throughout the resettlement period. Securing appropriate housing is crucial for refugees to begin the process of rebuilding their lives in a new land.

6.2 Journeys to Australia
The method of arrival is now a critical factor influencing the resettlement experiences of refugees in Australia. A clear distinction has been made by the government between those refugees who are “invited” and those who arrive in an unauthorised manner, seeking asylum. As a result, the journey that refugees undertake to come to Australia is an important factor in determining the reception they receive on arrival, and their experiences during resettlement. This section describes the journeys that two groups of recently arrived refugees have taken to come to Australia. Figure 6.1 shows the routes taken by four refugee respondents from Sudan and Iraq to Australia.
Figure 6.1 Map of Routes Taken by Refugees to Australia
6.2.1 Sudanese Journeys
The accounts of individual journeys by the Sudanese to Australia were naturally unique to each respondent. However, two main groupings emerged when the migration histories were analysed. The first group were respondents who had lived in refugee camps in Africa directly before coming to Australia. These refugees were either identified by the Australian government from a pool selected by the UNHCR for resettlement, or proposed by an individual or organisation in Australia. The second group consisted of respondents who were not living in a refugee camp before coming to Australia. These respondents may have spent time in camps previously, but prior to departure had been living in exile in the local community (many in Cairo). All respondents had been issued humanitarian visas offshore and had flown to Australia from Africa. The two case studies are included to provide examples of the different journeys that the Sudanese refugees had taken to reach Australia.

Sudanese Journey Case Study 1
‘JL’
JL completed his University degree in Sudan and began working. The Sudanese government suspected that the project he was working on was providing information to another organisation. JL was detained several times for interrogation and fled to Khartoum where he stayed in an IDP camp. After leaving the camp, JL organised a passport and decided to flee after his house was raided one night when he was not home. JL left Sudan in December 1999 and travelled by train to Cairo. In Cairo he registered as a refugee but it took 1 1/2 years for the UNHCR to grant him an interview. During this time JL was fortunate enough to be able to study and work. He was offered a resettlement place in Finland but declined as his wife had not yet joined him in Cairo and it was likely that they would be permanently separated if they were not resettled together. JL was interviewed again after his wife arrived in Cairo in May 2003. They undertook the medical tests and nine months passed before they received news that they had been granted a resettlement place in Australia. JL and his wife were only given 7 days notice of their impending departure, and while there was a pre-departure cultural orientation program on offer, the week was occupied by other tasks such as arranging travel permission from the Red Cross and Egyptian Immigration authorities. JL and his wife travelled to Australia as government-funded refugees, flying from Cairo to Adelaide. They arrived in Adelaide in April 2004 and received a warm welcome from their own ethnic community and the Australian government.
Chapter 6: A New Home in a New Land

Sudanese Journey Case Study 2
‘Anne’

Anne left Sudan as a teenager with her mother. They fled to Uganda after a rebel group attacked their village. Anne stayed in Uganda for 5 years, where she married and had her first son. Anne returned to Sudan but as the civil war continued she felt unsafe and fled again, this time into Kenya. Anne and her husband lived in Kakuma Refugee Camp for 5 years. Her daughter was born in the camp and Anne’s husband worked as a teacher. Anne was employed as a counsellor and studied massage therapy in the camp. A friend who had already resettled in Australia initially proposed the family for a SHP visa. However, the sponsor could not raise the funds for the plane tickets. This delayed their departure until Anne’s brother in America was able to fund the flights. They arrived in Adelaide in 2004, and were received by their sponsor and many members of their ethnic community.

These two case studies highlight the insecurity in these refugee’s lives for many years prior to their arrival in Australia. While the trip to Australia was fairly straightforward with the paperwork and flights organised on their behalf, the time spent waiting for resettlement meant that many refugees felt that the journey to Australia had actually taken many years.

6.2.2 Iraqi Journeys

The journeys to Australia took a very different course for the Iraqi respondents compared to the Sudanese. As the project was specifically interested in Iraqi refugees who had been issued Temporary Protection Visas, all nine Iraqi respondents had arrived in Australia without visas. The respondents had all paid money to people smugglers to arrange transport via boat to Australia in order to seek asylum. The reception they received once they entered Australian waters was typical of the government policy of mandatory detention for unauthorised arrivals, as described in Chapter 2. However, for each respondent the length and conditions experienced in detention varied. As this study’s emphasis was on the resettlement experiences in Australia (after release from detention) the interviews did not dwell on the topics of migration history and experiences of detention. However, to understand the resettlement experiences of this group of refugees, these topics are critical in contextualising their differences from the Sudanese refugees. Therefore, the following two case studies give a brief description of the journey two Iraqi respondents made to a new life in Australia.
Chapter 6: A New Home in a New Land

Iraqi Journey Case Study 1

‘Sara and Sie’

Sara and Sie and their two sons fled Iraq in 2000 in a rushed manner. They left together and stayed in a hotel in Jordan for a month. When they left Iraq they had no plan as to what they would do. In Jordan they found people smugglers and paid them some money. They flew to Malaysia and stayed in Malaysia for 2 weeks. They were required to stay in the same location and not leave the area. Then the family was flown to Indonesia where they spent 4 months while the people smugglers arranged boats for their passage to Australia. They had to give more money to the smugglers when they reached Indonesia. The family left Indonesia by boat and made it to the International sea border of Australia, where the Royal Australian Navy picked them up. The family was on the same ship as the Tampa refugees (HMAS Manoora). The family was on the Navy ship for over a month before they were taken to Nauru. They were detained on Nauru for three and a half years. While they were there, conditions were very basic, the camp was built very quickly and for some of the time the men were separated from the women and children. There were lots of Australian Federal Police. Many of the asylum seekers were from Afghanistan and it was during the time of the September 11 bombings and Australia was refusing to take refugees. Many other asylum seekers had sponsors and went to Canada, America and Scandinavia. New Zealand took some refugees too (mostly the Tampa refugees). Sara had a serious health problem and required surgery in Australia. Waiting for a visa was very hard when they watched other asylum seekers with less serious health problems be accepted for visas. Sara and Sie came to Adelaide after DIMIA finally accepted their application for asylum. The family arrived in Adelaide in November 2004 on Temporary Protection Visas and had made an application for permanent protection visas when interviewed in late 2005.

Iraqi Journey Case Study 2

‘FK’

FK’s husband fled Iraq in 1999. FK initially refused to leave as she felt Iraq was her country and she belonged there. After the Iraqi government threatened to imprison her four children if she did not reveal her husband’s whereabouts she decided she must also flee Iraq with her children. FK did not know where her husband was at this time. She first went to Iran through the mountains with her children, where they stayed for about 3 months before being deported to Malaysia on an aeroplane. They spent 10 days in Malaysia and then travelled by plane to Indonesia where the family spent another month before boarding the boat to come to Australia. FK paid AUS $21 000 to the people smugglers to get her and her children to Australia. The smuggler’s boat was intercepted by the Royal Australian Navy near Ashmore Reef and escorted to Darwin. From Darwin they were flown to Woomera Detention Centre. While in Woomera FK discovered her husband was in Australia and living in Shepparton, Victoria. The family was reunited once they were released on TPVs. They came to Adelaide in 2001 and had been accepted for, but were still waiting for a Permanent Protection Visa when interviewed in 2005.
In comparing the journeys taken by the Iraqi and Sudanese it can be seen that most journeys were begun in a rushed and unprepared manner. This is a significant difference from most other migrants who tend to have longer periods of preparation prior to departure (Kunz, 1973). This lack of preparation means that many refugees arrive in Australia with very little information about this society and culture, and have bought with them very few material objects to remind them of home. The implications of this rushed departure are felt acutely during the early resettlement period as refugees begin to establish a new life.

6.3 Reception Experiences

The reception of refugees in the host country plays an important part in the consequent resettlement experiences of refugees. Drawing on previous work by Joly (1996) and Lam (1996), Danso (2001) argues that the way a society receives and welcomes new members significantly affects the life chances of newcomers. When a society does not accept refugees as full members, but as unwelcome ‘others’ it may create a condition of social exclusion, which Danso (2001:8) argues is likely to result in “dysfunctional integration for the refugee community”. A favourable reception, on the other hand, could lead to more positive resettlement experiences and would be more likely to produce an environment conducive to integration. Danso’s research in Canada with Somali and Ethiopian refugees explored the welcome that refugees reported receiving and the actual experiences during reception and early settlement. He found that while respondents reported Canadians as being “friendly” to newcomers on arrival, later experiences of encountering the government system revealed serious barriers to settlement, which suggested that the bureaucratic reception was not as welcoming as the community’s. In light of Danso’s (2001) findings, the following section investigates the welcome that the two groups of refugees received on arrival (and on release from detention) in Australia. Firstly the “official” reception is analysed, then the Australian community response to the arrival of refugees is considered before the welcome of the two local ethnic communities is discussed.

6.3.1 “Official Welcome”

As explained in Chapter 2, the Australian government’s response to asylum seeker arrivals has hardened in recent years. For the Iraqi refugees interviewed in this study, their first experiences of Australia’s official welcome was their encounter with the Royal Australian Navy or coastguard once the people smugglers had managed to get them to Australian
Chapter 6: A New Home in a New Land

waters. From that point on, the Iraqi asylum seekers were effectively treated as criminals, placed in detention centres and subjected to intense questioning. Once the Australian government conceded that their refugee claims were genuine, refugees were eventually released. While this thesis is not primarily focussed on this stage of the refugees’ experiences in Australia, it must be included in a discussion of the official reception to Australia, as it sets the scene for their resettlement experiences in the community.

When examining the vastly different official receptions that the two groups of refugees encountered in Australia, it is useful to consider the broader political standpoint on refugees in Australia. A frontdoor/backdoor analogy for ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ refugees coming to Australia has been developed. Brennan (2003) argues that the Howard Government was able to build up the notion of backdoor entry by emphasising a formal system of refugee selection and resettlement with the UNHCR. The system thus privileges those in the refugee hierarchy who remain at the source (or near to it). Asylum seekers applying from a refugee camp and selected by the Australian government are ‘rewarded’ with a permanent protection visa in Australia, while those who try to sneak in the ‘back door’ and come directly to Australia without being asked, are punished with mandatory detention and temporary visas. Thus ‘boat people’ are stereotyped as ‘queue jumpers’ and a justification is made for treating them as second-class refugees. A very strong message of being unwanted was projected through the use of mandatory detention in isolated locations in Australia, the introduction of the Pacific Solution and offshore processing of refugee claims.

This unwelcome reception continues once refugees leave detention and enter the community on Temporary Protection Visas. When compared to the experiences of offshore-visaed refugees (those who arrive via the ‘front door’), the experiences of TPV holders highlight the development of the two-tier resettlement assistance system for ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ refugees. Iraqi refugees on TPVs received minimal government funded assistance during their early resettlement period. The Iraqi respondents who were released earlier from detention (circa 2000-2002) had been met by either a DIMIA official and/or an Arabic-speaking SAHT worker. One Iraqi couple who had arrived more recently were met by a DIMIA worker and Red Cross officials. Respondents said they were immediately taken from the bus depot (or airport) to a Centrelink office in Adelaide (often after hours due to the long journey) and assisted with arranging an emergency payment from
Centrelink. The TPV holders were then escorted to a motel, where they stayed for generally one night, before being taken to emergency SAHT accommodation the next day. At this point, the government resettlement assistance all but dried up for the TPV holders.

In comparison, the official welcome received by Sudanese refugees was much more civilised, and the level of resettlement assistance was in some cases, particularly for those on refugee visas, much higher than that experienced by the Iraqis. The Sudanese respondents, who had arrived on refugee visas, were allocated a settlement worker to pick them up from the airport and take them to their temporary on-arrival accommodation. Humanitarian entrants who arrived on SHP visas, were received at the airport by their sponsors. With some exceptions, these settlement workers or sponsors then began the orientation process with the new arrivals. This comparison clearly shows the discrepancy between the official welcome for the offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants and the onshore-visaed TPV holders.

6.3.2 Australian Community Welcome

Media and government portrayals of different refugee groups have significantly influenced the Australian community’s response to new refugees over the past five years. Almost binary opposite images of Middle Eastern and African refugees have been constructed for the Australian community through the media. The arrival of asylum seekers from the Middle East received considerable attention from the media and developed into a major issue at the 2001 Federal Election (Gale, 2004). Media portrayals and government comments of asylum seekers as ‘illegal’, ‘queue jumpers’, ‘irresponsible parents’ (after the ‘children overboard’ incident, and later as children allegedly sewed their lips together while in detention) and ‘trouble makers’ (after riots in detention centres) have had a lasting impact on Australian society (Gelber, 2003). A study undertaken by Klocker (2004) in Port Augusta, the site of the Baxter immigration detention centre, examined responses by local community members to asylum seekers. Klocker (2004:8) found that asylum seekers were constructed as ‘burdensome’, ‘threatening’ and ‘illegal’ and there was overwhelming support from the respondents for the government’s exclusion, detention and deterrence policies. Factors identified as contributing to negative perceptions of asylum seekers included xenophobia (especially Islamophobia), geopolitical events (such as September 11) and negative media and government representations of asylum seekers.
The initial negative portrayal of asylum seekers in the media has been tempered to a degree by more recent representations of people on TPVs becoming ‘good citizens’ – by providing labour in regional areas and generally settling ‘quietly’ in Australia (Stilwell, 2003; Plane, 2003; Skelton, 2002). The contribution of labour in regional areas by TPV holders has been highlighted in the media and was used by refugee advocates as a significant reason why refugees on TPVs should be allowed to remain in Australia on PPVs (Coombs, 2004).

The portrayal of African refugees in the media has differed significantly from Middle Eastern refugees. As the majority of African refugees have been selected for resettlement through the UNHCR, their position of ‘legitimate’ and ‘deserving’ refugees has been emphasised in the media. A review of articles relating to Sudanese refugees in the Adelaide newspaper, The Advertiser, revealed many articles that described the conditions in refugee camps in Africa and the long wait that refugees had experienced while waiting ‘their turn’ for resettlement. A 2004 article by Samela Harris in The Advertiser, introduced her subjects as “tall, lean, elegant and ebony-skinned” and described how many had been “trapped for years away from their homelands, languishing, waiting, surviving in refugee camps” (Harris, 2004). Articles also made mention of the fact that the Sudanese refugees are predominantly Christian, and are welcomed by Christian groups to Adelaide (Cross, 2004). This type of reporting reinforces ideas of African refugees as ‘good’ refugees, who have waited their turn and can adapt to life in a new country in a civilised manner because of their Christian way of life.

In contrast, headlines in The Advertiser depicted Iraqi asylum seekers as a menace and threat to Australia. For example, the headline of an article reporting on the transport of asylum seekers on HMAS Manoora read “Boat People Abused Manoora Crew: Bites, Filth and Threats” (The Advertiser Staff Reporters, 2001: 1), inferring their lack of gratitude for being rescued from sinking boats. Iraqi refugees were also branded as devious criminals and potential terrorist threats, and the asylum application by a former personal guard of Sadam Hussein prompted The Advertiser to run “War on Terror Targeting Tora Bora: Saddam Guard Trying To Gain Asylum” (Dickins, 2001:5).

While the images of refugees reflected in the media would suggest that new arrivals would face an unwelcome reception in the community as well as from the government, interview
respondents often referred to the Australians they had met as friendly and helpful. Respondents (particularly the Iraqis) were quite clear in some instances in separating the Australian government from the Australian people, and expressed their distress at the policies related to mandatory detention and the TPV, yet were still positive about their experiences with Australians. However, these findings must be considered within the context of most refugees’ engagement with Australians. When asking about refugees’ social networks (discussed further in Chapter 8) refugees often cited that they had little contact with Australians except for settlement workers, government agency workers, church organisations or at schools and English classes. These experiences of contact with Australians could be regarded as contact with those members of the Australian community most likely to be sympathetic to refugees. The experiences of refugees in the labour force (discussed in Chapter 7) will show that media and government-generated stereotypes are a problem when refugees seek employment. Similarities with the findings of Danso (2001) can be seen in recently arrived refugee’s reception experiences in Australia. While personal contact with Australians was identified as friendly and welcoming, the ‘official’ welcome for the TPV holders was less hospitable.

6.3.3 Ethnic Community Welcome

Respondents described their arrival in Adelaide during the in-depth interviews. All of the Sudanese respondents had landed at Adelaide airport after long flights with stopovers in Perth or Sydney. Most of the Iraqi respondents arrived in Adelaide by bus, but a couple had been flown to Adelaide from remote detention centres. The reception that respondents received varied considerably. A Sudanese (Kuku) respondent remarked that members of the Adelaide Kuku community had met her and her family at the airport. The reception was described as a joyous occasion and community members had drums and there was singing and dancing at the arrivals gate. While the respondent did not know any of the community members, the welcome was well received and over the next few days many Sudanese visited the family at their temporary home. Other Sudanese respondents echoed these experiences of reception, and several interviews were postponed due to the imminent arrival of new refugees and the need for ethnic community members in Adelaide to organise reception parties.

The Sudanese experiences of reception reflect normal cultural activities related to significant events. During interviews and from the literature (Riak Akuei, 2001:2), it
became apparent that community events such as welcoming parties are commonplace and an integral part of the Sudanese culture. The positive future that newly arrived refugees dream about, becomes a reality when a resettlement place is offered. The arrival in Adelaide is a culmination of the long and drawn out process of migrating to Australia as a refugee. It is argued that while Sudanese cultural traditions contribute to the welcoming reception in Adelaide, the parties represent the marking of a new and positive future for the new arrivals.

The discussions with Iraqi respondents uncovered no such reception parties or welcoming events. While some respondents did have other Iraqi refugees greet them in Adelaide, there were no displays of exaltation or rejoicing. Several issues were identified through the interview analysis that may have lead to the different reception. While Adelaide had an established Iraqi community prior to the Iraqi TPV arrivals, anecdotal and informal discussions described how the established community was fractured in its acceptance of the TPV holders. Many of the established community had arrived in Australia a decade earlier, following the first Gulf War. This group had settled in Adelaide and had begun the process of sponsoring family members to join them in Australia. Due to comments made by politicians (particularly Phillip Ruddock, Minister for Immigration) this group of established Iraqis became fearful that the new ‘unauthorised’ arrivals would reduce the number of family members the government would allow to settle. This issue was said to cause some antagonism between the established Iraqi community and the newly arrived TPV holders. Another possible reason that was unable to be explored fully in this study was the possibility of different political affiliations (between the older and newer Iraqis in Adelaide), which would have a significant impact on the cohesiveness of the community in exile (Kunz, 1973).

In addition, the lack of notice provided by DIMIA and Detention Centre management that a group of TPV holders was about to be released, reduced the likelihood that a welcome party could be arranged. This had other ramifications for service providers and volunteers who spoke of being “caught short” when a large group arrived in Adelaide. Finally, the realisation of TPV holders already in the community that the release from detention did not spell the freedom they had envisaged on release (due to the limitations on travel and family re-unification) may have reduced their desire to celebrate the ‘false’ liberty that release from detention signalled.
While the small group of respondents does not allow a categorical distinction to be made that all Sudanese are warmly welcomed to Australia by their own ethnic community, and Iraqi TPV holders were shunned, there is some evidence from the interviews to suggest that the differences in community reception was linked to cultural traditions. But perhaps more importantly, the differences in reception could be attributed to the distinction in visa category. This suggestion is supported by the mention made by respondents of the relief and joy that led to Iraqi families throwing parties once they received news of their PPV being approved.

6.4 Resettlement Assistance

The resettlement needs of recently arrived refugees differ between individuals and between groups. However, some particular resettlement needs are common to all refugee arrivals. Practical resettlement needs of refugees on arrival include accommodation and household effects, employment, financial support, language classes, access to health care and educational opportunities, information and tuition in the laws, customs and practices of the receiving country and access to interpreters. Personal needs include reunification with family, recognition and understanding of trauma, access to appropriate health services, friendship, support and acceptance, the ability to retain their own culture and the opportunity to make a contribution to their new society (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2001). This often complex set of resettlement needs, combined with a diverse population of refugees, requires many different strategies to reach and assist all new arrivals, particularly those from new and emerging communities (Jupp et al., 1991:xii). The prioritisation of needs by service providers is often directed at the practical needs of refugees. Waxman’s (1998) study of settlement needs and service provision for refugees in Sydney asked service providers to select three major needs of refugees during the first three months in Australia. His analysis revealed that housing was considered the major concern of refugees, followed by a lack of English competency, understanding of the new ‘system’, employment, finances, family reunion, children’s schooling and health concerns (Waxman, 1998:762). These findings differed from an earlier investigation by Morrissey et al. (1991) who ranked in order of importance language, personal problems (homesickness, illness, adjustment to climate), employment and housing. More recent research shows refugees resettling in developed countries continue to experience these types of settlement needs (Danso, 2001; Bloch, 2002; Guerin and Guerin, 2002; Colic-Peisker, 2003; Rees, 2004).
In response to the needs of refugees, resettlement assistance is provided in Australia by a range of government and non-government organisations and community groups. Official resettlement assistance through government funded service providers is currently split into the two-tier resettlement assistance system, which was described in Chapter 2. State governments, non-government organisations and community groups also provide resettlement assistance. In recent years, many of these organisations have been providing assistance to those refugees who have been excluded from federally funded assistance as a result of the two-tier system. For example, in South Australia, the state government has provided housing assistance and English language training to Temporary Protection Visa holders who are excluded from federally funded housing and English tuition programmes. Community groups, such as the Circle of Friends and Rural Australians for Refugees, have also played a significant role in supporting TPV holders and providing resettlement assistance that would otherwise be unavailable. The impact of the TPV regime on these state-funded and non-government service providers has been quite severe, increasing their caseloads considerably, and often to the point of breaking (Pickering et al., 2003:31).

Another source of resettlement assistance, and one that has recently been identified as important in the literature (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003; McMichael and Manderson, 2004) are the ethnic communities already in Australia. The social networks of refugees during resettlement have been shown to play a significant role in their integration into the host society. Ethnic communities can be well placed to provide information and assistance to new arrivals, and DIMA has long recognised the role of ethnic communities in resettlement assistance provision (for example through funding for the Community Settlement Services Scheme). However, small and emerging communities without established links with the Australian community are less able to provide resettlement assistance to new arrivals (Jupp et al., 1991). The availability and accessibility of resettlement services for refugees is an important issue to be considered when examining the resettlement experiences of refugees. Without adequate assistance, the probability of refugees experiencing social exclusion as a result of poor integration is much higher (Danso, 2001). The next section examines recently arrived refugees experiences of resettlement assistance during their initial settlement period.
6.4.1 Resettlement Assistance - Need and Provision

The LSIA2 responses on resettlement assistance needed in the first 6 months show that Humanitarian entrants required assistance with a wide range of activities. Figure 6.2 shows the activities Humanitarian entrants needed assistance with, and the rate of assistance received. More Humanitarian entrants requiring assistance cited help with learning English, than any other type of assistance. This was not an unexpected result given the dominance of recent refugees from NESB countries and is also reflected in the higher level of need for interpreters and translation of written documents by Humanitarian entrants compared to other visa types. Other key resettlement issues requiring assistance by Humanitarian entrants included health and social security services. The analysis also shows that most Humanitarian entrants who required help, received help.

Figure 6.2 Resettlement Assistance Need and Provision Reported by Recently Arrived Migrants, 6 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1
In comparison with other visa types, it can be seen that Humanitarian entrants require more assistance with basic resettlement needs such as income support (through social security services), housing and English language acquisition, and less assistance with secondary resettlement issues such as financial matters and taxation, and employment during early settlement. These results concur with those of Beer and Morphett (2002:10) who also found that visa type exerts a critical influence of the use of welfare services, with refugees far more likely to need assistance than immigrants arriving under other visa types.

In addition, the LSIA2 surveyed interviewees about reasons why they did not receive assistance. A range of answers were provided including:

- Unaware that help was available
- Did not know where to go
- Did not ask/not needing enough help
- Ineligible for assistance
- Help refused

However, no single reason stood out in the analysis for any particular issue, providing no clear indication of where improvements could be made. The lower English proficiency of Humanitarian entrants could be a factor contributing to the lack of knowledge about resettlement services and also act as a barrier to accessing services even if they were aware of them. The point that TPV holders were excluded from the LSIA survey is reiterated here and due to the restrictions on resettlement services available to TPV holders it would be expected that these results would be quite different (most likely higher responses in the ‘ineligible’, ‘help refused’ categories) if TPV holders had been interviewed.

6.4.2 Experiences of Resettlement Assistance in Adelaide

Respondents interviewed in Adelaide were asked to remember the people who had helped them undertake key resettlement activities in Adelaide. A general pattern of service provision was identified in the interview analysis, consistent with the DIMA policies on visa category eligibility for government funded settlement services. The respondent interviews revealed that offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants who had arrived with Refugee visas predominantly accessed formal, federally funded resettlement assistance programs. Offshore-visaed respondents who had arrived on SHP visas were primarily assisted by their sponsors with some additional assistance from NGOs and federally funded
government programs, and TPV holders were assisted by NGO settlement workers (often volunteers) and some ethnic community members. Australian volunteers working with organisations such as the MRC and ARA were also found to provide additional assistance to the refugee respondents. The interviews with refugees revealed that the stratification of eligibility to federally funded assistance was creating some problems for refugees seeking to have their resettlement needs met.

Recent Sudanese arrivals that had been issued Refugee visas were eligible for the full range of federally funded assistance. This included all services available through the IHSS such as orientation assistance, accommodation and household formation support. Of the interviewed respondents, three had arrived on Refugee visas and while these refugees had not experienced a ‘problem free’ initial resettlement period, they felt they had received adequate information and assistance when it was needed.

Recent Sudanese arrivals that had arrived on SHP visas are also eligible for the IHSS funded programs, but are expected to receive much of the personal resettlement assistance from their proposers. Seven of the Sudanese respondents had been issued with SHP visas and in most cases this was described as a successful arrangement, with respondents satisfied with the assistance they received. The majority of SHP visaed respondents had initially stayed with their proposer on arrival, and had received most of their orientation and initial information about Australia from their proposer. Generally this system was acknowledged as a success, with respondents feeling that proposers were able to introduce newcomers into society more gently than officials who were required to stick to a timetable. However, one SHP-visaed respondent had not had such a good experience, and her experience demonstrates the possible problems in the system.

Anne and her family had been met at the airport and were initially accommodated with her proposer (who was a distant relative). The proposer had another relative he had sponsored in Adelaide who also needed assistance. Due to the difficulty of supporting two recently arrived groups of refugees with diverse settlement needs, the proposer was unable to provide assistance to Anne when needed and as a result, she and her husband had been forced to negotiate the establishment of bank accounts and visits to Centrelink by themselves. This had been quite difficult and the respondent felt that the proposer had not been able to meet his obligations. While she was not angry with the sponsor, she was
disappointed that the situation had occurred and wondered why the man had been allowed
to receive the new arrivals so close together. A service provider who recognised that the
Sudanese refugees were now proposing many family members also identified this issue. As
the application process for proposals can be a long and unpredictable process, it was
understood that the overlap of arrivals could be a problem for those proposers who have
several applications in the pipeline at once.

Another aspect of concern was raised where proposers were also recently arrived refugees,
who may not have had the opportunity to settle themselves before being obliged to assist
newly arrived family members. While the proposer system is understood to provide places
for many more refugees to access resettlement in Australia, the above issues suggest that
not every proposer is able to provide the level of assistance that refugees need. In order to
gain a better understanding of the extent of the issue, the LSIA2 survey results were
consulted.

The LSIA2 wave 1 questionnaire asked how long a sponsor had been living in Australia.
Humanitarian entrants who had been sponsored (n=481) indicated that 56% of sponsors
had lived in Australia less than five years. This compared with sponsored family migrants
who indicated that only 11.5% of sponsors had been resident less than five years. This
indicates that sponsors of refugees are more likely to be new arrivals themselves, and that
they may be less established in Australia and unable to provide as much assistance than
more established sponsors.

In terms of types of assistance received by Humanitarian entrants from their sponsors, all
sponsored Humanitarian entrants surveyed in the LSIA2 had received assistance with food,
clothing and general household goods, accommodation and financial assistance. Nearly all
(94.2%) reported receiving general assistance, yet only 1.1% reported receiving assistance
with employment or finding employment. This final statistic is likely to be linked to the
low employment levels of other refugees, who in turn would not be in a position to offer
employment or have the contacts to assist newcomers with job hunting. This is an
important finding, given that the literature on social networks assumes that sponsors are
able to be provide support (Marx, 1990; Pahjola, 1991; Hagan, 1998; McMichael and
Manderson, 2004), and the government now expects sponsors to be the main source of
much resettlement assistance.
The LSIA2 survey also asked how helpful sponsors were and of the 481 sponsored Humanitarian entrants, 344 (72%) stated that their sponsor was ‘very helpful’ and 101 (21%) stated that their sponsor was ‘helpful’ (Table 6.1). This level of satisfaction is comparable with skilled migrants who had received assistance from their sponsors, and was slightly lower than family migrants who had been sponsored. These results would suggest that while there may be problems with some sponsorship situations, the majority of Humanitarian entrants are satisfied with the assistance they receive.

### Table 6.1 Sponsor Assistance Provided to Recent Migrants reported 6 Months After Arrival.

Source: LSIA2 wave 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How helpful was the assistance from the sponsor?</th>
<th>Family n=16411</th>
<th>Skilled n=1935</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=481</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Helpful</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpful</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither helpful nor unhelpful</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhelpful</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/can’t remember</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.4.3 Assistance for TPV Holders

The confusion surrounding resettlement assistance eligibility for TPV holders was evident in the discrepancy in service provider usage among the TPV holders that were interviewed. While some respondents had received assistance from NGO service providers such as ARA and church groups, others had received no assistance from these types of assistance providers. When analysing interview responses, it became apparent that respondents who had received assistance, had been referred either by ethnic community members or other volunteers. Due to the limited knowledge within the Iraqi TPV community of the service providers and the types of assistance they could provide, much confusion had arisen over the role of the service providers. One respondent explained how confused and dissatisfied she had felt after a visit to the MRC. Previously the respondent had been visited by someone from the MRC and given the address of the MRC. The respondent visited the office and it was arranged that she would have some household goods delivered to her home. These goods had been donated to the MRC and were not issued under the household formation support program (part of the IHSS), as the respondent was a TPV holder and thus ineligible for the program. A short time after, the respondent had trouble paying a bill.
and went to the MRC believing they could assist her (as they can for some offshore-visaed refugees). She was refused assistance due to her Temporary Protection Visa status, which prevented the MRC from using federal government funds to help. She was very unhappy with this situation.

This type of situation was echoed by other respondents, some of whom had approached service providers themselves and been refused, or knew of other TPV holders who had. When asked what happened when they were refused assistance, most respondents said they turned to other ethnic community members for assistance, or tried to sort out their problems themselves. Further enquiries often led the researcher to the conclusion that many problems got bigger before they were solved, or that many issues were seen as too hard, and forgotten about. While some TPV holders were able to access assistance from church groups and other community based organisations such as the Circle of Friends, the expertise of settlement support workers with extensive experience in resettlement needs and the provision of assistance to refugees was unable to be utilised as a result of the TPV policy. These results indicate that the two-tier resettlement assistance system forces TPV holders to resort to seeking assistance from organisations who were less experienced in dealing with refugee issues, and under-resourced, leading to lower levels of settlement assistance for this vulnerable group of refugees.

6.5 Housing
Within the resettlement process, housing can be the first step refugees take in re-establishing a life in a new country. Housing provides vital elements such as security, shelter and personal space, which are necessary for the process of regaining dignity and independence often denied to them through persecution, incarceration and torture in their countries of origin (Zetter and Pearl, 1999:2). In Canada, Rose and Ray’s (2001) study of refugee housing experiences in Montreal maintain that for refugee claimants, as for all new arrivals, obtaining safe and stable housing is a key anchor point for making a new start at a time of enormous physical and psychological upheaval. The importance of housing is also reflected in a recent study from New Zealand, which identified the initial priority for refugees upon arrival, as access to affordable and good quality housing (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). While access to appropriate and affordable housing is understood as an important component in the successful resettlement of refugees, previous research in Australia and overseas has found that refugees face many obstacles in their
search for a new home. Housing issues for refugees can be classified into three main areas. These are the initial accommodation accessed by refugees when first arriving in the host society, the tenure and condition of the first and subsequent housing and the mobility of refugees during early settlement. This section on housing therefore investigates these three areas, first by reviewing findings from previous research, then presenting relevant data from the LSIA2 and interviews with respondents in Adelaide.

6.5.1 Accommodation On-Arrival
Refugees entering a new country rarely have had the opportunity to arrange accommodation prior to arrival. This places refugees in immediate need of housing assistance. In the United Kingdom, Quilgars (1993:vi) recognised that “the great majority of asylum seekers and refugees are, quite simply, homeless upon arrival in Britain” and his study identified that there was a real need for social housing in some form, or low cost private sector housing for them. Australian research has also recognised the need for on-arrival accommodation for refugees. Junankar et al., (1993) study in Australia emphasised the importance of on-arrival accommodation for this group of new arrivals, who often arrive in Australia with no resources and no support networks or opportunities to find suitable housing. Dickman (1995) has called attention to the lack of on-arrival accommodation for Somali refugees in Melbourne. Somali families are on average much larger than Australian families and it was found that initial accommodation with sponsors or relatives was impractical due to severe overcrowding.

When appropriate housing cannot be accessed immediately, homelessness is a possibility for some recently arrived refugees. Alloush (2001) lists hidden homelessness as a major issue for people from linguistically and culturally diverse communities. Hidden homelessness is described as the situation some recent arrivals find themselves in when they have been unable to secure their own housing. By sharing with another family they are not considered ‘homeless’ because they have shelter. However, these recent arrivals are effectively homeless as they have not secured their own shelter and the situation is often unsustainable due to overcrowding. Until stable, suitable accommodation is found, refugees are unable to settle permanently, prolonging their existence in a state of limbo.

On-arrival accommodation funded by DIMA is only available for some Humanitarian entrants. Many people who arrive on Refugee visas spend a period of time in short-term
on-arrival accommodation before moving into more secure housing. In most cases stays in on-arrival accommodation are restricted to 13 weeks and many refugees leave sooner than this. However, most Humanitarian entrants issued SHP visas offshore and refugees issued TPVs in Australia, do not have access to DIMA funded on-arrival accommodation. Data from the LSIA2 survey shows that 22% of offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants used on-arrival accommodation funded by DIMIA. Table 6.2 demonstrates that most of these refugees stayed less than three months in the accommodation, as would be expected due to the policy of 13 weeks of accommodation being available. Of those Humanitarian entrants who did not spend time in temporary accommodation, the majority stayed with relatives or friends, or their proposer on arrival.

Table 6.2 Humanitarian Entrants Using DIMIA Temporary Accommodation On Arrival, Reported 6 Months After Arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months in Accommodation</th>
<th>Humanitarian Entrants Using Accommodation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 months</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ months</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The on-arrival housing experiences of the offshore-visaed Sudanese refugees reflected the findings of the LSIA2 survey. While the specific on-arrival housing experiences of refugees who took part in the interviews varied immensely, the general pattern of Refugee visa holders spending time in on-arrival accommodation, and SHP visa holders staying with their sponsor or relatives was identified. For the four Sudanese respondents who spent time in DIMIA funded temporary accommodation, the length of stay varied. Stays of 3 weeks, 6 weeks, two months and 3 months were reported. Respondents were unable to remember much about their time in the accommodation, saying they were in quite a state of shock when they arrived. One woman who had stayed in a hostel remembered that there were many people from many different countries. Despite this she felt lonely while she was there and did not make many friends. Another Sudanese respondent said that the on-arrival accommodation did not help him feel settled and that he felt like he had not finally arrived until he moved into his own home. This Sudanese man’s comments highlight how
a physical dwelling or shelter is only one aspect of a home. Mallet (2004:68) in her review of understandings of home, cites Saunders and Williams’ (1988) discussion of ‘meanings of home’ who identify that geographical factors, together with issues such as class, ethnicity and housing tenure, explain some of the variations in the meaning of home that exists between households. For refugees, a new home is not just the physical structure, but also the opportunity to recreate “a way of life, a way of being, a culture and a way of thinking” (Khattak, 2002:106), and the temporary nature of on-arrival accommodation clearly does not allow refugees to begin this process of creating a new home.

The Sudanese respondents who did not stay in on-arrival accommodation initially stayed with their sponsors or other relatives until they could find their own accommodation. One respondent said that even though the house was crowded for a few weeks it was good to live with people that he knew were able to help him settle in Adelaide. Respondents often found a house nearby to their sponsors or relatives and this enabled the sponsor to continue providing assistance once the new arrivals had had moved into their new home.

Previous research by Foley and Beer (2003) found that ethnic community members, church members and other TPV holders already in the community had provided short-term accommodation for onshore-visaed refugees on release from detention. This research found that some of the Iraqi TPV respondents had spent time in short term emergency accommodation. However, this was not funded by DIMIA, but provided by the SAHT. The availability of this accommodation was due to the State government’s autonomy in providing public housing in South Australia. While the federal government removed funding for on-arrival accommodation support for TPV holders, the state government was able to provide accommodation in state owned emergency housing. The availability of this emergency accommodation meant that none of the refugees interviewed had encountered homelessness after release from detention, as was found in other states (Beer and Foley, 2003). Without access to the federally funded on-arrival accommodation services provided to other refugees, TPV holders have been found to have considerable difficulty in setting up a home after being released from detention.

Reports of severe overcrowding in accommodation have been made in research from Queensland (Mann, 2001), Victoria (Mansouri and Bagdas, 2002) and New South Wales (Barnes, 2003). While two Iraqi families on TPVs interviewed for this study did state that
they had stayed in the same house at the same time, the desperate situations described interstate did not appear to have occurred to the same degree in Adelaide, most likely as a result of the State Government’s intervention and provision of short-term accommodation.

The specific experiences of short-term accommodation were quite varied for the Iraqi TPV holders as well as the Sudanese refugees. While all adult Iraqi TPV holders and their families spent their first night out of detention in a motel, one respondent (a minor when released from detention) was taken to stay with an Afghan man for a few days. Then the boy was moved into SAHT owned short-term accommodation by himself. It was his first time living by himself and he explained that he was very lonely and a little afraid, given that he could not speak any English. An Iraqi man visited a few times a week and helped him settle in, but the boy was bored and remembered thinking that life was better in detention because at least there he had some friends to talk to.

The other adult Iraqis interviewed also spent time in short-term accommodation in Adelaide, except one woman who had come to Adelaide after being released from detention in Perth. After spending 10 days in Perth she moved to Adelaide and lived with her sister for 6 months before renting her own unit. While the Iraqis were grateful for the short-term accommodation, furniture was not provided and some families said it took several weeks to organise furniture and cooking equipment, which was often donated by charities.

While on-arrival accommodation plays an important role in providing housing for refugees at a critical time, it delays the resettlement process by prolonging the period of uncertainty and instability until permanent long term housing is secured. For those refugees who do not use on-arrival accommodation and can live with their sponsor or other friends or family, they are at risk of overcrowding until alternative accommodation is found. However, if alternative accommodation is found in a timely manner, sponsors can be of great support to the new arrivals, as assistance with local orientation and other settlement needs is on hand and refugees report feeling less lonely. The optimal situation for refugees without the option of staying with proposers or family would obviously be to move into longer-term accommodation as soon as they arrive. It is understood that plans are in place in South Australia to enable Anglicare (the current agency holding the contract for housing assistance within the IHSS) to headlease properties for initial periods of 6 or 12 months to
enable refugees to remain in their initial accommodation for longer periods, with the option of taking over the lease at them end of the first term. Further research into the outcomes of these changes would be warranted, as there is evidence to suggest that this would be a better situation for refugees. In addition, removing the policy barriers which restrict TPV holder’s access to federally funded accommodation, such as that provided through Anglicare, to enable TPV holders to access the same longer-term leases on release from detention, would further ensure that successful resettlement was facilitated through the availability of secure housing as soon after arrival (or release) as possible.

6.5.2 Housing Assistance

The process of transition from the first accommodation to subsequent housing differed greatly for interview respondents. The LSIA2 survey indicated that Humanitarian entrants were most likely to use family and friends or real estate agents to assist them in finding accommodation (Table 6.3), as were skilled and family migrants. However, Humanitarian entrants were less likely to use the print media as a source of information about housing, than migrants with other visa types. The lower levels of English proficiency among Humanitarian entrants are a likely reason for the lower use of this source of housing information. The results of the LSIA2 analysis also confirm reports from interview respondents that the government agencies responsible for housing assistance were not a particularly important source of housing assistance. Interviews with refugees in Adelaide identified that the agency responsible for assisting refugees with housing was not providing an adequate level of service.

Table 6.3 Assistance Finding Accommodation Reported by Recent Migrants, 6 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Assistance</th>
<th>Family n=764</th>
<th>Skilled n=1545</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=698</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friends</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Gov. Offices</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper/Magazine</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Agents</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anglicare was responsible for assisting the Sudanese who had arrived on refugee visas, to access long-term accommodation when they left on-arrival accommodation. Two Sudanese respondents mentioned problems that they had with the agency. The first respondent was
not shown three houses as required, and was very frustrated because the agency did not return his phone calls when he rang to ask about the lack of assistance. This respondent subsequently found his own property with assistance from some ethnic community members. He said he was angry with the process because, even though Anglicare did not help him find a property, he believed they filled in a report indicating that they had successfully housed his family.

A second Sudanese respondent on a Refugee visa explained that she had been shown three units, all of which were unsuitable due to their poor condition. The service provider told her that if she refused any more she would not receive further assistance. The fourth unit she was shown was suitable. However, the hot water was found to be broken when she moved in and the telephone needed to be connected. She said that it was difficult to arrange these things when her English was still poor and she was busy studying fulltime. This woman also remarked that the agency did not answer the telephone when she rang on numerous occasions seeking assistance.

For Sudanese respondents who had not spent time in on-arrival accommodation, housing assistance was mostly sourced through helpful real estate agents and family and friends. Sponsors continued to play a role in arranging, not only the first accommodation, but also second and even third houses. One Sudanese mother from a rural background with no English was still relying on her sponsor (a very busy man who had since sponsored other relatives) two years after arrival, to help her find suitable accommodation for her family. The role of informal networks when searching for accommodation was found to be extremely important among the Sudanese respondents. The lack of assistance from the housing agency is a concern, and raises questions about the value of such a service, given that refugees are using alternative methods to find accommodation.

In comparison, many Iraqi respondents reported receiving assistance from organisations in Adelaide, rather than the ethnic community or federally funded government agencies. In particular, several respondents mentioned an Arabic speaking SAHT worker who had provided assistance in finding accommodation. Other organisations had also provided assistance. One Iraqi woman had received assistance from STTARS in making an application for her SAHT unit. They had also helped her furnish her privately rented accommodation. Other respondents mentioned assistance from the Iraqi community or the
TPV settlement worker at ARA. The lack of assistance from the ethnic community could be a result of the cleavages between the established community in Adelaide and the newly arrived TPV holders. From the small sample of respondents, it is difficult to determine the reasons why the Iraqi TPV holders were appearing to use organisations for assistance rather than community members. However, it raises an important point again about the assumption that informal social networks are able to provide assistance in all circumstances. In comparison with other migrants, it appears that Humanitarian entrants (at least off-shore visaed entrants) rely more heavily on informal networks than skilled or family migrants, who tend to use real estate agents and the print media more for information on housing. However, the in-depth interviews with Iraqi TPV holders also indicate that family and friends are not a major source of assistance for onshore-visaed refugees. More research into this division between the information sources used by offshore and onshore-visaed refugees would be warranted as this study can only comment on a small number of responses.

6.5.3 Tenure

Very few refugees come to a new country with any savings or assets to assist them in setting up a new home. This lack of financial standing removes the option of home ownership for most refugees during the early resettlement stage and refugees are confined to renting property. Australia has seen a marked decrease in funding for public housing, and rental housing stock has been reduced over the past few years as government housing authorities have sought to maintain their operating budgets (Hall and Berry, 2004). The decline in public housing stock has been particularly marked in South Australia, with a loss of 15.7% (8,923 dwellings) of public housing stock between 1996-97 and 2002-03 (Wright-Howie, 2004:9). These changes have further restricted the housing options of recent arrivals to the private rental market. The private rental market is extremely competitive and refugees are often vulnerable to discrimination and exploitation. Housing costs, as the largest item in the household budget, can be a key indicator of economic hardship. For refugees on low incomes, obtaining inexpensive housing is crucial to successful household budget management (Rose and Ray, 2001). However, discrimination, a lack of references, poor English, the absence of rent regulation and a poor or non-existent knowledge of tenants rights have been demonstrated to cause problems for refugees seeking affordable housing in the private rental market (Alloush, 2001; San Pedro, 2001).
Chapter 6: A New Home in a New Land

Thus the process of securing appropriate housing can be extremely difficult for refugees in a new country who join the end of the queue for housing.

It has been demonstrated that housing options are limited for refugees on-arrival, and the LSIA2 data confirms this trend continues over the next few years. The initial disadvantage refugees face in housing options due to their lack of savings and assets is reflected in the tenure of refugees during their first two years in Australia. LSIA2 wave 1 data shows that less than one percent of all Humanitarian entrants were living in their own home in Australia at 6 months after arrival, and this had only risen to 5.8% after 18 months. While these results are not unexpected, they do show a marked difference in housing experiences of refugees compared with other migrants. Refugees are clearly locked out of home ownership in early resettlement when compared with migrants arriving in the skilled and family reunion categories (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Housing Tenure of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival  
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Humanitarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=16859</td>
<td>n=13142</td>
<td>n=2412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in own home</td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Rental</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Housing</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared Accommodation</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The LSIA2 analysis reveals higher rates of private and public rental housing tenure among humanitarian entrants at both waves of the survey. In particular, public housing rates are substantially higher for refugees than other migrants, with virtually no skilled migrants living in public housing during early resettlement. The higher rates of public housing tenure among refugees is likely to be related to increasing restrictions on public housing eligibility which make public housing only available to the most socio-economically disadvantaged members of society (Orchard and Arthurson, 2005:215). As many refugees fall into this category, and most family and skilled migrants do not, the eligibility of refugees would be a probable reason for their higher rates of public housing tenure. In addition, refugees have higher rates of long-term health problems than other migrants.
(discussed in more detail in Chapter 8) and health issues are also taken into consideration when public housing is allocated.

The in-depth interviews revealed similar trends in tenure to those exhibited in the LSIA2 data. Home ownership was very low, and of the 19 refugees interviewed; only one family was living in their own home. The family was from Iraq and had lived in Australia on TPVs for 4 years before being granted permanent visas. The home was purchased recently, once permanent visas were acquired. Another Iraqi respondent said that she was now thinking of buying a house as a judge had approved her family’s application for permanent protection. Before the decision she had been unable to think of buying a house because she didn’t know if she would be staying in Australia. In addition, TPV respondents were confused over their eligibility as temporary residents to own property in Australia.

The other respondents were living in rented properties, with the majority of Sudanese refugees living in private rental accommodation. Only one Sudanese respondent was living in public housing (SAHT). Four Iraqis were in privately rented accommodation and three Iraqi respondents were living in SAHT accommodation. All three Iraqi respondents were sure that the public housing accommodation was available to them because of a disability in their family. These trends reflect the high levels of private rental for Humanitarian entrants found in the LSIA2.

As was discussed previously, many refugees spend periods of time in shared accommodation on arrival. The LSIA2 data shows that the percentage of recent arrivals living in shared accommodation decreases over time (Table 6.4). Refugees in shared accommodation decreased from 16% at 6 months after arrival, to only 8% after 18 months in Australia. In many cases this would be related to the high proportion of refugees living with relatives or proposers on arrival, and the movement of refugees into their own accommodation during this period.

The interview respondents who were living in shared accommodation at the time of interviews were all single adults. While several families had shared accommodation on arrival, only single adults were still living in this type of accommodation at the time of interview. One Iraqi respondent living in shared accommodation was a young man without family in Australia. His reasons for sharing with other Iraqi friends were partly for
company and partly for financial reasons. Two Sudanese respondents were sharing accommodation, one woman was sharing a house with her sister’s family and the other Sudanese respondent was a young man living with cousins and other relatives. None of these respondents were looking at moving into their own accommodation in the near future, and all mentioned they enjoyed the social interaction that was available in a group household. Some overcrowding was occurring, however the respondents did not feel too concerned about overcrowding as a problem. However, other respondents discussed the overcrowded situations of shared housing they had previously lived in prior to moving to their current accommodation. For example an Iraqi woman on a TPV had lived with her sister, her sister’s husband and two teenage boys in a two bedroom flat for six months when she first arrived in Adelaide. The problems associated with overcrowding as a result of sharing accommodation will be discussed in the following section. The housing tenure situation of refugees during early settlement is strongly dominated by private rental. LSIA2 data and the in-depth interviews confirmed previous research findings that home ownership is extremely difficult for refugees. Public housing is available to some recently arrived Humanitarian entrants, however the problems associated with private rental (discussed below) would indicate that there is scope for further public housing assistance for some refugee groups.

6.5.4 Housing Problems
As the majority of Humanitarian entrants were living in private rental accommodation, many of the problems with housing were related to this type of tenure. The range of difficulties that recent arrivals encountered in the private rental market include financial problems and rents being too high, transport problems, landlord reluctance to rent to families with children, discrimination, trouble providing references and language difficulties. The LSIA2 analysis shows that more Humanitarian entrants have difficulties renting accommodation than other migration visa types. While family migrants encountered the fewest number of problems (2% of those in the rental market) skilled respondents and Humanitarian entrants faced more difficulties at 12% and 14.4% respectively. This is likely to be a result of most family migrants living with family members on arrival. Unfortunately, the responses to the LSIA2 question on types of problems encountered when finding rental accommodation were very low, and analysis was not possible. However, the in-depth interview responses identified several issues,
which had caused problems for respondents when they were looking for rental accommodation in Adelaide.

Both Iraqi and Sudanese refugees discussed landlord discrimination as a problem they experienced while looking for housing. One Iraqi respondent described the trouble she had renting another house after she was asked to leave the property she had lived in for three years. The woman had made enquiries about many houses and had many applications rejected. However, one phone call to a real estate agent had been very promising and she was well received on the phone as a prospective tenant. Yet when the woman arrived to view the house wearing hijab, the real estate agent told her that he could not rent the house to her because the owner did not like Muslims. Eventually the woman found another house that is rented to her by an NGO. This house is only available for a maximum of two years. Other respondents spoke of real estate agents refusing applications because of small children in the family, or respondents not being ‘Australian’. Landlord discrimination has been identified in other research (Beer and Foley, 2003; Marston, 2003; Barnes, 2003) and is a difficult issue for refugees to overcome.

A further problem for newly arrived refugees seeking private rental accommodation is the need for references on applications. Typically, private rental applications require the details of previous landlords or personal references. For refugees who have recently arrived and never rented property in Adelaide and do not have a job, this part of the application can be extremely difficult. However, two Sudanese respondents had managed to secure rental properties with the assistance of Australian friends who acted as referees. The first respondent explained that he was notified of a rental property being available next door to the home of some of his ethnic community members. He filled out the application form and asked an Australian friend from his church to act as a referee. The woman agreed and then delivered the application to the real estate agent herself. The Sudanese respondent felt this was of great assistance in being offered the property. In addition he knew that his neighbours were good tenants and the landlord was already familiar with Sudanese refugees as tenants. Another Sudanese woman explained that she and her husband had visited an open inspection of a house twice and made a good impression with the real estate agent. She also had two Australian friends act as referees on the application and had a record with the SAHT as good tenants. From these comments by respondents it is evident that having Australian contacts can be very helpful for refugees who are competing with
other Australians for rental property. However, the general lack of interaction with Australians (discussed in Chapter 8) would be a barrier for many refugees using this method of sourcing references.

Another issue raised by respondents was the lack of familiarity with the Australian housing market and particular processes of renting accommodation. Some respondents remarked that the property market was very different in Australia than in their former home country. An Iraqi woman explained that in Iraq, rental housing is only sourced privately through personal contacts. There are no real estate agents who screen tenants, and owners will rent to people they know or know by reputation. A Sudanese woman remarked that in rural Sudan property is not owned by individuals and thus rent is not an issue, and another Sudanese woman mentioned that she had never had to organise accommodation before as her husband had taken care of it. The same woman had then expressed her appreciation for the real estate agent who had spent a lot of time with her and explained the tenancy agreement and the responsibilities of the landlord and the tenant with her. The difficulties refugees experience in learning a new system is compounded by poor English skills and illiteracy in some cases. Further, TPV holders are at a greater disadvantage than offshore-visa ed refugees as they are ineligible for the federally funded resettlement assistance, which provides information and assistance with issues such as the private rental system.

6.5.4.1 Overcrowding

Previous research has found that overcrowding is a problem for refugees in early resettlement (Dickman, 1995; Campbell, 1997; Beer and Foley, 2003). Overcrowding is often symptomatic of shared accommodation and in the literature, sharing accommodation is often discussed as an economically driven decision (Campbell, 1997; Marston, 2003). However, this research has identified that cultural factors are also an issue for some refugees living in overcrowded, shared accommodation.

Two respondents were living in severely overcrowded accommodation in Adelaide at the time of interviewing. Both respondents were Sudanese. The first was a young man living in a house rented by a cousin. Usually the three-bedroom house had 5 relatives living together but the arrival of more relatives on SHP visas had led to the three-bedroom house accommodating 9 young adults. It seemed this was a temporary measure and by the third interview there were only 7 people living there, easing the housing crisis somewhat.
Overcrowding due to the arrival of relatives was a common occurrence for many Sudanese respondents. The situation was typically short lived, with the overcrowded situation forcing families to find suitable accommodation quickly.

The second case of overcrowding was in a family situation where a single mother had her own four children and four of her deceased brother’s children living with her. The family of nine was living in a four-bedroom house. The lounge room was very small and the entire family could not fit in the room to watch TV at the same time. The mother was looking for more suitable accommodation during the interviews, and mentioned that she had been offered a SAHT property, but had declined, as it was not large enough. She was very worried about finding suitable accommodation and was having trouble looking. The woman had barely any English and came from a rural background in Sudan. She felt that this was contributing to her trouble finding accommodation and she was relying on her sponsor to assist her. This type of overcrowding was also common among Sudanese refugees, as a result of the larger families trying to fit into standard (typically 3 bedroom) Australian homes. Service providers indicated that this problem was becoming critical, with more Sudanese and other African family arrivals seeking large, low rent accommodation in Adelaide. The availability of suitable accommodation at a reasonable cost is unlikely to improve, given that the traditional provider of low-rent accommodation in South Australia has been the SAHT, and in recent years there has been a reduction in the number of SAHT dwellings (Wright-Howie, 2004:9), reducing the organisation’s ability to cater for these new families.

In addition to large families, is a cultural preference among many Sudanese to live in extended family situations, typical of traditional household arrangements in Africa. Many Sudanese respondents expressed a desire to recreate these traditional households in Australia, particularly after the long periods that families had spent separated as a result of the war. For instance, one Sudanese respondent (who was living with her three teenage children in a two bedroom flat) explained that she would prefer to have more people living with her if that was acceptable in Australia. However, she had noticed that Australian households were much smaller on average than households in Sudan, and that landlords would not allow lots of people to live in one house. She was disappointed that it would be difficult to live in an extended family situation in Australia. This difference in cultural understandings of what would constitute overcrowding in a home was discussed with other
Chapter 6: A New Home in a New Land

respondents and service providers. While sharing accommodation was desired by some respondents as it allowed families to recreate traditional households, it was found to be extremely difficult to access housing which would enable families to live together. The scarcity of large low rent houses and the discrimination by landlords against families with many children, were mentioned by respondents as barriers preventing them from living in the type of households some of them desired.

Overcrowding was not found to be a current problem for the Iraqi respondents, as they did not have such large families and were not able to sponsor family members, removing the burden of housing them on arrival. One family interviewed was temporarily overcrowded in their housing due to the visit of grandparents from Sydney. This had led to three sisters sharing a room with their grandmother and their brother sharing a room with his grandfather. This situation was expected to last for three months. Overcrowding therefore can be seen as an issue particular to only some refugee groups with specific situations (such as the arrival of relatives) and cultural practices. While this study was limited in its ability to examine the consequences of overcrowding in detail, the issue warrants further investigation, particularly as the increase in African arrivals is likely to increase the problem.

6.5.4.2 Furnishing Accommodation

These difficulties in finding suitable accommodation were not the only problems respondents faced when setting up a new home. Furnishing the house was discussed as important for many of the respondents in order to assist in making the house feel like a home. Respondents were proud to point out their new lounge suites and entertainment cabinets full of electronics. However, they explained that these things were very recently acquired and that when they first arrived nearly everything had been second hand. The two-tier resettlement assistance system greatly influenced the provision of furniture and household items among the respondents interviewed in Adelaide. The Sudanese were entitled to household formation support through the IHSS and this included the provision of basic furniture and cooking equipment to new arrivals. Changes in the program had apparently occurred, with the most recent arrivals being issued with brand new items. A Sudanese woman who had arrived early than other respondents described how she had received only a little furniture when she arrived and it had been second hand. The woman had noticed that more recent arrivals were now provided with an entire house full of brand
new furniture. This was confirmed by a newer Sudanese arrival who was relieved when new beds still wrapped in plastic had arrived. Other ethnic community members had warned her that she might receive stained mattresses and broken chairs. While basic furniture was provided to most new arrivals, much more was needed to “settle” into the new house. One Sudanese respondent described how she had put new furniture on layby and paid it off over several months. She said it was a new method of buying in Australia but she liked it because she did not have to go into debt in the same way as using a credit card. The woman then gave anecdotal evidence that some refugees go into large amounts of debt as soon as they arrive, in order to buy the furniture and electrical goods they see in catalogues. She knew this was causing significant financial hardship for these families as they struggled to pay off the debts from Centrelink payments or low-income employment.

For the Iraqi TPV holders who were ineligible for the household formation support through the IHSS, most household items were sourced from charities. This was not a uniform operation and families took what was on offer. One Iraqi woman and her family were initially taken to short-term accommodation and provided with bedding, but found there were no beds in the house. It took a week before beds were organised for the entire family. For another Iraqi respondent, STTARS provided a fridge and some furniture when she moved into a private rental flat. A more recent arrival said she received some furniture from ARA and a local church. The assistance of NGOs and community groups appears to have been critical for the Iraqi TPV holders in establishing new homes in Adelaide. While the offshore-visaed refugees were entitled to government funded household formation support, and appeared to be receiving very good furniture and household items, the onshore-visaed refugees appeared to have more difficulty establishing a new home without the assistance of the program. The reliance on NGOs and community groups meant that TPV holders were forced to take whatever was on offer. In addition, some service providers indicated that the TPV holders were competing with other disadvantaged Australians for the same pool of household items, creating a demand that was sometimes unable to be met and creating a source of resentment towards refugees among the community.

6.5.4.3 Housing Condition

The LSIA2 analysis revealed Humanitarian entrants reported similar housing conditions at the first and second wave of interviews as did other visa types (Table 6.5). However,
Humanitarian entrants reported poor housing conditions three times higher than skilled or family migrants. These results indicate that refugees are more likely to be living in poorer housing conditions during the early resettlement period, with little change in housing conditions evident during the first 18 months in Australia.

Table 6.5 Condition of Housing Reported by Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13143</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The housing conditions of refugees can be seen as a reflection of the low cost private rental accommodation that most refugees are living in during early resettlement. Inexpensive housing in the private sector is often of poor quality and Garvie (2001) has found disturbing results regarding the condition of housing in a study of asylum seekers in private rental accommodation in the UK. The study identified that a significant proportion of asylum seekers were living in shared, overcrowded housing and reports of sub-standard, unfit and dangerous housing were numerous. However, Rose and Ray (2001) point out that refugees may compare housing in the country of resettlement with housing in the home country, and that responses to questions on housing conditions should be interpreted with this in mind. When Rose and Ray’s comment is considered, it can be argued that the housing conditions reported by refugees may indeed be perceived as worse by the host society than recently arrived refugees. The issue of housing conditions was raised in the in-depth interviews and revealed more information about the situation in Adelaide.

The condition of housing ranged considerably between respondents, and was not influenced by visa category. Comments regarding the condition of houses from respondents tended to highlight the age of the housing stock they were living in and a lack of maintenance. Respondents mentioned problems with faulty plumbing and hot water services, jammed windows and a lack of heating appliances in rental properties. Some respondents reported housing conditions as the catalyst for moving to a new home. The
language difficulties and lack of knowledge about the rental agreements were identified in the interview analysis as additional barriers to overcome when refugees were attempting to get landlords to fix problems. Social networks appeared to be important sources of assistance, with English speaking friends and relatives, or caseworkers advocating on the behalf of refugees to get housing problems rectified. The housing conditions witnessed by the researcher during interviews were in some cases considered more decrepit than the level considered by the refugees themselves. However, it was not to such a degree that the researcher felt that Rose and Ray’s caution should be applied in every case, given that refugees very quickly understood the housing conditions to be expected in Australia as a result of interaction with the ethnic community, service providers and family and friends.

6.5.5 Mobility

The changes in accommodation for refugees during the resettlement period can often be more frequent than other immigrants (Campbell, 1997) due to a number of factors. When discussing housing mobility, the concept of housing careers is often employed. The concept relates to the succession of physical dwellings, demographic relationships, tenure and financial relationships a household will move through over time (Foley and Beer, 2003). Ozuekren and van Kempen (2002) have applied the concept to immigrant and refugee housing changes in developed nations. Typically a refugee or immigrant is expected to move from poor or insecure housing circumstances to better and more appropriate accommodation as the resettlement period progresses. Housing careers can be the product of a number of social processes. Preferences related to cultural background can shape decisions related to housing location, tenure and living arrangements. However, Ozuekren and van Kempen (2002:369) argue that choice is always constrained and preferences cannot always be realised. A range of resources are seen as necessary if households are to achieve their preferences, including

- Material resources (income, labour market position)
- Cognitive resources (education, skills and housing market knowledge)
- Political resources (knowing and defending formal rights in society)
- Social resources (contacts and assistance)

Ozuekren and van Kempen (2002:370) conclude that “minority ethnic groups are not usually well positioned in the housing market with respect to these resources” and it could be extrapolated that the conclusion would be even more relevant for refugees (Foley and
Beer, 2003:16). Hence the mobility of refugees during early resettlement may not follow the expected path from poor to better accommodation, and multiple moves may be expected as refugees negotiate a new housing market.

From the LSIA2 data it was found that 63% of Humanitarian entrants moved once in their first six months in Australia. This compared with just under a third of family migrants and nearly half of skilled migrants moving once in their first six months. The second wave of interviews showed that all visa groups had a high percentage of moving at least once since the last interview (Table 6.6). There was less difference between the visa types for multiple moves recorded between the first and second interviews (6 months and 18 months after arrival). Family, Skilled and Humanitarian entrants had similar percentages of visa holders moving more than once during this period.

Table 6.6 Housing Mobility of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13143</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved once</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved more than once</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher mobility rate of refugees during the initial resettlement period (first 6 months after arrival) reflects the housing experiences already discussed above. The use of temporary accommodation (either government funded on-arrival accommodation or sharing with relatives) during this period is contributing to the higher rates of mobility as the initial accommodation situations of refugees are unsustainable for long periods, either as a result of policy (on-arrival accommodation being provided for only 13 weeks) or overcrowding in relatives homes. Further, the high rates of private rental tenure also contribute to the mobility of refugees, with private rental generally being less stable than home ownership or public housing. Additional resettlement problems can arise as a result of high housing mobility. Service providers indicated that house moves prolonged the resettlement period, with another period of orientation taking place after each move. A particular concern was raised regarding the disruption to schooling and relationships as a result of housing moves.
In the literature, high residential mobility rates among refugees have been identified as stressful, undesirable and detrimental to wellbeing (Warfa et al., 2006). In particular, residential mobility is known to interfere with health care receipt, family life and child development (including schooling), and the plight of the mobile refugee is often complicated by the additional social problems faced by refugees during resettlement (Warfa et al., 2006:521). Links have also been drawn between high residential mobility rates and increased psychological distress as a result of attachments to place being continually disrupted (Fullilove, 1996). While these issues were not explored further in this study, they do highlight the possible problems that the high rates of mobility among refugees may be contributing to.

From the interviews more details about the reasons for residential mobility of recent arrivals were gained. Only two respondents were still living in the same house they had first moved into when they came to Adelaide. Both respondents were Sudanese and were living with relatives in their relative’s home. The other Sudanese respondents had lived in two or three houses since arriving in Australia. Most had moved twice in the first 18 months in Adelaide, from on-arrival or temporary accommodation with sponsors, into a rental property and then into another rental property once the lease ran out. An example of this situation was a young Sudanese woman who arrived by herself in Adelaide on a Refugee visa. She initially lived in a new arrivals hostel for three months. She then moved to a flat in a nearby suburb, where she lived for 9 months before she was offered a SAHT unit in the Eastern suburbs. As the SAHT provides subsidised rent and more secure tenure she is planning to stay in this accommodation for some time.

An Iraqi family who had recently arrived in Adelaide after living in detention on Nauru for 3 years described a different housing career. On arrival the family spent a week in a hotel before moving to a SAHT short-term unit in Kilburn. The family lived there for three months until they were told the house was needed for an African refugee family. A house was rented in the same suburb but the family broke the lease after one month. The neighbourhood was very noisy and there were disturbances in the street at night. The family said that people had thrown rocks at the house and they were scared to stay there. It cost the family over $1000 to break the lease and the matter went to court. They have since rented a house in a more peaceful suburb and are happier with the neighbourhood. However, the family is renting privately and have little security beyond the current lease.
From these examples it can be seen that the reasons for moving are complex and differ for individuals. However, from an analysis of the interviews it was identified that many reasons for moving were related to the opportunity to secure more permanent housing, moving to a better location (closer to amenities or family/friends) or forced movements as a result of expired leases. The progression from poor housing situations to more secure, affordable and appropriate accommodation did appear to be occurring for both onshore and offshore visaed refugees, however the progression appears slower than for other recently arrived migrant groups.

6.6 Conclusion
This chapter has described the initial resettlement experiences of refugees. It has explored the reception that refugees received entering Australia and has found a significant difference between the experiences of Iraqi TPV holders and Sudanese offshore-visaed refugees in a range of areas. The source of assistance provided to refugees during their initial arrival period was also found to be quite different, depending on the visa type. These results demonstrate the influence of a two-tier resettlement assistance system for refugees from the moment they arrive in Australia.

The second part of the chapter investigated the housing experiences of refugees in Australia during their early settlement period. The discussion has identified some similarities and differences in housing experiences between the two groups of recently arrived refugees. An important finding was that for those Iraqi respondents interviewed, initial housing crises had been avoided by the availability of emergency housing provided by the South Australian government through the SAHT. This was in contrast to research from other states that had reported that many TPV holders faced significant housing stress on release from detention. However, the reliance on NGOs and community groups to provide household goods was problematic as it was seen as poorly coordinated and unable to consistently provide required items.

In relation to housing tenure, private rental was identified as the major tenure option for refugees, with home ownership rates negligible among recently arrived refugees. Public housing rates were somewhat higher for Humanitarian entrants than other migrant groups, and were related to the higher rates of eligibility among refugees compared to other migrants. The private rental situation was found to present many problems for refugees,
and the condition of properties rented by refugees was generally worse than other migrant groups. Overcrowding was identified as a problem for some refugees, particularly during the initial resettlement period, when many refugees stay with friends or relatives. The analysis of in-depth interviews also revealed that cultural factors play a role in overcrowded housing situations among the Sudanese refugees in Adelaide. Finally, high rates of residential mobility were identified among refugees during the initial settlement period and this was related to the use of temporary on arrival accommodation and additional problems associated with private rental tenure. Housing issues therefore play a significant part in the resettlement experience of refugees and have an influence on other spheres of integration, as will be discussed later in the thesis. The next chapter will continue to examine the resettlement experiences of refugees by looking at the economic integration of refugees through an analysis of employment and training experiences and a discussion of the financial issues faced by refugees.
Chapter 7

Economic Integration

7.1 Introduction
Many scholars see integration into the labour market as the most critical aspect of integration for refugees in a new society (Lamba, 2003; Valtonen, 1994b, 1998 and 2004). Kuhlman’s (1991) definition of integration identifies the participation of refugees in the economy in ways commensurate with their skills, and compatible with their cultural values as a critical element of the integration process. Economic integration in this study is explored within a discussion of the experiences of refugees with respect to employment, education and training, and financial issues during resettlement.

This chapter will commence with a discussion of the literature related to refugees and the labour market in resettlement countries. Results from the LSIA2 and in-depth interviews will then be examined. Following this, the chapter moves on to refugee experiences of training and education. Finally, the financial status of recently arrived refugees will be reviewed, along with a discussion on the influence of debt and remittance behaviour on households during early resettlement.

7.2 Refugees in the Labour Market
Previous research has identified that refugees face more problems when attempting to enter the labour market than other new arrivals. Typical problems encountered by refugees (and other migrants) include lower levels of language ability (Valtonen 1994b; Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998; Wooden, 1991; Bloch, 2002), a lack of local work experience (Danso, 2001; New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004) a lack of qualifications (Danso, 2001) and problems with qualification and skill recognition. Additional barriers include employers’ lack of understanding of other cultures, racism and discrimination (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004:12). While other migrant groups experience many of these problems, refugees face specific challenges when entering the labour market, as a result of several factors.
The circumstances of migration are a critical difference between migrants and refugees. The pre-departure experiences of refugees differ considerably from other migrants in terms of preparation for migration. The lack of preparation associated with a rushed departure can result in refugees arriving without the range of resources other migrants may have had the opportunity to prepare. In particular, refugees may not have had the opportunity to gather certification of their qualifications or employer references prior to departure. Also refugees may not have the opportunity to improve their language skills, or contact employers prior to arrival. Other specific issues influencing the poor labour market status of refugees include experiences of trauma and torture prior to migration (and the ongoing effects of PTSD during resettlement) and considerable disruptions to education, training and the working life of refugees (Iredale and D’Arcy, 1992). These specific issues compound the problems faced by all migrants entering the labour market.

These problems significantly contribute to low employment rates for refugees. A recent research project in New Zealand found employment rates were low for all respondents, with only 16% of refugees working at 6 months after arrival, and 26% after 2 years (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004:12). Bloch’s survey of refugees in London found only 14% of respondents working at the time of interview (2002:125). In Australia recent analysis of both cohorts of the LSIA has identified that Humanitarian entrants’ employment rates had decreased between interviews with the first cohort and the second. After 6 months, 6% of Humanitarian entrants in the first cohort (LSIA1) were employed, compared with 4% in the second (LSIA2). After 18 months the discrepancy had increased further with the first cohort’s employment rate at 26% and cohort 2 at 16% (Richardson et al., 2004). These findings indicate that refugees are struggling in the labour market in Western resettlement destinations.

A study by Renaud et al. (2003) investigated the effect on economic integration of being selected as a refugee abroad compared to seeking asylum on arrival in Canada. They found that immigrants who arrived with refugee status were significantly more likely to be working at one and a half, and two and a half years after arrival. After all other factors were taken into account; it appeared that refugee claimants were disadvantaged over landed refugees. Two hypotheses for this finding were put forward, the first related to the after-effect of migration at a time of upheaval, as the refugee claimants were arriving as a result of fleeing political unrest and were under considerable psychological and physical
stress. The second hypothesis provides an explanation for worse economic integration as a result of the stigmatisation and marginalisation of people claiming asylum on arrival. The effect of having a temporary work permit for a long time is argued to create a different approach to the labour market, with casual employment more common among this group. In addition, the ongoing uncertainty related to the processing of refugee claims was identified as a possible reason for lower levels of economic integration among asylum seekers.

A similar situation with regard to the employment experiences of onshore-visaed refugees has been identified in Australia. Due to TPV holders being denied access to most forms of employment assistance, the employment experiences of TPV holders would be expected to be worse than other offshore-visaed humanitarian entrants. Marston’s (2003) study of TPV holders in Melbourne found a high rate of unemployment among onshore-visaed refugees. Of 51 respondents, only four respondents were employed in full time permanent positions, and the majority of others were employed in less stable positions, either part time, contract or casual work. Part time work was generally reported as less than two days per week, and provided little financial incentive to work, given the dollar for dollar reductions attached to the Special Benefit. Marston (2003) also found that respondents had a wide range of skills and qualifications but most were unable to find work in their chosen trade or profession. TPV holders in Melbourne were reportedly working as taxi drivers, security officers, factory workers and labourers. Respondents in regional Victoria were working in seasonal fruit picking jobs or as manual farm labourers. These low-skill, low-paid casual positions indicate a much more marginal attachment to the labour market than was desired by the respondents.

Previous research has also identified that employment among refugees resettled overseas is predominantly part time, and many refugees with work do not have sustainable positions. In New Zealand, most recently arrived refugees were employed in different occupations to that held in their home country, most in lower paid and lower skilled positions (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). The downward occupational mobility of refugees has long been a feature of research into refugee integration (Stein, 1981; Lamba, 2003; Coughlan, 1998). Problems related to skills recognition are well known (Iredale, 1994) and are contributing to the waste of valuable human resources of refugees (Masquefa, 2003). Bloch (2002) found occupational downgrading was evident among those working in
London, and the sort of work respondents were undertaking was almost exclusively low-paid, low-skilled work with poor terms and conditions of employment. Bloch (2002) found refugees in the Britain were working unsociable hours (before 8:30 am and after 6:30 pm) and job turnover rates were very high. Colic-Peisker’s (2003) survey found many Bosnians in Australia reported unsatisfactory labour market outcomes as a result of lack of qualification recognition and language barriers interfering in skills transfer. Further, middle-class urban professionals from Bosnia were found to view their professional work as the main axis of their identity. As a result, the loss of occupational status in Australia was linked to a loss of identity among this group of Bosnians during resettlement.

TPV holders have been found to encounter additional barriers to employment due to their visa. Mann’s (2001) report identified that prospective employers had told some TPV holders (after the refugees showed the employer their visa) that they did not have the right to work. Mann attributes the reaction of employers to the negative community perceptions of asylum seekers and the increased penalties for employment of people on some types of temporary visas, such as tourist visas (DIMIA, 2003). Marston (2003:51) also discussed visa related employment problems, and highlights the fact that “being classified as temporary appears to be significant regardless of whether the vacancies are casual, part-time or permanent full-time”. Most respondents in the survey had experienced multiple rejections from employers, despite their legal right to work in Australia.

Previous research thus illuminates the range and depth of problems refugees face in their quest for economic integration through employment. However, while the employment options for those refugees who do enter the labour market are often limited, in many ways that situation is seen as preferable to unemployment. Valtonen (1998) observed that refugees, who are unemployed from the outset of resettlement, or for long periods, are at risk of becoming socially excluded from the mainstream, as the main source of regular social contact with other groups is often through the workplace. Thus employment in early resettlement is not only part of a progression towards economic integration but social and cultural integration as well. The following section will present the experiences of recently arrived refugees to provide a deeper understanding of the current situation in Australia.
7.3 Recently Arrived Refugees Experiences in the Labour Market

The LSIA2 survey included a comprehensive range of questions on labour force experiences. However, the labour force experiences of refugees was found to be considerably different from other groups of recent arrivals, with refugees exhibiting much lower participation rates than other migrants. As a result, the analysis was restricted somewhat due to the small cell sizes produced from many of the cross tabulations. However, several main issues related to refugee experiences in the labour force during resettlement were explored.

7.3.1 Current Main Activity

Data from the LSIA2 illustrates the low level of employment among recently arrived Humanitarian entrants compared to other visa categories. Table 7.1 shows that Humanitarian entrants are significantly more likely to be studying than working during their early settlement period, than other visa types. Results show that over half of the Humanitarian entrants surveyed in the LSIA2 remained outside of the labour market after 18 months in Australia. Another feature of the Humanitarian visa category was the higher rate of ‘unemployed and looking for work’ responses than other visa categories. While both family and skilled visa migrants had unemployment rates decrease over time, the percentage of Humanitarian visa holders unemployed increased between 6 months and 18 months. One reason for this would most likely be the result of Humanitarian entrants completing training between 6 and 18 months after arrival and entering the labour market.

Table 7.1 Current Main Activity of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Main Activity</th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed &amp; looking for work</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Duties</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired/Pensioner</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.2 Current Occupation

Of the very small percentage of Humanitarian entrants recorded as employed in the LSIA2, over a third were employed in labouring occupations. Table 7.2 shows that 42% of employed Humanitarian entrants were working as labourers at the time of the first interview (6 months after arrival), compared with 21% of family migrants and only 6% of skilled migrants. The second largest group of Humanitarian entrants were working in jobs related to intermediate production and transport. Significantly, at wave 1 and 2, no Humanitarian entrants surveyed were working as managers or administrators, and only 5% had managed to secure employment in professional occupations by wave 2. The high proportion of refugees working in low skilled employment reflects the type of employment opportunities available for those entering the workforce with little or no local work experience, English as a second language, and small social networks. It does not necessarily reflect the qualifications of recently arrived refugees, as a diverse range of formal qualifications are held.

Table 7.2 Current Occupations of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 months After Arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Humanitarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=6955</td>
<td>n=9118</td>
<td>n=9837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers and Administrators</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professionals</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradespersons</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Clerical</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate Clerical</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. Production and Transport</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Clerical</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.3 Qualifications On Arrival

The level of qualifications of Humanitarian entrants on arrival is significantly lower than family or skilled migrants. Nearly 30% of recent adult refugee arrivals had not completed the equivalent of high school education prior to arrival in Australia (Table 7.3). At the other end of the scale, very few refugees arrive with postgraduate qualifications and only 9% of refugees have a Bachelors degree on arrival, compared with nearly 30% of skilled migrants. These figures reflect the visa eligibility criteria for skilled entry to Australia,
which provides additional points for university graduates. Interestingly, Humanitarian entrants show a higher rate of Trade qualifications than other visa types, which may account for the higher rates of employment as tradespersons seen in Table 7.2.

Table 7.3 Highest Formal Qualifications of Recent Migrants on Arrival in Australia
Source: LSIA2 wave 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher Degree</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate Diploma</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor Degree</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech/Prof Qualification</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 or more years</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11 years</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9 years</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or fewer years</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.4 Problems Looking for Work

Humanitarian entrants seeking employment in Australia are faced with many barriers to employment, the most obvious being English proficiency, as seen in Table 7.4. As the majority of recently arrived refugees come from non-English speaking countries, these high levels of English related employment problems are not unexpected, but are markedly higher than other migrant types. Insufficient experience is also revealed as a problem faced by refugees seeking work, however this problem is faced by all types of migrants, and appears to be more of a problem for skilled migrants than family or Humanitarian entrants. Qualification recognition does not appear to be a particularly important problem for refugees when they are looking for work during early resettlement.

While the statistical analysis of the LSIA2 data reflects previous findings on refugee employment, including low levels of employment, employment predominantly in low skilled positions, English language and insufficient work experience being significant problems when seeking work, it can not expose the depth or complexity of employment issues faced by recently arrived refugees. The following section draws on the in-depth interview analysis and examines several aspects of the economic integration of refugees in the labour market in more detail.
Table 7.4 Problems Looking for Work Reported by Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem Looking for Work</th>
<th>Family W1</th>
<th>Family W2</th>
<th>Skilled W1</th>
<th>Skilled W2</th>
<th>Humanitarian W1</th>
<th>Humanitarian W2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English Language Problems</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification Problems</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient Experience</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Job</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Particular Problem</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.5 Refugee Experiences in the Adelaide Labour Market

While there were multiple reasons identified for respondents not being in the labour force, the majority of responses regarding employment experiences came from refugees who were looking for work or had gained employment. Respondents raised many issues related to employment and a case study is presented first to demonstrate the complexity of problems refugees face when seeking employment, before several issues are examined in detail.

Labour Market Experience – Iraqi TPV Case Study

Sie had worked on container ships before fleeing to Australia. He spent three years on Nauru with his wife and children before coming to Adelaide in 2004. The family was deeply traumatised by their experiences during the journey and in detention. Sie said he had applied for many jobs in Adelaide and has had a lot of trouble finding suitable work. He has applied for positions in warehouses and factories but believes his age (41), TPV status and English proficiency is a problem. He does not want casual or part time work but wants a full time job in Adelaide. He explained that if he takes a part time job his Centrelink Special Benefit would be cut ‘dollar for dollar’. His wife also has ongoing medical appointments in Adelaide so he is reluctant to take a job in a regional area. Sie does not own a car and this makes attending job interviews in the suburbs quite difficult. He has visited the job network provider many times but he has been directed to the computers to look for vacant positions online. His TPV prevents the job network from providing any more assistance to him. Sie was adamant that he wanted to work, he said he hated being at home doing nothing and has become quite depressed. Sie has now been out of work for nearly five years.
The case study highlights the problems associated with part-time work and Centrelink benefits, particularly the loss of benefits on a ‘dollar for dollar’ basis for those TPV holders on Special Benefits. It also raises issues of transport problems, English language ability, the emotional impact that unemployment can have, and the unmet need for additional employment assistance from Job Network providers for TPV holders. The following section will discuss these issues in greater detail.

7.3.5.1 Childcare

From the LSIA2 analysis it was evident that many refugees were outside the labour market during early resettlement. Interview respondents provided further insight into the reasons for this absence from the labour market. Female respondents in Adelaide identified caring responsibilities (for children or ill partners) and participation in English classes as the main reasons why they were not currently in the labour market. Many respondents raised childcare issues, and several sub-themes were identified in the analysis. The above-average size of families and generally younger age of children in Sudanese families was identified as a problem in terms of childcare costs, and thus a barrier to employment for females. There also appeared to be a preference by respondents for children to be looked after by family rather than strangers, reducing refugees’ use of childcare centres. The Iraqi respondents did not mention childcare as such a major issue, and the older age of Iraqi children was a probable reason for this. Childcare is evidently a barrier to employment that is shared with the general population, however, cultural attitudes towards childcare and the larger size of some refugee families are additional factors related to childcare that are preventing some refugee women from entering the labour market.

7.3.5.2 Health

Health issues were also mentioned in interviews as reasons for respondents or their partners not looking for work. One Iraqi woman explained that her husband had been employed previously in Australia, but his doctor had recommended he stop driving taxis, in order to have time to rest and get better. The family had lived in immigration detention prior to coming to Adelaide and the woman felt that this period had had an ongoing impact on her husband’s health. Another Iraqi woman had a serious health condition which required her to attend a hospital for several hours a day, several times per week. This situation prevented her from seeking paid employment outside the home. Further discussion of the health issues for refugees is provided in Chapter 8, however it is evident
from the interviews that for some refugees, their health status was a factor limiting their entry to the labour market.

### 7.3.5.3 Transport

Several respondents highlighted transport issues as an obstacle to gaining employment. The lack of private transport is an issue already understood as a barrier to employment in the general population. For refugees, the problem is compounded, as it is not only access to a car that is an issue, but also the gaining of a driver’s licence that can be an expensive process for those on low incomes.

Several respondents mentioned the costs associated with gaining an Australian driver’s licence. The need for many lessons (due to no previous experience driving a car) and then the cost of the actual licence was difficult to budget for, especially for those receiving Centrelink benefits as their main source of income. The interviews revealed some discrepancy between respondents who had asked job network providers for assistance with the costs of driving lessons. One respondent had been refused financial assistance and another had received assistance, as had her boyfriend and an acquaintance. Another NGO was also identified as a source of financial assistance with driving lessons. The lack of refugees with full driver’s licences within the ethnic community was also mentioned as it reduced the ability of new arrivals to access free practice lessons from friends.

In addition to the costs associated with driving licences, several respondents raised the issue of the requirement of a driver’s licence and private transport for jobs. One Sudanese woman explained that her husband had learnt to drive in an automatic car, but had found that many jobs required the applicant to be able to drive a car with a manual gearbox. Her husband had enlisted the help of an Australian friend to teach him to drive in a manual car, as they could not afford more lessons. Transport problems had caused one respondent to decline a job he had been offered because he did not have a car. Another woman who was looking for work felt that gaining her driver’s licence would improve her prospects of finding work as a personal carer. She said that shifts in aged care facilities are at different times of the day and when she had applied previously she was told she would not be offered the job if she was going to rely on public transport. Another respondent working in an aged care facility had been told the same thing, but had been fortunate to find work in a facility within walking distance to her home.
This information suggests that there is a need for a clear policy on financial assistance for driving lessons. There appears to be a need for financial assistance or assistance in kind (free driving lessons) for all recently arrived refugees who are seeking employment to help them improve their chances of getting a job.

### 7.3.5.4 Interviews and Resumes

The respondents who had been looking for work discussed the process of applying for jobs in Australia as very different from that in their home country. One man explained that in Sudan, application letters should only include qualifications and relevant experience. This was quite different from Australia where he had been advised to “sell himself” in the application process. The man had found this idea quite confronting as it goes against the Sudanese culture to boast about oneself. Another Sudanese woman also said she had found the way to write an application letter for a job quite different to the way it was done in Sudan.

Another problem that respondents raised was the small social networks they had in Australia that reduced their informal methods of job hunting. Many respondents described how they had previously found jobs in Africa or the Middle East through family and friends. They then described how they knew very few people who had work in Australia, let alone anyone who would be in a position to give them a job. This was highlighted in one interview when an Iraqi woman pleaded for the researcher to ask her friends and family about any jobs that would be suitable for her son, who had recently dropped out of high school. The lack of informal networks is a significant issue for recently arrived refugees in the labour market.

### 7.3.5.5 Qualification Recognition and Downward Occupational Mobility

Table 7.5 is provided to demonstrate the range of educational backgrounds of respondents. It is important to keep in mind that not all refugees come to Australia with a certificate or qualification that requires recognition, and some arrive with no experience of formal education at all. However, for those refugees who did have skills, the interview respondents found they had trouble gaining employment in positions that would utilise their skills.
Table 7.5 demonstrates the range of education level held by respondents. Recently arrived refugees are a heterogenous group in terms of qualifications, and this group of respondents included a woman who had received no formal education and could not write her own name, to a refugee with postgraduate qualifications. Refugees who do arrive with qualifications have been documented to have difficulties having their qualifications recognised in Australia.

**Table 7.5 Education Level of Respondents in Adelaide**

Source: In-Depth Interviews with Refugees in Adelaide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Level of Formal Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 1</td>
<td>MA in Anthropology from Egyptian University, studying PhD in Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 2</td>
<td>Some High School in Kenya, studying SACE stage 1 in Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 3</td>
<td>Completed High School in Australia Currently Studying at University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 4</td>
<td>No formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 5</td>
<td>Primary School in Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 6</td>
<td>Did not complete Primary School in Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 7</td>
<td>Nursing Diploma from Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 8</td>
<td>Completed High School in Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 9</td>
<td>Completed High School in Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese 10</td>
<td>Some High School education in Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 1</td>
<td>Bachelor of Agricultural Engineering from Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 2</td>
<td>Completed High School in Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 3</td>
<td>Primary School in Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 4</td>
<td>Accounting Diploma from Iraq University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 5</td>
<td>Degree in English from Iraq University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 6</td>
<td>Completed High School in Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 7</td>
<td>Some High School in Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 8</td>
<td>Completed High School in Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi 9</td>
<td>Completed Primary School in Iran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two respondents discussed problems they had faced getting their qualifications recognised and both were Sudanese. The first respondent was a Sudanese man who had a Masters degree from Egypt. He arrived in Australia on a refugee visa and was sent to the Overseas Qualification Assessment Centre. They assessed his degree and told him it was equivalent to an Australian Masters degree. He was then able to apply for a PhD scholarship at a local university.
The second respondent has had more trouble getting her qualifications recognised. She had completed a Nursing Diploma while living in exile in Africa. She has a copy of the certificate with her in Australia; however, the certificate is in a different name because she used a pseudonym while in exile. When she asked for the certificate to be assessed she was told the centre would not assess it because it was already in English. She then took it to the Nurses Board and they have asked that the respective authority in her previous country of residence verify it. She said that this would be virtually impossible due to the level of corruption, poor record management and poor communication systems in that country. She would prefer to work as a nurse in Australia (rather than her current position as a personal carer) and she is upset that she may be forced to retrain in Australia to do a job she is already qualified for.

The Overseas Qualification Unit was contacted in regard to these problems. The Unit informed the researcher that they were able to assess qualifications if they were already in English and that a Justice of the Peace could certify copies or a statutory declaration could be made. It seems that the Sudanese woman may have misinterpreted the information she received from the Unit. In addition, the researcher felt that the respondent did not disclose all the information regarding her use of pseudonyms in exile. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the ‘secrecy’ regarding identity that refugees have operated under whilst in exile may take time to overcome once in Australia. The outcome of this is that institutions (and researchers) may not be fully informed of all the relevant information when a refugee seeks assistance. There were multiple cases during interviews where the researcher felt this was an issue and it appears that these types of problems can create difficult situations for new arrivals and service providers.

7.3.5.6 Appropriate Employment Options
An unexpected issue raised in the in-depth interviews was the need to consider employment options in terms of the appropriateness for refugees who may have experienced trauma events and be suffering symptoms of PTSD. These experiences can require ongoing counselling and management during resettlement and suitable employment is important in enabling refugees to move on with their life. However, the employment options for low skilled refugees, or refugees who are unable to get their skills recognised by employers can be limited, and sometimes extremely inappropriate. Recently, many refugees have found employment in workplaces that many Australians refuse to work in.
Abattoirs around South Australia (and interstate) have been identified as employers of unskilled labour and refugees have found employment in these establishments (Procter, 2005). Yet the appropriateness of this kind of work is debatable as the following example illustrates.

A Sudanese respondent commented that he had been to a Job Network provider for assistance in finding employment. The Job Network had told him they would help him find a job he would be happy with and could stay in for a long time. But the employment officer had advised him that the only work available was in a factory slaughtering chickens and that he must apply for it, or risk losing his Centrelink benefits. The Sudanese respondent told the researcher that this was not a job he felt he could do as he had witnessed men being slaughtered in front of him in Sudan and was still dealing with this traumatic experience. Fortunately for this respondent, a more suitable job became available and he was not forced to work in an utterly inappropriate setting.

In addition, informal discussions with Iraqi respondents and key informants highlighted the desperation of refugees seeking employment. Many Muslim refugees are employed at abattoirs in Australia, most of which do not observe halal slaughtering practices. It is understood that many Muslim refugees feel uncomfortable about the men working in these environments and would prefer them to work elsewhere if alternative work was available. No previous research into this issue was found, and it would be an interesting avenue to be pursued in further studies.

7.3.5.7 Moving for Employment
Problems getting employment in Adelaide had forced two respondents to seek work interstate. The first respondent was a young single Sudanese man who was studying at High School. He had tried unsuccessfully to find a part-time job in Adelaide that would fit in with his school hours. He was over 18 years old and found that most after school jobs were going to younger applicants. In the school holidays he had travelled to Victoria with some friends and found work fruit picking near Shepparton. The work was not well paid and there had been some trouble at the farm when DIMIA officials looking for illegal workers raided it. While the Sudanese respondent had not been involved in the raid, it had upset him and he had returned to Adelaide when the holiday period finished. He stated that he would not have returned to study if the pay was better and the trouble with DIMIA had
not occurred. He was looking for part-time work in Adelaide again after he returned and was still contemplating leaving study for full time work if he could find it.

A second respondent was a young Iraqi respondent who only completed one interview with the researcher due to his departure for Melbourne. He had applied for many jobs in Adelaide and had some part-time work, but was seeking fulltime employment. At the interview he had explained that he had been informed of job opportunities at a car factory and that he was travelling to Melbourne with friends in order to keep the costs of travelling down. There was no further contact with the respondent so it is unknown whether the trip resulted in employment. The in-depth interviews indicate that relocating for employment is another factor contributing to the high residential mobility rates of refugees during resettlement as identified in the previous chapter.

The LSIA2 data shows that Humanitarian entrants have higher rates of people unemployed and looking for work than other visa categories. The difficulties refugees’ face in gaining access to work significantly contributes to this. Interviews with respondents demonstrated the interrelated nature of barriers to employment, and the way that individual life circumstances affect their employment options in Australia. Many refugees are engaged in training during early resettlement in attempts to gain the skills employers are looking for. The next section examines the training experiences of recently arrived refugees in Australia.

7.4 Refugees and Education and Training

As has been demonstrated above, refugees face greater difficulties than other migrants when entering the labour market. As a result many refugees take part in training programs in order to improve their employment prospects. Training programs provide opportunities for refugees not only to gain vocational skills but also provide exposure to the social and cultural environment of the host society. Participation in training in the host country is seen by Desbarats (1986) as one indicator of cultural adaptation. However, as with employment, previous literature has identified problems for refugees when accessing training. The New Zealand Immigration Service (2004) survey reported that participants mentioned difficulties in accessing study or training including English language ability, health issues, and costs or access to childcare. Yet even when refugees enter training programs there are barriers to completion. Bloch (2002) found a high rate of non-completion of courses in her
study in Britain. Problems cited as reasons for not completing vocational courses are similar to those cited for not completing English courses – childcare, financial problems, level of difficulty, health reasons, English language problems and discrimination. However, the reason given most often, was finding it hard to concentrate. After enrolling in courses, refugees may suffer after effects of torture or trauma, with physical or psychological symptoms disrupting their ability to concentrate and study (Hannah, 1999). Given these possible problems, additional institutional difficulties can further contribute to low access and high dropout rates. Hannah’s (1999) study of refugee access and support in higher education in Sydney listed several practical impediments to further study. Refugees were likely to have experienced disrupted schooling, have destroyed or inaccessible certificates and other documents, non-transferable qualifications and limited financial resources. Problems associated with gaining recognition for prior learning and assessment of foreign qualifications were also reported. Institutions were found to lack sensitivity in dealing with refugee students, contributing to the difficulties faced by students with special needs. These problems can be difficult to overcome without specific, targeted assistance.

Certain groups of refugees are more likely to undertake training than other groups. The New Zealand Immigration Service (2004) survey identified that a much higher proportion of recently arrived young adults had completed study or training in New Zealand than any other age groups, and only a very small number of respondents over 40 years of age had taken part in study or training. Age was also influential in determining whether or not respondents had undertaken education since living in Britain (Bloch, 2002). While 40% of those aged 34 or younger had participated in education, only 22% aged over 35 had participated. Bloch (2002) also found a correlation between longer periods of residence and higher rates of participation in education and training. In addition, she identified that refugees who had studied previously in their home country were more likely to study in the host society (Bloch, 2002:114).

Research into TPV holder’s participation in training has identified that fees and income support are major barriers for onshore-visaed refugees wishing to undertake study in Australia (Barnes, 2003). TPV holders are classified as international students due to their temporary rather than permanent visa and are required to pay full fees for post secondary education in Australia. In some cases Barnes (2003) found that TAFE institutions were waiving fees for TPV holders, but this was not a widespread practice and many TPV
holders were excluded from training opportunities due to the fees. In addition, the Special Benefit allowance (described in more detail in the following section on income) has activity restrictions that essentially cut off recipients from the payment if they study full time.

### 7.4.1 Recently Arrived Refugees and Training Participation

LSIA2 analysis revealed a high level of Humanitarian entrants classifying their current main activity as studying. In the table showing current main activity in the previous section (Table 7.1) it was identified that nearly half of all Humanitarian entrants classified themselves as students at wave 1, and 32% reported being students at wave 2. Further analysis revealed the type of courses being studied was predominantly English classes. At wave 1, only 6.1% of Humanitarian entrants were undertaking post secondary study and at wave 2, 10.2% of Humanitarian entrants were undertaking post secondary study (not English classes) (Table 7.6). Most of those Humanitarian entrants undertaking post-secondary education were enrolled at Technical colleges or TAFE institutions. Employment-related reasons for undertaking study dominated responses by recent arrivals on all visa types (Table 7.7). In the interview 6 months after arrival, 70% of Humanitarian respondents said the main reason for studying was to get a better job, a much higher rate than family or skilled visa holders. The upgrade of qualifications was also an important reason for undertaking study, however the importance of this reason declined between the interviews. A possible reason would be that some migrants and refugees had completed their studies to upgrade qualifications in the first 18 months and were no longer studying at the time of the second interview.

**Table 7.6 Course Type Studied by Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 months After Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

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<td>W1 W2</td>
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<td>W1 W2</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(English Course)</td>
<td>27.2 14.3</td>
<td>4.1 3.9</td>
<td>75.3 42.7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Currently Studying</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Non-English course)</td>
<td>7.6 9.1</td>
<td>18.3 21.2</td>
<td>6.1 10.2</td>
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<td></td>
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Table 7.7 Main Reasons for Undertaking Study Provided by Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

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<td>W2</td>
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<td>W2</td>
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<td>n=5463</td>
<td>n=6242</td>
<td>n=856</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get Better Job</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get Qualifications Upgraded</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Career</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure Activity</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Personal Development</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.2 Education Experiences of Recently Arrived Refugees in Adelaide

The interview analysis identified that only three respondents were undertaking study (courses other than English) at the time of interview. One was completing high school as a mature age student, and the other two respondents were studying at university (one undergraduate and one postgraduate). The respondents who were studying were all Sudanese males. None of the Iraqi respondents were undertaking vocational training at the time of interviews. The absence of participation in training of the Iraqi respondents could be related to several factors, including the higher proportion of Iraqi women interviewed (and their caring responsibilities), and the TPV policy which requires TPV holders to be treated as international full fee paying students in tertiary institutions. In addition to the respondents who were currently studying, were several respondents who had undertaken study prior to the interviews with the researcher.

7.4.2.1 Previous Study in Australia

Several respondents mentioned that they had undertaken training previous to the interviews. One Iraqi respondent had attended several short courses related to community development and leadership. These had been funded by a variety of organisations and she had been invited to take part to develop her skills in her role as a volunteer bilingual community worker. Two Sudanese women had undertaken training in aged care (certificate level study at TAFE). Another Sudanese woman (a nurse before coming to Australia) had undertaken a First Aid course while she studied English. Two of the three women had found employment in aged care facilities and one had also completed a manual-handling course while working.
Chapter 7: Economic Integration

One Sudanese male had begun a Masters course but had been forced to withdraw as his Centrelink payments had been stopped, as Masters courses are not eligible for government assistance. This caused considerable financial hardship for the family with a new baby. Later he was offered a PhD scholarship that he commenced during the interview period.

The reasons for studying for these refugee respondents are clearly linked to employment, echoing the results of the LSIA2 analysis. The Sudanese have had more opportunity to pursue studies related to employment and respondents described these opportunities as being organised and assisted by many different organisations, including Centrelink, Job Network providers and settlement caseworkers. Several Sudanese spoke of quite intensive job seeking support, which included assistance with training opportunities. These opportunities were not available to the TPV holders due to their visa conditions, the result being the low participation of Iraqi TPV holders in training courses.

7.4.2.2 Implications of the TPV for Education and Training Opportunities

The limited access to further study for adult TPV holders has been a feature of previous research findings on TPV holders (Barnes, 2003). Marston (2003) discussed the ineligibility of professionally qualified TPV holders for bridging courses and loans administered by the Department of Education, Science and Training due to residency requirements. Temporary visas also create a barrier for TPV holders wishing to study at University due to the policy treating temporary visa holders as international students. In Australia, permanent residents are eligible for an education loan scheme (HECS) to assist them with University course fees. The TPV prevents onshore-visaed refugees from accessing this scheme and creates a further distinction between offshore and onshore-visaed refugees during resettlement. The following case study (on page 191) illustrates the problems faced by TPV holders wanting to continue their education, and the lengths an Iraqi mother had gone to in order to find a way for her daughter to attend university.

This Iraqi mother’s persistence has led to many universities in Australia now providing scholarships for TPV holders. However, the number of scholarships is limited. In addition, the scholarships cannot always be taken up, as TPV students are forced to fund their own living expenses as the TPV prevents them from receiving the Special Benefit if they study full time. The restriction of TPV holder’s access to post-secondary education is delaying the resettlement process for these people. Some Iraqi respondents spoke of returning to
study when they received permanent residence, however the likelihood of this happening seemed low. The longer-term implication of the policy is likely to be further social exclusion as a result of prolonged resettlement. Without opportunities to improve their skills, refugees face the prospect of being restricted to low-skill, low-paid employment, which hamper the economic integration prospects of refugees considerably.

### Education Case Study

Ferial is an Iraqi TPV holder living in Adelaide with her ill husband and four children. Ferial’s daughter finished year 12 in Australia with excellent results and wanted to go to university. While she had been eligible to receive a state-funded high school education as a TPV holder, enrolling in University revealed the true injustice of the TPV regime. As the government did not fund HECS places for TPV holders, Ferial’s daughter was refused entry to university unless she paid full fees as an international student. The family was surviving on Centrelink benefits and could not afford $17,000 per year for the course. Centrelink also informed them at this time that the daughter would lose all her Centrelink benefits if she studied full time. Ferial felt this was extremely unfair and she took on the mission to get her daughter a scholarship at university. She began talking to the media about the situation, and many government officials. Finally she spoke to one official who had contact with the Prime Minister John Howard. At this time, Sydney University had just begun providing TPV holders with scholarships. Then Ferial heard that Adelaide University would give two scholarships, one to her daughter and one to an Afghan boy. She does not know if the Prime Minister had any impact on the decision or not, but Ferial believed her daughter would not have been offered a scholarship if she had not advocated so strongly. The Australian Refugee Association provided some money for books, as did the Circle of Friends. Her daughter has had her Centrelink payments cancelled as she is studying full time, but has managed to earn some money as an interpreter in Adelaide.

#### 7.4.2.3 Leaving Study for Work

During the fieldwork for this study, the Sudanese man studying as an undergraduate student informed the researcher that he had decided not to continue studying. He explained that he planned to work full time in a factory, as his family needed the money. In addition, interview discussions with the Sudanese man who was studying as a mature age student at high school revealed that he was also contemplating leaving study to work. Both these men cited the financial pressure of living on Centrelink Youth Allowance payments as the main reason for leaving study. The undergraduate student was the oldest son in the family and there was great pressure on him to take a job, as he was the only household member who could find employment. His mother was still studying English (she had no English skills on arrival and minimal literacy in her own language) and the younger children were still at school. In addition, this young man’s family had just received another family from Sudan, who were living with them until suitable accommodation could be found. In this situation,
the young man felt that his duty was to provide money for the household above studying for a degree.

The other Sudanese man was alone in Australia and wanted to leave study in order to work and earn money for a return visit to Sudan, and possibly sponsor some relatives to join him in Australia. Both these young men discussed the problems associated with leaving education to take a low paid job. While the immediate financial pressure would be alleviated by employment, the young men were concerned that they would be stuck in this type of employment if they did not complete further study.

It can be seen that the education experiences of new refugees are linked to employment and income issues. Accessing educational opportunities has been found to be difficult for both visa categories, however the restrictive policies related to the TPV are creating considerable barriers for TPV holders wishing to access post-secondary education whilst holding temporary residence visas. In addition, the financial pressures on recently arrived refugees are a problem for those refugees wanting to study in Australia.

7.5 Financial Issues for Refugees During Resettlement

The majority of refugees arriving in Australia are poor in terms of assets and income. Taylor (2004:6) explains that refugees “face the same day to day issues of other people living in poverty, but with an underlay of their pre-migration experience and an overlay of additional expenses and policies which exclude a subset of them from income support and employment assistance”. The financial issues that refugees face are intricately linked to low levels of income during resettlement. The poor employment prospects for refugees during resettlement lead many to rely on social security payments as the main source of income, restricting them to low incomes. Adequate personal income is identified as a key indicator of successful settlement and integration (Neuwirth et al., 1989; Khoo and MacDonald, 2001; Castles et al., 2002) and Danso (2001:9) cites financial security and economic independence as bedrocks of meaningful integration in western industrialised societies. However, financial security and economic independence take longer for refugees to acquire than other migrants.

A human capital approach to explaining differences in immigrant earnings was first applied by Chiswick (1978), who identified that the earnings of newly arrived immigrants
in the U.S. were approximately 17% less than those of native-born workers. Chiswick (1978) hypothesised that at the time of arrival immigrants earn less than natives because of their lack of specific skills such as language proficiency. As they acquire the necessary skills and accumulate country specific human capital, immigrant’s experience faster wages growth than the native-born workers. Chiswick (1978) reported that immigrant earnings would be greater than native-born earnings within 15 years.

More recent research has examined the earnings of refugees in comparison to economic migrants. Cortes’ (2004) analysis of immigrant group earnings in the United States found that refugees on average have lower annual earnings upon arrival, yet their annual earnings grow faster over time than those of economic immigrants. The higher rates of human capital accumulation (in particular English skills) for refugees was found to contribute to the higher growth in annual hours and hourly wages leading to the faster growth of annual earnings (Cortes, 2004:479). English proficiency was also identified by Mamgain (2003) as an important factor in predicting male refugee wages in the Greater Portland area in America, however for women, education rather than English proficiency was the more important determinant for wages.

In Australia, refugees also experience lower incomes during resettlement than other migrant groups (VandenHeuval and Wooden, 1999:64). The first cohort of the LSIA showed that refugees in Australia also “catch up” in terms of median income during the resettlement period, with a rise of 114% between the first and third wave of interviews (VandenHeuval and Wooden, 1999:65). In addition, the source of income for refugees was found to change over time, with an increase from 9% to 47% of Humanitarian entrants receiving income from employment and a decrease receiving unemployment benefits (from 78% to 30%) between the first and third waves (VandenHeuval and Wooden, 1999: 66). Recent figures from the ABS show that between 1999 and 2004, 30% of refugees in Australia cited wages or salary as their main source of income (ABS, 2006:17), with government benefits or pensions the main source of income for nearly all other refugees. Stevens (1998) found that dependence on public support is greatest amongst recently arrived refugees, but continues to be higher than other migrant groups beyond the initial settlement period. The financial strain that refugees face during resettlement is a pervasive problem, which impacts on many other aspects of settlement.
Poverty studies in Australia have consistently shown that migrant families are on average more likely than other Australian families to live in poverty. Early reports commissioned by the Henderson inquiry in the 1970s concluded that birthplace, low wages, language problems, remittances abroad, paucity of interpreters and dearth of bilingual officials were contributing factors to migrant poverty (Cox, 1975; Martin 1975 Jakubwicz and Buckley, 1975). More recent research by Saunders and King (1994) examined the position of immigrants in the Australian income distribution. They found that in 1989-90 there were only minor differences in the distributional positions of immigrants and non-immigrants. However more recent immigrants and those from Asian birthplaces were more heavily concentrated in the lower ends of the income distribution. Williams and Batrouney (1998) found that a larger share of recent immigrants could be classified as poor (using the Henderson poverty line) in the 1990s compared with 20 years previously, and that on the whole; recent immigrants had become relatively worse off. Additionally, refugees are considered more likely than other migrants to fall below the poverty line due to their higher levels of unemployment, lower earnings and occupational status (Williams and Batrouney, 1998).

### 7.5.1 Recently Arrived Refugees and Income

Three aspects of the income data generated by LSIA2 analysis were investigated. The source of income for recent arrivals is discussed first, before the amount and adequacy of income in resettlement is considered. The analysis revealed that only 7.9% of Humanitarian entrants were earning an income from employment at the time of the first interview, compared with 41.8% of Family migrants, and 77.9% of Skilled migrants (Table 7.8). However, the rise in the percentage of Humanitarian entrants earning an income was greater between wave 1 and 2 than either family or skilled migrants. Very few Humanitarian entrants were receiving income from personal investments, compared to other recent arrivals. The major income source for Humanitarian entrants was therefore government payments, with 58.6% receiving unemployment benefits at wave 1. In addition, a much higher rate of rent assistance can be seen among Humanitarian entrants (at the time of both interviews) than other visa types. Overall, it can be seen that government payments are a vital source of income for Humanitarian entrants during early resettlement.
Chapter 7: Economic Integration

Table 7.8 Income Sources of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
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<td><strong>Earned Income</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>85.2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Investment</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
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<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>28.5</td>
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<td><strong>Family Payments</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave 2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>28.8</td>
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The level of income for Humanitarian entrants is reflective of the major source of income discussed above. Less than 10% of Humanitarian entrants are receiving an income from employment, with the majority surviving on government payments. It is therefore not surprising that Humanitarian entrants median total weekly income is considerably lower than either family or skilled migrants (Table 7.9). Additional comparison with the Australian population indicates that the median Humanitarian entrant income is below the Australian median at wave 1, but increases by wave 2 at which time it is roughly parallel.

Table 7.9 Median Weekly Income of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 months After Arrival, Compared with the Australian Population
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2 and ABS, 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Median Weekly Income (Individual)</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>$386-$481</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>$674-$769</td>
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<td>Humanitarian</td>
<td>$231-$308</td>
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<td>General Australian Population (2001 figure)</td>
<td>$300-$399</td>
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</table>

In addition, significant differences in income are observed for recent arrivals from different visa types (Figure 7.1 and 7.2). At wave 1, just over 40% of family migrants reported receiving no income, and at wave 2, over 20% still reported receiving no income, a much
higher percentage than either skilled or Humanitarian entrants. This result suggests a high reliance on family members for financial support during resettlement. The high concentration of Humanitarian entrants in the income brackets of $1-$154 and $155-$385 per week reflect the high proportion of refugees receiving government payments as their main source of income. For example, unemployment benefits in 2001 for a single person were approximately $195 per week (Family and Community Services, 2006).

Figure 7.1 Current Income of Recent Migrants from all Sources, 6 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1

Figure 7.2 Current Income of Recent Migrants from all Sources, 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 2
The levels of income from employment reflect the occupation trends among recent arrivals and the rates of employment among each visa type. In Figures 7.3 and 7.4 it can be seen that Humanitarian entrants’ incomes from employment are concentrated at the lower end of the scale, with virtually no Humanitarian entrants earning over $674 per week. This correlates with the concentration of employed Humanitarian entrants in low skilled, low paid positions. In comparison, skilled migrants, who have higher rates of employment and tend to be employed in higher skilled positions, are receiving higher earnings than other visa types.

**Figure 7.3 Recent Migrants Current Weekly Income from Wages or Salary, 6 Months After Arrival**
Source: LSIA2 wave 1

**Figure 7.4 Recent Migrants Current Weekly Income from Wages or Salary, 18 Months After Arrival**
Source: LSIA2 wave 2
The low income received by Humanitarian entrants during resettlement raises questions about the ability of refugees to meet basic needs during this period. Refugees may have higher demands on their income as a result of needing to establish a household from scratch on arrival. The LSIA2 asked recent arrivals to describe the amount of money the household had available each week. At wave 1, nearly 45% of Humanitarian entrants identified that they did not have enough money to meet all their basic needs (Figure 7.5), and this figure only dropped to 37% at wave 2 (Figure 7.6). In comparison, nearly 40% of skilled migrants identified that they had more than enough money to meet all their basic needs at wave 1.

Recent arrivals were also asked to draw a comparison between their household’s income and expenses at the time of the first and second interviews. While many recent arrivals identified that there was no difference between the interviews, a higher percentage of Humanitarian entrants identified that they were somewhat or much worse off at the time of the second interview than the first (Figure 7.7). However roughly the same percentage of recent arrivals in each visa type reported that they were somewhat better off at the second interview than at the first.

**Figure 7.5 Amount of Money Available in Recent Migrant Households Each Week, 6 Months After Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1
Figure 7.6 Amount of Money Available in Recent Migrant Households Each Week, 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 2

Figure 7.7 Comparison of Recent Migrants Current Household Income and Expenses 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2
The reasons provided for the improvement in income and expenses between the interviews reflect the importance of employment for recently arrived households. An increase in household members working was cited as the main reason for Humanitarian entrant households feeling better off at wave 2 (Table 7.10). However, the increase in income from employment was not such an important factor for Humanitarian entrants compared to family and skilled migrants. Around 20% of migrants with family and skilled visas identified that the better pay of working household members was the main reason for being better off at wave 2. Responses to the reasons for being worse off at wave 2 were much lower, however the increased cost of living was cited by 18% of Humanitarian entrants as a reason for being worse off at wave 2. This is not surprising given the limited income of most Humanitarian entrants receiving government payments, and their reduced ability to respond to increased living costs.

Table 7.10 Main Reason Given By Recent Migrants for Feeling Better or Worse Off Financially, 18 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Reason Household Better Off</th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More household members working</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working household members better paid</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fewer expenses now household established</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fewer household members to support</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Now receiving government assistance</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Reason for Household Worse Off</th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fewer household members working</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working household members paid less</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of living increased</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More household members to support</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less/No government payments</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortgage/household payments</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5.2 Financial Issues Raised by Recently Arrived Refugees in In-depth Interviews

Living on a low income presented many problems for refugees trying to rebuild their lives in Adelaide. Respondents were asked to talk about their experiences of living on low
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incomes in Adelaide, and the in-depth interview analysis identified some key issues for recently arrived refugees.

7.5.2.1 Sharing Resources
Further evidence was gathered in the in-depth interviews relating to the adequacy of income refugees were receiving in resettlement. Respondents’ comments echoed the LSIA2 findings that many refugees did not have enough money to cover all their basic needs. Refugees spoke of the difficulties they faced in buying everything they needed when they arrived from Centrelink payments. Many respondents mentioned that the payments did not go very far when they were trying to buy clothes for the children and themselves, household items, food and pay bills.

Respondents were asked to discuss how they coped with these situations, and the interviews revealed that an important coping strategy that refugees were employing was the pooling of their financial resources through the lending and borrowing of money. Many respondents discussed how they regularly lent and borrowed money from family and friends in their own ethnic community. In most instances it was found that money was borrowed to pay bills that were due before the next Centrelink payment, and that money was returned to the lender on payday. In other circumstances, larger amounts of money were being borrowed for airfares to new sponsors (specifically by Sudanese respondents) and for remittances in emergencies (by Sudanese and Iraqi respondents). More established families who had had the opportunity to save some money as a result were lending these larger amounts. The importance of the ethnic community is again highlighted in these results, with informal money lending apparently widespread in both the Iraqi and Sudanese communities in Adelaide.

7.5.2.2 Getting into Debt
In addition to borrowing money to tide them over, refugees were also found to be using formal credit lines (such as hire purchase and store cards, credit cards and personal loans) to overcome problems associated with limited financial resources. Respondents described how they had used hire purchase schemes to acquire new furniture and electrical goods when establishing their new home. Discussions with respondents identified that ‘second hand’ household goods were perceived as unacceptable for many refugees, due to the negative connotations of ‘second hand’ in their home country. As a result, many refugee
families were anxious to upgrade their furniture as soon as possible. The easy availability of credit in Australia, together with low incomes and some inexperience with financial management (particularly by the Sudanese from rural backgrounds) were identified as creating additional financial stress for some refugee households. Anecdotal evidence from several respondents described how some refugees have gone into considerable debt on arrival, buying new cars, expensive electrical items and furniture. In addition, one respondent said she knew of Sudanese families who had got into financial trouble when they had been offered large credit limits on credit cards, and had used them to pay for airfares for sponsored relatives and to buy new cars. The families were then faced with large debts with high minimum repayments, which were beyond their means. Some service providers, who had known of cases where families had been forced into bankruptcy within a few years of arrival, discussed the consequences of these high interest lines of credit. From this information, and other anecdotal evidence from informal discussions, it appears that additional financial management skills are needed by new arrivals if they are to understand the financial system in Australia and avoid further financial hardship.

Sudanese refugees who had arrived on SHP visas raised the specific issue of airfare debts in discussions about finances. A recent submission by the Centre for Refugee Research (2006:9) on the 2006-2007 Humanitarian Program identified the issue of sponsor debt among recently arrived refugees and interviews with key informants in Adelaide also confirmed the problem. Several respondents who had been sponsored by relatives to come to Australia had had their airfares paid by a variety of organisations. These organisations required the cost of the flights to be repaid by refugees from their Centrelink allowances once they arrived in Australia. While many of these organisations are commended by the public for providing interest-free loans, the principal amount is still a substantial debt for newly arrived refugees to bear. One respondent explained that she had been paying $91 per fortnight to a church agency as well as and $100 per month to IOM through direct debit from her bank account. This had significantly reduced her financial resources for the first year she had lived in Australia, coinciding with a period of high expenses associated with establishing a new household and a new life. Another Sudanese mother was repaying a debt for her family’s airfares of $6000. She said she had been told that the money would be taken out of her Centrelink payments before she came to Australia, but she had not understood how much everything cost in Australia and how it would impact on her family. The repayment of airfare debts was a considerable burden for some families, and one that
could be reduced if the repayments were delayed beyond the initial settlement period, or reduced to ensure they did not have such an impact on the financial resources of families during resettlement.

7.5.2.3 Social Security

Another major theme identified in the interview analysis was related to social security benefits. The lack of experience with social welfare programs in their home countries contributed to the confusion surrounding refugees’ dealings with Centrelink. Neither the Sudanese nor the Iraqi refugees come from countries that provide social security in the same way as Australia. This has meant that recently arrived refugees have needed to learn very quickly how the system works and their rights and responsibilities within it. This had presented several problems for recently arrived refugees. One Sudanese respondent who had initially identified herself as the carer of a refugee minor who had travelled to Australia with her, had experienced many problems with Centrelink once she identified that she was no longer caring for him. She had been sent many letters and been summoned to Centrelink offices for appointments to sort out the situation. The Sudanese woman’s English skills were still poor and she had much difficulty understanding that she must attend the meetings or her payments would be cancelled. Attending the meetings was also difficult as she was studying English full time. The problem was eventually sorted out after a family member attended a meeting with her.

Another Sudanese woman, whose husband had found work in a factory had been sent a letter by Centrelink, telling her to stop using the Health Care Card. When she visited Centrelink she asked them if the letter was correct and then she was told that she could continue using the card for the children. She was very confused by the situation and was worried to use the card in case she had not understood correctly.

In addition to problems associated with navigating a new social welfare system, refugees also spoke about their discomfort associated with being reliant on welfare. During interviews, many respondents who were currently seeking work, or planning to get work after completing English classes, spoke about the shame they felt receiving Centrelink payments. A strong work ethic was detected in both the Iraqi and Sudanese interview responses, with many refugees stating they hated living on welfare and would prefer to work than live on charity. The shame attached to relying on welfare benefits has previously
been documented by Mann (2001) in her report on TPV holders in Queensland. She reported that refugees were concerned that their own ethnic community and also the broader Australian community would view them as ‘lazy’ while they continued to receive ‘money for nothing’. However, respondents in Adelaide also spoke of their appreciation for social security in Australia, particularly for those refugees who were unable to work due to disabilities or poor health. One Iraqi woman compared her situation in Australia to the situation she could have been facing if she had stayed in Iraq where there was not the same type of social welfare assistance as in Australia. The woman had a severe health condition preventing her from taking paid employment. She said that if she had stayed in Iraq she would have needed to rely on her family and their generosity, however in Australia she was not dependant on them. She discussed her appreciation of the Disability pension she received and the Housing Trust accommodation she had been offered. These comments highlight the importance of state based resettlement assistance (in this case the provision of housing) for TPV holders, particularly those most at risk of social exclusion.

7.5.2.4 A Not-So-Special Benefit

The differences in income support for offshore and onshore-visaed refugees have been one of the most criticised policies adopted under the TPV regime (Mansouri, 2002; Marston, 2002, 2003; Brotherhood of St Laurence, 2002). While offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants have access to the broad spectrum of benefits, TPV holders are restricted to basic income support in the form of the Special Benefit. The Special Benefit is a Centrelink administered, discretionary payment that can be made in special or hardship circumstances. The Special Benefit comes with certain restrictions that result in work disincentives. While Newstart (unemployment benefits for Australian permanent residents) recipients are entitled to earn a limited income without any reduction in their allowance, Special Benefit holders have their payments reduced by one dollar for every dollar earned from employment or other forms of assessable income. In addition, the Special Benefit payments are less than the amount provided as unemployment benefits. Marston (2002) found that many TPV holders were confused about the conditions attached to the Special Benefit. Some respondents in his study who were working part time or on a short-term basis found that they had incurred a debt to Centrelink because they did not inform the agency that they were working (Marston, 2002:120).
Other restrictions related to the TPV were also mentioned during interviews in Adelaide as causing financial problems for respondents. One Iraqi family experienced financial difficulties due to the health problems of the father. He had undergone multiple operations since being released from detention and required a considerable amount of medication. The family applied to Centrelink for the $500 pharmaceutical allowance but were denied due to their status as TPV holders. In addition the mother was refused a carer’s payment. The family made an application to a bank for a loan to assist them while the father was recovering, however they were refused due to their TPV. The inadequacy of the Special Benefit payment, as well as the ineligibility of TPV holders for additional Centrelink assistance with job searching were found to be creating serious financial hardship for Iraqi TPV holders, and further contributing to the social exclusion of onshore-visaed refugees.

7.5.3 Remittances
The literature on remittances has focussed predominantly on economic migrants, with less research undertaken on the remittance behaviour of refugees. Koser (1997) has argued that a major reason for this is that in typologies and theories of international migration, refugees have normally been seen to constitute the political element, and labour migrants the economic element of international migration. Literature on refugees and exiles has rarely extended its focus to consider the wide range of non-political transnational activities, including remittance sending (Al Ali et al., 2001) yet remittances are an important element of the transnational linkages between refugees and their home countries.

Economic remittances from migrants and refugees are now known to significantly contribute to developing country economies, and in some countries remittances can provide more assistance than national aid budgets (World Bank, 2003). The links between remittances and development are an ongoing source of investigation (for example Taylor, 1999; Glytsos, 2002; Brown, 2006), with remittances recognised as a channel of direct financial assistance to families. Refugee remittances have been identified as particularly important for family members in war-torn societies or in cities and in refugee camps in poor countries (Horst, 2004). Shandy (2003) found that Sudanese refugees who send remittances claim that the money is crucial in meeting even the subsistence needs of the family in refugee camps and urban settings. Policies of encampment and the protracted civil war have severely limited the capacity of those left behind in Africa to sustain their lives. This is argued to make the remittances from family members resettled in third
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countries integral to their very survival (Thompson, 2005:16). Research has shown money
is used to buy food to supplement UNHCR rations in camps or meagre harvests (Shandy,
2003), and assist with other aspects of daily life including health care, education, funerals
and marriages.

Yet many refugees who are resettling in the West have been found to feel conflicted
between saving money to send home and acquiring money to build a new life in the new
country (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Horst, 2004). The pressure placed on family
members in the West is intense, and resettled refugees must often send remittances from
very meagre savings. Money transfer is undertaken through various means, including
formal transaction agents such as Western Union and the more recent facilities set up by
Somalians (Horst, 2004) and informal routes through aid workers and others who have the
ability to move freely throughout the world.

Riak Akuei (2004) has investigated the remittance behaviour of Dinka (Southern
Sudanese) refugees resettled in third countries. She describes how the civil war in Sudan
has significantly altered the social relations and networks that the Dinka have relied upon
for assistance in the past. Many people have been lost to the war and the young men have
joined the rebel movement. In addition, senior and wealthier kin who would normally be
expected to assist weaker members are now part of the huge numbers of dispossessed
living in poverty in Sudan and in exile. Riak Akuei (2004) sees a consequence of these
changes in the way refugees resettling in the West are now looked upon to take up these
positions of responsibility. In this way, traditional levels of responsibility are increased.
Riak Akuei (2004) documented the stress and anguish that these responsibilities/burdens
had on refugees during resettlement in the West. She found that remittance sending was
both the result of unanticipated and urgent events such as emergency medical treatment
and more traditional forms of assistance for funerals and dowries.

Research in Canada revealed that 91% (n=162) of Sudanese refugee men were sending
remittances every month, with the average amount sent being $148 (Johnson and Stoll,
2005: 246). The men experienced high levels of financial and emotional strain, yet they
stressed the importance of and their commitment to supporting family members left
behind. Previous research has indicated that remittances are more likely to be sent by more
recent arrivals, as the longer the time elapsed since emigration occurred and the more close
relatives join the emigrant abroad, there is a lower propensity to remit (Diaz-Briquets and Perez-Lopez, 1997:413).

7.5.3.1 Remittance Behaviour of Recent Arrivals
Analysis of the LSIA2 data showed remittance behaviour significantly increased between the first and second wave of interviews for all visa categories (Figure 7.8), with the greatest increase occurring in the percentage of Humanitarian entrants who sent remittances. At the second interview, nearly 25% of Humanitarian entrants had sent money at least once since the last interview, and increase from 6% reported at the first interview. However, the question design of the LSIA2 was problematic, as the length of the period under investigation was not consistent. At the first interview, the period the question covered was only 6 months (since arrival) and at the second interview the period was around one year (from wave 1 to wave 2). This difference may account for the increase in sending behaviour across the visa types, however there was inadequate data collected in the LSIA2 survey on the frequency of remittances, to check this.

Figure 7.8 Remittance Behaviour of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2
Further analysis identifies that recently arrived Sudanese send remittances more than recently arrived Iraqis (Figure 7.9). This finding was for all arrivals across all visa categories, not just Humanitarian entrants. While the percentage of Sudanese sending remittances was high, the value of remittances was still quite low, with 49% of Sudanese remittances at wave 2 less than $500 and 25% between $500 and $1000. The Sudanese refugees sent no remittances valued over $5000. Iraqi remittances were also quite low in value, with no individual Iraqi surveyed sending more than $2000.

Figure 7.9 Remittance Behaviour of Recent Migrants by Country of Birth, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

7.5.3.2 Sending Remittances from Adelaide
In-depth interview respondents were asked about their remittance behaviour. Respondents from Iraq and Sudan reported that they sent money, and the frequency and amounts varied considerably. However, the analysis revealed that the family of Sudanese refugees asked more frequently for money, than the Iraqis. The reason for this difference is likely to be related to the situation family members are likely to be living in. Most Sudanese refugees had family living in exile in refugee camps in Africa, or still in Sudan. Respondents
described their family’s need for money to pay for health care, education and basic goods. In comparison, many of the Iraqi respondents had family either in Iraq or neighbouring countries. Their situation (despite the current occupation of Iraq) did not appear so desperate, and several Iraqi respondents had not been asked for assistance, while all of the Sudanese had.

Interview respondents noted that their family and friends in their home country did not understand how expensive it was to live in Australia, and that they were not ‘living like kings’. One Sudanese respondent explained that he received many phone calls, often during the night (due to time differences) asking for money. This man had finally changed his phone number and ‘forgotten’ to tell his relatives overseas as he had become exhausted by disruptions to his sleep and the constant worry of trying to find more money to send home.

There is obviously much pressure on some refugees to send money and this has caused conflict in some families. A Sudanese respondent provided an anecdote about another family who heard that one of the husband’s relatives was sick in Africa and needed money to get treatment. The husband wanted to send all the money they received from Centrelink that fortnight back to Africa. The wife disagreed and argued that they needed the money for their own family in Australia, causing conflict between them. These types of family conflicts can be extremely difficult to resolve, and often require the intervention of community elders.

Other respondents were able to refuse requests from their family by explaining that they still had debts from their airfares or that the children needed the money for their education. A single Iraqi woman living on a disability pension since her PPV was approved had been surprised when asked by the researcher if she sent remittances – she laughed at the idea and said she wished someone would send money to her!

An alternative method of helping family in Africa was also discovered during the interviews. It was identified that Sudanese refugees in Australia are being sent products from their relatives in refugee camps to sell to other Africans in Australia. The products are being transported through a network of contacts to women in Adelaide who then sell the product. Some products are paid off over several months and then a cash transfer is made.
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via the Somali Xawilaad (money transfer agencies) to family members in refugee camps. The Xawilaad is an informal system, with an extensive network of agencies across the globe (Horst, 2004). The woman in Adelaide will provide the name and ethnic group of the recipient when she sends the money. A phone call or SMS is sent to the recipient in the camp to inform them that the money will be available. The recipient then collects the money from the money transfer branch in the camp. Respondents discussed the benefits of using the Somali money transfer system, which included a lower commission rate (10%) compared to Western Union rates of up to 25%, and the ability to transfer money directly to family in the camps. The ingenuity of these women who have found a way to assist their family without jeopardising their own family’s financial position is another example of the informal remittance system operating within the Sudanese diaspora.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the experiences of recently arrived refugees within the economic sphere of resettlement. The analysis has revealed that refugees are unlikely to be engaged in employment during early resettlement, and many are likely to be completing English courses. Those refugees who are engaged in the labour marked tend to be concentrated in low skill, low paid jobs. For onshore-visaed refugees, the difficulties all refugees face when entering the labour market are compounded by the TPV policy, which restricts their eligibility for specialised job-search assistance. It was found that this is creating additional barriers for TPV holders seeking employment during resettlement.

The participation in English language training of recently arrived refugees reflected the dominance of Non English Speaking countries of origin among recent arrivals. Of those refugees who were studying non-language courses, most were enrolled in TAFE and technical colleges. The main reasons for studying were strongly related to improving employment options on completion of the courses. The analysis has also confirmed earlier research, which identified that the TPV policies relating to tertiary education are a major barrier for onshore arrivals seeking to undertake tertiary education whilst on TPVs. The high tuition fees and ineligibility for Special Benefits for full time students are effectively preventing many TPV holders from pursuing tertiary education.

The analysis revealed that the financial pressures on refugees during early resettlement are considerable, and are inextricably linked to the low incomes as a result of high rates of
government payments receipt among recently arrived refugees. A concerning finding was the high rate of refugees indicating that their income was not enough to meet basic needs during resettlement. In-depth interviews revealed that two methods were used to overcome these difficulties; the first was the sharing of financial resources among ethnic community members, and the second more concerning method was the use of credit. As a consequence, debt was identified as a problem for recently arrived refugees during resettlement. The TPV policy of restricting onshore-visaed refugees to a low government payment, without additional welfare benefits afforded to permanent residence was found to be a major contributor to the poor financial status of Iraqi families on TPVs.

Finally the remittance behaviour of refugees was found to be higher than among other migrant groups such as family or skilled visa holders. Further, Sudanese were more likely to send remittances than Iraqis, with remittance obligations placing some Sudanese families in difficult financial situations.

Kuhlman’s (1991) definition of integration identified that economic integration must include the participation of refugees in ways commensurate with their skills and compatible with their cultural values. The findings in this chapter would indicate that recently arrived refugees are not yet integrated into the economy in Australia. Refugees were not found to be participating in the labour market in ways commensurate with their skills during early resettlement. The need for improved English skills and locally recognised qualifications are two main barriers contributing to the occupational downward mobility of refugees during early resettlement. Further, this study has identified that due to the problems finding work during early resettlement, refugees are more likely to take jobs that may be offensive to their cultural values. For example, employment in abattoirs could be considered inappropriate for recently arrived refugees who have come from war-torn societies and are suffering from PTSD. Also the affront to religious values should be considered in terms of the slaughtering work performed in abattoirs in Australia, which is in conflict with the practices of Islam. Thus in relation to Kuhlman’s (1991) definition of economic integration, the employment of refugees in this type of work, could be considered incompatible with their cultural values and therefore not an example of full economic integration.
This chapter has produced evidence to suggest that recently arrived refugees are at a high risk of social exclusion in terms of economic factors such as exclusion from production and consumption (Burchardt et al., 1999). The low participation rates of refugees in employment, and the considerable barriers to tertiary education created by the TPV policy indicate that many refugees are being excluded from participating in the production activities of society. In addition, the low incomes and debt issues that refugees are facing during early resettlement are constraining their ability to contribute to the consumption activities of society. These issues highlight the financial hardship that refugees face during early resettlement and indicate the importance of early progression into the labour force and faster upward mobility within the labour force for refugees. The next chapter will explore the integration experiences of recently arrived refugees within the social sphere of resettlement.
Chapter 8
Social Integration

8.1 Introduction
This chapter examines three aspects of social integration among the study population - language acquisition, health status and the development of social networks. The choice of these three aspects of social integration is derived from the importance of communication and good health being almost prerequisites for social integration. English is the language of commerce, instruction and almost all daily interchange in Australia, and Khoo and McDonald (2001:4) argue that proficiency in English is an important indicator of immigrant’s ability to participate fully in Australian society. In addition, health status is a reflection of a person’s capacity to be a productive member of society and health problems can be a significant obstacle to overcome before refugees can fully participate in society. Clinton-Davis and Fassil (1992) have identified that within the arrival period, the health and social needs of refugees are greater, and that proper assessment is important for the resolution of urgent problems, before they affect health and social well-being irreversibly. The inclusion of social networks within this chapter was driven by the literature promoting the benefits of social networks for refugees in resettlement (in particular Massey and Espana, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Hauff and Vaglum, 1997). Social networks are recognised as having the capacity to reduce the negative effects of life events, yet much research tends to “slide over” intra-group jealousies and tensions and present an idealised view of community (McMichael and Manderson, 2004). Thus an analysis of social networks can shed further light on the social integration of refugees during resettlement.

This chapter presents relevant literature on these three themes, and examines the data relevant to social integration. The language proficiency and health status of refugees are discussed in relation to the analysis of the LSIA2 survey results and in-depth interview material. An examination of the social networks among recently arrived refugees in Adelaide is based on in-depth interview responses. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the critical points related to the social integration (and possible social exclusion) of recently arrived refugees in Australia.
8.2 English Language

Speaking the local language is clearly a fundamental key to participation in a new society and much research has focussed on the language proficiency of refugees on arrival, as well as the language acquisition of refugees during early resettlement. Language proficiency is among a range of factors that are associated with more rapid adjustment into the Australian labour market (Chiswick et al., 2006). In Australia, language proficiency is highly valued among prospective migrants, and the inclusion of English skills within the points test for migrants applying for skills-based and some family reunion visas reflects the importance placed on language by the Australian government (DIMIA, 1998). This section will explore previous findings related to language proficiency and the integration of refugees. Language ability is understood as critical to both economic and social aspects of resettlement and integration (Fletcher, 1999:46) and presents a significant challenge for many refugees during resettlement.

8.2.1 On-Arrival Language Proficiency

Proficiency in the language of the resettlement society for refugees on arrival can be extremely varied among individual refugees, and language ability is often linked to pre-arrival experiences. In Australia, people selected for refugee visas, while not subject to stringent points tests, are also selected for their “settlement potential”, or their “suitability” to resettle in Australia, and under these circumstances English proficiency is a consideration (Jupp, 1994:15, 55 and Iredale et al., 1997:5). Previous exposure to the language through factors such as colonial heritage, education, employment or travel abroad can improve the likelihood of a refugee having some proficiency in the new language. Danso’s (2001) study of refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia found that for refugees from countries where English is neither the national language nor widely used in daily communication or social interaction, language problems seemed particularly acute for those who did not have the opportunity to sojourn in an English speaking country before resettling in Canada. Valtonen (1999), in her discussion of Vietnamese refugee resettlement experiences in Canada and Finland, identifies that immigrants in Finland arrive with no prior knowledge of Finnish, while those arriving in Canada are more likely to have some English language due to its broader use throughout the world. The need for widespread language tuition for all immigrants in Finland, while perhaps delaying entry in the labour market, is argued by Valtonen (1999) to be beneficial in terms of gender parity, with women having equal access to language and labour market skill acquisition.
Other research in English-speaking resettlement countries has identified that English skill level is extremely varied among refugee populations. Recent research in New Zealand found two thirds of recently arrived refugees had learnt some English before arriving, although only 17% stated they could speak English well on arrival. Differences were found in English proficiency between refugees arriving on different visas, with Convention refugees tending to have better English ability on arrival than other (quota or family reunion) refugees (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). Research in the United Kingdom (Bloch, 2002) found similar results to those from New Zealand. Of Bloch’s (2002) sample, 16% spoke English fluently on arrival, and at the other extreme 48% had no spoken English. Differences in English proficiency by gender and country of origin were prevalent.

These trends are mirrored in Australia, with analysis of the first cohort of the LSIA identifying poor English proficiency of recent Humanitarian entrants in Australia (Richardson et al., 2002:83). Just over 80% of the Humanitarian entrants who had been in Australia for around 6 months did not speak English well or at all. Hardly any Humanitarian entrants were found to speak English at home in Australia within the first 6 months of arrival. Levels of reading and writing in English were also found to be much lower than for other migrants. These low levels of English proficiency have been examined in relation to their impact on integration and the next section will emphasise the possible problems for new arrivals.

8.2.2 Language and Integration

Communicating in English (or the language of the resettlement society) is critical during resettlement, and the range of situations that require English communication are extensive. Problems arising from a lack of language proficiency are also numerous and previous research has investigated problems in key settlement areas of employment (Pookong et al., 1994), health (Allotey, 2003) and social interaction (Clinton-Davis and Fassil, 1992) with the host society. The availability of interpreting assistance has also received attention (Waxman, 1998; Taylor and Stanovic, 2005).

Valtonen (1999) identified the presence of well-developed informal interpreting networks as a factor reducing the stress for refugees with a lack of language fluency during resettlement. Language acquisition may therefore be more important in certain locations,
particularly those with small and emerging ethnic communities. Boyce and Madden (2000) discuss this issue in relation to refugee communities in Tasmania, where the nature of the employment market and size of the refugee communities were identified as making English language proficiency extremely important during resettlement. The lack of unskilled work and the limited experience of employers with refugees were found to make English a virtual necessity for getting a job in Tasmania, as employment within the ethnic group was not available. In addition, the small size of communities means “that it is not possible to enjoy recreation, shop and participate broadly in community life without English” (Boyce and Madden, 2000:27).

8.2.3 Learning English
The settlement problems arising from poor English communication skills are extensive and this is demonstrated in the reasons provided by refugees wanting to improve their language skills. Research from New Zealand found refugees identified multiple reasons for wanting to improve their English skills and these included getting a job, to deal with everyday life, to undertake further education, and to communicate and socialise (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). In Britain, reasons for studying English also varied, with the majority of respondents interviewed by Bloch (2002) studying in order to communicate better in everyday life. Other reasons mentioned also included to increase the chances of getting a job, to enter education or go on a training course and to meet new people (Bloch, 2002:106).

Methods employed by refugees in learning a new language have been found to be diverse. Frequent exposure to native speakers has been identified as particularly useful, and the use of the media was recognised in research in New Zealand (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). However, the use of formal language classes has received more attention. The eligibility and availability of language courses are known to be factors influencing the improvement of English ability. In Britain, of the respondents who were taking English classes, it was found that 44% had been on a waiting list before starting. Bloch states, “given the importance of language learning for settlement, the delay in starting courses can only be a hindrance in the settlement process” (Bloch, 2002:107).

In addition, other resettlement issues can hamper learning during the resettlement period. Research in Britain has identified that many refugees (nearly a third) do not complete the
English courses they begin. Reasons for non-completion were varied but Bloch believes they point to the problems faced during settlement more generally. Getting a job, needing time to look for a job, the unsuitability of a course, family commitments, housing, immigration, personal problems and financial reasons, including travel costs were all reasons given for non-completion of English courses.

Language acquisition has previously been identified as more difficult for women than men (Beiser and Hou, 2000; New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). New Zealand research identified problems experienced by women in accessing English language tuition, including a lack of childcare, transport problems or cultural traditions restricting women’s movement outside of the home alone. These factors are known to contribute to refugee and migrant women’s lower English proficiency rates during settlement. At two years after arrival, gender differences in English proficiency persisted in refugees in New Zealand, with 52% of men speaking English well, compared with 32% of women. Recent research in Australia has contradicted this; with analysis of the first cohort of the LSIA finding English language proficiency improvement was higher for female Humanitarian entrants (VandenHeuval and Wooden, 1999:16). However, research from Canada found that beyond the first few years, men were more likely than women to improve their language skills and that at the end of refugees’ first decade in Canada the gender gap had widened (Beiser and Hou, 2000). Government policy was revealed as partly responsible, due to ESL training being primarily directed at those people most likely to enter the labour force. As a result, women with young children, and the elderly were found to receive little benefit from the programs.

8.2.4 Adult Migrant English Program

In Australia, a key feature of the resettlement assistance provided by the federal government is the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), which provides specialised courses in English for new migrants. The AMEP is funded by DIMA and is run by contracted organisations in each state and territory. Clients are entitled to 510 hours of tuition, or the number of hours it takes to reach functional English, whichever comes first. In some circumstances, additional tuition may be provided. For example, the Special Preparatory Program offers additional hours of tuition to eligible Humanitarian entrants who have been assessed as having special needs arising from their pre-migration experiences, for example torture, trauma and low levels of schooling. A range of course
delivery methods are available to all migrants, including classroom tuition, distance learning and home tutoring. DIMA requires migrants to register for their entitlement within three months of arrival or grant of permanent residence and start tuition within one year (DIMIA, 2004e). Deferrals may be authorised in some circumstances. The AMEP also offers citizenship preparation classes in conjunction with English language classes.

### 8.2.5 Current Language Training Availability for Refugees in Australia

The entitlement of refugees to English language classes in Australia is another example of the two-tier resettlement assistance system at work. While offshore-visaedd Humanitarian entrants are eligible for federally funded English classes through the provision of the AMEP, onshore-visaedd refugees are ineligible for these classes. In some states, (South Australia is one) the state governments have stepped in and provided funding of English classes for TPV holders, as have some non-government organisations such as church groups. However, the different eligibility criteria have caused confusion for TPV holders and those working with them.

### 8.3 The English Proficiency of Recent Migrants

While English language skills are a requirement for some Migration Program visa categories (for example skilled, business and some family visas), Humanitarian entrants are not subject to English language requirements for visas. This difference in visa provision is demonstrated in Table 8.1, where the language proficiency of Humanitarian entrants is compared to other visa categories. A higher proportion of Humanitarian entrants interviewed for the LSIA2, spoke no English at around 6 months after arrival than either the Family or Skilled visa category migrants. This was also the case for reading and writing English. The improvement in English proficiency during early resettlement is observable in the movement of refugees from low English proficiency to higher levels of English proficiency between the interviews. There is less improvement seen for Family migrants between the interview waves. Probable reasons for the greater improvement by Humanitarian entrants would be the attendance of refugees at AMEP lessons during early resettlement, and the availability of informal interpreters for family migrants, leading to a reduced need for immediate English improvement.

Table 8.2 shows the English proficiency of the two case study populations at both interviews. The influence of pre-migration exposure to English, that Danso (2001)
identified appears to be important in explaining the differences in language ability on-arrival between the two groups. One legacy of British colonial rule in Sudan has been the continued use of English, particularly in Southern Sudan (the origin region of most Sudanese refugees in Australia). The significance of prior exposure to English is evident in the higher levels of English proficiency among the Sudanese. While English is often taught in schools in Iraq, it is not a widely spoken language in the community, and proficiency levels even among those with some prior exposure are much lower. The improvement in language proficiency during early resettlement for both groups is high and again would be related to the availability of English classes to offshore-visaed Humanitarian entrants through the AMEP.

Table 8.1 English Proficiency of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoke English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very well/well</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>87.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not well</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very well/well</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not well</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrote English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very well/well</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not well</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.2 English Proficiency of Recent Migrants by Country of Origin, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sudan n=200</th>
<th>Iraq n=909</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoke English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very well/well</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>86.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not well</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very well/well</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not well</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrote English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very well/well</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>72.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not well</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.3.1 Use of Interpreters

The LSIA2 wave 1 analysis found 79.3% of all Humanitarian entrants recorded their level of English speaking as ‘not well’ or ‘not at all’. This low level of English proficiency is reflected in Humanitarian entrant’s need for interpreters. Table 8.3 shows that Humanitarian entrants required interpreters at a much higher rate than either family or skilled migrants.

Table 8.3 Spoken English Levels of Recent Migrants and Interpreter Assistance, 6 Months After Arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English spoken not well/not at all</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needed an interpreter since immigrating</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter obtained</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those respondents in the survey who identified they had required an interpreter since they had arrived, not all had been able to access interpreters when needed. Over 25% of Humanitarian entrants had not received assistance from an interpreter when needed. While the LSIA2 survey did ask respondents to provide reasons for not receiving assistance, few responses were recorded. The reasons that were provided included an interpreter not being available in the required language, family or children assisted instead, and the cost associated with the service.

The data was also analysed by country of origin in order to ascertain if there was a difference in need for interpreters between Sudanese and Iraqi immigrants. Table 8.4 shows the reduced proportion of Sudanese requiring interpreters, compared to the Iraqis. The higher rate of Sudanese refugees with some English language skills would account for this. However, the rate of obtained assistance was lower for Sudanese than Iraqi respondents. Unfortunately, no Sudanese respondents in the LSIA2 provided a reason for the lack of interpreting assistance.
Table 8.4 Spoken English Levels of Recent Migrants and Interpreting Assistance by Country of Origin, 6 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sudan (n=190)</th>
<th>IRAQ (n=910)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English spoken not well/not at all</td>
<td>39.1 (n=25)</td>
<td>77.1 (n=509)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needed an interpreter since immigrating</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>76.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter obtained</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3.2 English Class Participation

The analysis of English class participation prior to migration revealed there was little relationship between the type of entry visa and the likelihood of previous study in English (Table 8.5). It is interesting to note that there was relatively little difference in the rate of participation in English classes before immigration between the visa types.

Table 8.5 Recent Migrants Attendance at English Classes Prior to Immigration

Source: LSIA2 wave 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family (n=16860)</th>
<th>Skilled (n=13144)</th>
<th>Humanitarian (n=2411)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended English Classes Prior to Immigration</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis by country of origin revealed that Sudanese arrivals are much more likely than Iraqis to have studied English prior to migration, with 81% of Sudanese respondents having studied English, compared to 30% of all Iraqis. This figure is consistent with the colonial heritage of Sudan and previous policy of English as the national language.

Attendance at English classes by Humanitarian entrants in Australia reflects their eligibility for government funded English training. 77.9% of Humanitarian entrants had commenced AMEP English classes at the first interview. While the AMEP program dominated the range of methods employed to learn English in Australia, other methods are also shown in Table 8.6. It is interesting to note the rise in ‘private’ learning methods (such as assistance from friends, relatives and colleagues) between the first and second wave of interviews. It could be assumed that the development of social networks during this period has helped recent arrivals to access other means of learning English, but it could also
indicate that refugees had completed their allocated tuition hours with the AMEP and still required further assistance.

**Table 8.6 Main Methods of Learning English in Australia Reported by Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Humanitarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMEP</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other classes</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/Family/Colleagues/tutor</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Taught (books, tapes, TV)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main reason provided for improving English did not change very much between interview waves. The improvement in employment prospects was followed by the need for ‘survival’ English as the top two reasons for improving English (Table 8.7).

**Table 8.7 Main Reason for Improving English Given By Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Humanitarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To learn ‘survival’ English</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For social or family reasons</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get work</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For education and training purposes</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get qualifications recognised</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The LSIA2 also included questions on the benefits of English classes. Table 8.8 shows that Humanitarian entrants gain a wide range of benefits from attending English classes and the majority experience benefits of improved communication that assist in their everyday life in Australia. English classes are also useful for improving employment and training prospects, and finding out about other government services. From this analysis it is evident that English language acquisition is a very important aspect of resettlement, and poor English skills are an impediment to social as well as economic integration for refugees. However, language acquisition may not be occurring as fast as possible for some migrants,
given that the LSIA2 analysis revealed that most refugees were only attending English classes part-time during the early resettlement period, with the majority of Humanitarian entrants studying English between 10 and 20 hours per week at each interview (Table 8.9).

Table 8.8 Benefits of English Class Attendance Reported by Recent Migrants, 18 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=6497</th>
<th>Skilled n=881</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2077</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Getting a job/looking for work</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting qualifications recognised</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting into courses</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication in social settings</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding out about other government services</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday activities</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helped improve self confidence</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made friends through classes</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better understanding of Australian culture</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.9 English Class Attendance by Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family W 1 n=7898</th>
<th>Family W 2 n=9710</th>
<th>Skilled W 1 n=2117</th>
<th>Skilled W 2 n=3175</th>
<th>Humanitarian W 1 n=2054</th>
<th>Humanitarian W 2 n=2121</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-10 hours per week</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 hours per week</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20 hours per week</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20+ hours per week</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3.3 Refugee Experiences of Communicating in a New Land

The in-depth interviews with respondents in Adelaide provided further insight into the issue of English skills during resettlement. The need for interpreters provided an initial reflection of the English skills of the respondents. Six of the 19 respondents required interpreters for the interviews (three Sudanese and three Iraqis). Another Iraqi respondent had a limited English vocabulary and would have benefited from an interpreter. She felt she could not discuss some topics in detail, as she didn’t have the language to fully express her thoughts. The respondents provided a sample of the range of English proficiency
refugees have on arrival. Both the Sudanese and Iraqi groups included respondents who had studied at a tertiary level in English, as well as respondents who had never learnt English, prior to arrival in Australia. It was interesting to discover that all respondents felt they experienced difficulties communicating in English, despite the apparent high level of English of some respondents on arrival. For those who had studied English prior to arrival in Australia, the pronunciation of the Australian English accent and Australian slang and colloquialisms were identified as typical communication problems.

A situation experienced by a young Sudanese man who had learnt English at school in Africa demonstrates this type of problem. The young man described to the researcher a visit to the local supermarket soon after arriving in Adelaide. He wanted to buy some Milo but could not find it on the shelves. His English was good enough to ask the staff where it was located. Unfortunately the pronunciation of Milo in Africa is ‘Meelo’ and the staff didn’t understand him. The young man persisted and finally was asked to write down the name of the product. The shopkeeper then pronounced it for him and showed him where the product was. The young man remembered being embarrassed by his ‘foreign’ accent, and described how he had often felt ‘like an idiot’ when he was asked to repeat himself many times.

The Refugee Council of Australia, in a submission to the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian entrants, raised this issue of pronunciation problems for migrants, who are accustomed to a different version of English (DIMIA, 2003a). Their submission argued that while new arrivals may be classified as having functional English, the accent in Australia, as well as the accent of the migrant, can make communicating in English quite difficult. In these cases it was suggested that additional language training would be beneficial. However, as the emphasis of the AMEP is to teach migrants English to a functional level, many of these migrants with good proficiency in English as a second language are ineligible for further training of this type. It appears that the process of developing proficiency in “Australian English” is something that refugees are unable to be formally assisted with at present, yet the in-depth interview responses identified that pronunciation problems were a source of communication problems during resettlement.

A more disturbing issue, raised by two respondents who had learnt English prior to arrival in Australia (one Sudanese and one Iraqi), was the decrease in English ability in times of
stress and as a result of traumatic events. The two case studies are presented here as examples of the pervasive nature of these traumatic events on refugees during resettlement.

**English Problems Case Study 1**

A.C. (a male Sudanese respondent with very good English skills) described how he had received an email from the SAHT requesting he attend a meeting during the middle of the day. A.C. was studying Year 12 at the time and was worried about missing classes, but he attended the meeting because his family was desperate to find more suitable accommodation. When he arrived at the office he was told that his name was not on the list of appointments for that day. The respondent said he became very upset and annoyed that he was going to miss class and not get an opportunity to speak to the SAHT worker. He said he had started yelling in Dinka (his first language) despite his excellent English. A bilingual worker appeared and told him he could interpret for him if needed. It was only then that the man realised he had reverted to Dinka during this stressful time.

**English Problems Case Study 2**

Sara was an Iraqi woman who had received an English degree from an Iraqi university. In the interviews Sara described how she had experienced a decrease in her English proficiency since leaving Iraq. She had spent 3 years in detention on Nauru and this period had significantly affected her mental and physical health. She has some memory loss, suffers from insomnia and described feeling sad and nervous. In addition to these problems, Sara has noticed her ability to understand English has markedly decreased. For example she described how she would watch the news on television in English and not understand what was being said. She feels she should understand because she has studied English at university and was fluent in English before fleeing Iraq, but something is stopping her mind remembering the English vocabulary. This has worried Sara and rocked her confidence in English considerably. This has had further implications for her resettlement experience, as she feels she cannot rely on her English skills in an employment situation.

In the literature on refugee adjustment, memory loss as a symptom of PTSD is a well-recognised problem for refugees (Burnett and Peel, 2001:545; Stevens, 2001). While no literature discussing the loss of a second language, such as English, was identified, the loss of language by these refugees would most likely be related to general memory loss as a result of traumatic experiences. Memory loss, and other symptoms such as lack of concentration, and loss of confidence can create significant hurdles for refugees to overcome during resettlement.
8.3.3.1 English Classes in Australia

Respondents were asked if they had attended language classes in Australia and nearly all respondents reported that they had. Three themes emerged in the analysis of interview material regarding English classes in Australia. The first was related to access and appropriateness of English classes. A Sudanese respondent highlighted the importance of correct assessment of English ability on arrival. She had initially been placed in a beginner’s class but found the class too easy and requested to be moved to the intermediate class. However, she was told this was not possible and she must complete the beginners’ class before she could advance to the next level. This was very frustrating and she felt she could have learnt more if she had been working at a higher level. Another Sudanese respondent echoed this problem in anecdotal evidence, saying he knew of several students who had been unhappy with their initial assessments.

Iraqi respondents raised accessibility issues, and the eligibility of TPV holders to attend English classes had obviously been a problem. The two-tier resettlement assistance system means that TPV holders are ineligible for the AMEP courses. As a result, TPV holders in Adelaide have attended a variety of English classes, some funded by the State government, others run by local churches and NGOs. One Iraqi respondent had attended three different English classes during early resettlement. Two were held at churches and the other was a TAFE course. Two Iraqis had also attended TAFE language courses, while another had attended a course run by a church. None of these Iraqis had been able to study full time and felt that this had limited their learning. Home tutors had been provided to two other Iraqis but these were not visiting at the time of interviews, as one respondent felt the style of teaching wasn’t useful and the other had young children and found studying difficult. Respondents seemed unsure what the regulations were regarding their English class entitlements and service providers were also confused.

The second theme raised was the style of learning used in English classes in Australia, compared to overseas. One Sudanese woman who had studied English in Africa remarked how different the style was in Australia, and this had taken time to get used to. In Africa, language was taught more traditionally with a focus on grammar and spelling, whereas in Australia it was more interactive, reading newspaper articles, then talking and writing about them. An Iraqi woman who had received a home tutor had been disappointed with the language instruction. The tutor had provided books for her to read but she felt she
already read quite well and needed more conversation practice. It is not surprising that the teaching techniques used in the AMEP are different to those that refugees experienced in their home country, given that the emphasis is on teaching English within the context of settlement. However, it appears that there is an additional hurdle to jump for refugees – getting used to new learning styles as well as a new language, and this issue could possibly delay the learning of language while refugees adjust to a new educational system.

Respondents also discussed their use of other methods of learning English. The television was a favourite method for learning the Australian accent, with several respondents mentioning that they liked watching the television to improve their English. Conversations with Australians were also viewed as important in improving language skills, and some occurred in unlikely places. For example, an Iraqi woman explained how she felt that conversations she had with nurses and other patients whilst an outpatient had helped her English considerably. The importance of social contact is highlighted in these comments, and provides further evidence that the development of broad social networks is important for many aspects of resettlement.

The third theme related to the benefits of attendance at English classes for respondents. While the LSIA2 identified a range of possible benefits from English classes, the respondents in Adelaide clarified these somewhat. English classes introduced new technology to refugees, and one Sudanese woman explained she had never had the opportunity to use a computer before in Africa but had been learning to use one at her English classes. She said she really enjoyed using the computer and was thinking about finding a job where she could work with computers. This type of work had never occurred to her before. Another respondent spoke of the friends she had made at English classes. She had arrived alone on a refugee visa and did not have any relatives or friends in Adelaide. She began the English classes soon after arrival and was glad that she had been able to make some friends.

An Iraqi respondent who had received a home tutor provided another example of the benefits of English tuition. The English teacher had provided a lot of information about Adelaide and told the woman about the Australian Refugee Association. The Iraqi woman then contacted them and was assisted with the provision of a fridge, some furniture, bus tickets and some food vouchers. She was very grateful for the teacher’s assistance and felt
that she may not have found out about the availability of this kind of assistance from anyone else.

These comments by respondents highlight the importance of English classes for refugees at all levels of English proficiency. Beyond learning English, classes are found to have additional benefits for refugees during early resettlement. The two-tier resettlement assistance system is currently excluding onshore-visa ed refugees from accessing these classes in the same way as offshore-visa ed refugees, despite their need for English classes being well recognised. Proposals have previously been put forward to increase the orientation function of the AMEP and even co–locate settlement services with AMEP providers (DIMIA, 2003a:271). The obvious benefits of such changes could be the streamlining of services for recent arrivals, a benefit that would possibly reduce some of the confusion experienced by refugees during the initial resettlement period. However, the core objective of the AMEP is still seen as providing English language tuition, and it appears unlikely that a shift away from this will occur in the near future. However, the large client base of the AMEP places it in a unique position to act as a unifying link between new arrivals and other service providers and the Australian community. This study provides additional evidence that English classes provide an opportunity for much more than the delivery of English tuition, and should be considered as a critical site of resettlement information and assistance.

8.3.3.2 Interpreters

Respondents were also asked about their experiences with interpreters. Analysis showed that interpreters were widely available in institutional settings such as Centrelink, the SAHT and health services and respondents were generally satisfied with their assistance. These results are consistent with the provision of interpreters through the federally funded Translating and Interpreting Service (TIS) (DIMIA, 2003a:281). However, relying on interpreters was found to be problematic. A particular difficulty faced by new arrivals is the availability of appropriate interpreters for new and emerging communities. For instance, the number of African languages now requiring interpreters is growing rapidly, but has not been matched by an increase in trained interpreters (DIMIA, 2003a:287). In many cases, Sudanese refugees speak English or Arabic as a second language, and Arabic interpreters are regularly used. One Sudanese respondent mentioned that she had been allocated an interpreter soon after arrival. While the interpreter spoke Arabic (the requested language) she had some trouble understanding the interpreter as they were not from Africa.
and there were some language differences. These problems associated with a lack of appropriate interpreters demonstrate the need for additional training of interpreters in the languages of new and emerging communities. It would seem that this area would be a fruitful path to employment for some new arrivals with adequate skills in their first language and English.

In contrast, two respondents identified that interpreters had been organised for them on several occasions when they were in fact not needed due to their proficiency in English. This did not concern one woman as the interpreters were her friends and she liked the company at her hospital appointments during her pregnancy. The other respondent expressed concern that the interpreters were a waste of money for the government and she seemed offended that people expected her not to be able to communicate in English.

The situations where interpreters were required and not available appeared to be in the private sector, such as shopping, dealing with real estate agents and correspondence from a range of institutions such as children’s schools, utility providers and local councils. In many cases, respondents were able to use family members or friends to interpret and translate, but this was dependent on their availability and language ability. The size of specific Sudanese communities was identified as a possible problem, yet most Sudanese speak some Arabic and this language was sometimes used when interpreters for their ethnic language were not available. The Iraqi respondents all spoke Arabic and this expanded their access to a larger pool of interpreters.

The costs associated with professional interpreting were high for refugees when they were not eligible for fee-free interpreting by the TIS. One Iraqi woman explained that she was seeking compensation for medical negligence and required an interpreter for her meetings with the solicitors. Usually one of her daughters would interpret for her in other situations, but they were all busy at school when the meetings were scheduled. Fortunately, the lawyer was able to arrange an interpreter and it was agreed that the fees would not be payable by the Iraqi woman until the matter had passed through the courts. The woman was pleased with this arrangement as the solicitors were using legal terminology, which she felt her daughters might not have been able to translate. While informal interpreting by family members can be a useful tool during resettlement, there are clearly situations when it is not appropriate. For this Iraqi woman, the TPV prevented her from accessing free
interpreting assistance through the TIS that would have been available to offshore-visaed refugees. The clear injustice in the TPV policy is highlighted in this case.

Language acquisition is undoubtedly important for refugees during resettlement. These results indicate that there are a wide range of English proficiency levels within the recently arrived refugee population in Australia and assistance is required at both ends of the scale. Communication issues can compound other resettlement issues and contribute to poor resettlement experiences and negative integration prospects. The TPV regime has been found to create a significant barrier to social integration for onshore-visaed refugees by denying them access to language classes, which act to maintain communication and interaction difficulties for these refugees during resettlement. Another potential source of difficulties during resettlement are health problems for refugees.

8.4 Health

Refugees and those with refugee–like backgrounds are known to be at risk of poor health before and after arrival in countries of resettlement. Pre-migration experiences have a significant impact on the health of refugees during resettlement, and health issues contribute to the difficulties refugees face during resettlement. This section will provide a review of previous research into refugee health issues, and then present findings from the LSIA2 and in-depth interviews with refugees in Adelaide. The confusion in health care settings related to access for onshore and offshore-visaed refugees will be highlighted.

8.4.1 Refugee Health Issues and Resettlement

The pre-migration experience of refugees has a considerable impact on their health status, and is a major difference between refugees and other migrants arriving in Australia. Previous research in Australia and overseas has documented a range of pre-migration factors which are known to have an impact on refugee health during resettlement (Burnett and Peel, 2001; Harris and Telfer, 2001; Biggs and Skull, 2003). Perhaps the most severe health problems presented by refugees are the physical and psychological scars of torture and trauma prior to migration. Sundquist and Johansson (cited in Harris and Telfer, 2001) identified that a past history of torture, or the feelings of insecurity experienced by refugees can amplify and extend the duration of illnesses in resettlement. In addition, prior to arrival, many refugees may not have access to appropriate health care and high levels of infectious and nutritional diseases are present in some groups of refugees, dependent on
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their country of origin (Harris and Telfner, 2001:2). Refugees and migrants from developing countries are known to have special health needs and are at increased risk from infectious diseases such as Tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, viral hepatitis, parasitic diseases, as well as incomplete immunisations, psychological and other physical health problems such as dental disease, vitamin D and other nutritional deficiencies, and chronic diseases (Biggs and Skull, 2003:65). Thus refugees are likely to have some serious health problems on arrival. However, research has found that a low priority has been given to health in the immediate resettlement period (Davidson et al., 2004).

The health needs of many refugees are considerable, and often complex. Burnett and Peel (2001:544) state that previous studies in the United Kingdom have found that “one in six refugees has a physical health problem severe enough to affect their life and two thirds have experienced anxiety or depression”. The authors maintain that while symptoms of psychological distress are common, they do not necessarily signify mental illness. Symptoms are found to be reactions to refugees’ past experiences and current situation. Social isolation and poverty have a compounding negative impact on mental health, as can hostility and racism. Burnett and Peel (2001:547) conclude that the health needs of asylum seekers and refugees in Britain are “broadly similar to those of the host population”, although previous poor access to health care may mean that symptoms have been untreated. Many refugees were found to “experience difficulties in expressing health needs and in accessing health care” (Burnett and Peel, 2001:547), often as a result of communication problems related to host language proficiency. While the health needs of refugees are undoubtedly great, a discrepancy has been identified between the health needs of refugees and levels of assistance available to them. Access to appropriate health assessment and treatment after arrival in a new country is often limited by a number of factors. Language barriers, cultural differences, lack of knowledge of health systems, financial constraints and entitlement issues are known to limit recently arrived refugees’ use of health services (Finney-Lamb and Smith, 2002).

The health status of refugees is expected to improve over time during the resettlement process. Results from a longitudinal survey in New Zealand indicated that about half the refugees interviewed stated their health as excellent or very good, one third stated it was good, the remainder as poor, and in general refugees rated their health was better after 6 months than on arrival (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). Common reasons given
for improved health included feeling safe and secure and having less stress in their lives, as well as access to good health care.

Longitudinal research in Australia has not found such positive results, with analysis of the first cohort of the LSIA showing that the self-assessed health status of refugees declined between the first and third wave of interviews (VandenHeuval and Wooden, 1999:95). Additional analysis of the first wave of interviews for both cohorts has identified that Humanitarian entrants’ health status declined between the two cohorts, with 37% of Humanitarian entrants in the first cohort reporting their health as very good, compared with 31% of the second cohort (NILS, 2002:219). The report identified that pre-existing health conditions were the likely reason for the discrepancy between the health status of Humanitarian entrants and other visa categories, but did not comment on the decrease in health status between the cohorts.

In recent years, the complexity of health care entitlements for refugees in Australia has attracted significant attention in the literature (Davidson et al., 2004; Correa-Velez et al., 2005; Grove and Zwi, 2006). Correa-Velez et al. (2005) have considered the influence of immigration policy on health policy in Australia. They argue that the current policies regarding medical care for refugees and asylum seekers is complex and has ‘two faces’. On the one hand, “health care policy for refugees entering Australia on the offshore Humanitarian program is comprehensive, entitling refugees to Medicare, early health assessment, specialised torture and trauma services and access to the same services as other Australians” (Correa-Velez et al., 2005:23). However, for those who have entered Australia in an unauthorised manner, and who are on a range of temporary visa types, medical care entitlements are fragmented and “less than adequate to ensure a minimum standard of care” (Correa-Velez et al., 2005:27). The gaps between state and territory policy and federal policy are argued to have produced a climate of confusion regarding who pays for treatments. Serious discrepancies in the health status of refugees with different visa types could therefore be expected.

Specific research on TPV holder health has demonstrated the impact of extended periods of immigration detention and the TPV policy on refugee health. Poor physical and mental health among TPV holders has been identified, and reports continue to link these high levels of health problems to detention and health care access problems (Mansouri and
Bagdas, 2002; Steel et al., 2006). In Victoria, Mansouri and Bagdas reported that some TPV holders had waited up to five months for Medicare cards after release from detention. This was despite DIMIA stating that on release all TPV holders would be provided with information in their own language on how to apply for Centrelink payments and Medicare cards. Access to dental services was found to be difficult, with long waiting lists for public dental services.

In addition, mental health issues have been highlighted in research on TPV holders conducted in Australia. Mansouri and Bagdas (2002) found that the TPV policy created uncertainty, insecurity, isolation, powerlessness and health problems for TPV holders. While TPV holders are entitled to trauma and torture counselling as one concession by the government, these services have been overwhelmed by demand from TPV holders. Fernades (2002) a clinical psychologist in a torture/trauma centre described the impact of the TPV on TPV holder’s mental health. She identifying that most TPV holders were anxious and agitated, and reported insomnia, tension headaches, gastro-intestinal disturbances and bodily aches and pains, which she argued provided evidence for the existence of a complex form of PTSD among TPV holders.

Several service providers the researcher spoke to in Adelaide have echoed these disturbing reports. In addition, a recently published study by Steel et al. (2006) has provided strong evidence of the detrimental effects of mandatory detention and the temporary protection visa regime. The study investigated the longer-term mental health of Mandaean (an ethnic group from Iraq and Iran) refugees in Sydney. The findings suggest that both prolonged detention and temporary protection contribute substantially to the risk of ongoing depression, PTSD and mental health-related disability in refugees. While previous research has documented the psychological impact of detention on refugees, this study is the first to demonstrate that the mental health effects persist for a prolonged period after detention. In addition, the study adds further evidence that “insecure residency and associated fears of repatriation contribute to the persistence of psychiatric symptoms and associated disabilities in refugees” (Steel et al., 2006:63). An important point also raised by the study was that the denial of family reunification (a restriction imposed on TPV holders) might result in prolonged mental disorders in isolated refugees. These findings are significant and provide additional support for the abolition of prolonged mandatory detention and temporary protection in Australia.
8.4.2 The Health Status of Recent Migrants

The LSIA2 questionnaire included a range of questions related to health. Physical and mental health status was surveyed and the following section presents the most significant findings from the analysis undertaken by the researcher. It must be remembered that the LSIA2 did not interview onshore-visaed refugees on temporary humanitarian visas and as such the findings present the health status of those refugees who are entitled to the full range of health services. However, it can be seen in the analysis that refugees’ unique circumstances contribute to poorer health even when they have good access to the full range of health care in resettlement.

8.4.2.1 Physical Health

The increased presence of long-term health conditions is a key difference between Humanitarian entrants and other visa categories. While visas issued under the Migration Program have health requirements attached, Humanitarian entrants are not subject to such strict regulations, leading to the increased percentage of Humanitarian entrants with poorer health. Table 8.10 shows the increased proportion of Humanitarian entrants with long-term health conditions at each wave of interviews. In addition, it can be seen that more refugees reported a long-term health condition at the second wave of interviews than the first. This may seem surprising, given that it could be expected that health conditions would be treated once refugees arrived in Australia and hopefully improve. Yet the statistic does not support this proposition. One possible reason would be that more diagnoses of long-term health conditions occurs between 6 months and 18 months after arrival. This explanation would support the increase in long-term health conditions between wave 1 and 2. A further possibility could be that the statistics reflect a lack of priority accorded to health during the initial resettlement period and the improved access to diagnosis in Australia.

The LSIA2 questionnaire also surveyed the types of long-term health conditions reported by recently arrived migrants. Table 8.11 shows the range of health conditions that Humanitarian entrants reported. It can be seen that by far the most frequent problem suffered by refugees is that of ‘nerves and stress’. Nearly a quarter of refugees with a health condition reported these problems at the second interview. This result is not unexpected given the previous findings in other studies that refugees are likely to suffer ongoing psychological problems as a result of their pre-migration experiences (Silove et al., 1997; Miller et al., 2002; Kaplan and Webster, 2003). Other conditions are reported
much less frequently; with arthritis and rheumatism the second most reported condition, at less than 10%.

**Table 8.10 Presence of Long-Term Health Condition Among Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Long Term Health Condition</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8.11 Long Term Health Conditions Reported by Humanitarian Entrants at 6 and 18 months after Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Humanitarian Entrants n=2411</th>
<th>W1</th>
<th>W2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arthritis or Rheumatism</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing problem or deafness</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blindness or impaired vision</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerves or stress problems</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart disorder</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of limb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hepatitis or other liver disorder</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asthma</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memory or mental ability loss</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidney disorder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The LSIA2 also surveyed self-assessed health status. While the health status of Humanitarian entrants was not as good as other visa categories, their health status changed very little between the first and second waves of interviews (Table 8.12) and certainly not as much as the change in percentage of refugees with long term health conditions (at 10%).

The poorer health status of refugees is reflected in the higher rates of access to medical care for Humanitarian entrants compared to other visa categories. Table 8.13 shows the use of medical services by recent arrivals at the first and second interview, with over half of Humanitarian entrants reporting a visit to a health care provider at least once in the past 4 weeks.
Table 8.12 Self-Assessed Health Status of Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Poor</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.13 Use of Medical Services by Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of Medical Services in 4 Weeks Prior to Interview</th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
<td>W2</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not visit</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited once</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited twice</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited 3 or more</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4.2.2 Mental Health

The LSIA2 questionnaire included an important tool for measuring mental health status among recently arrived migrants. Under the heading of Health – Special, the General Health Questionnaire (12 question format) (Goldberg and Williams, 1988) was included as a measure of mental health status. Detailed explanation of this questionnaire and the analysis follows. The analysis indicates a significantly high rate of mental health problems among Humanitarian entrants, when compared to other visa category groups and the Australian born population.

The widely used 12 question General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12) (Goldberg and Williams, 1988) was incorporated into the LSIA surveys. It is a standardised instrument, which is able to provide both categorical and dimensional measures of psychological health. The GHQ-12 consists of a checklist of 12 statements asking respondents to compare their recent experience to their usual state on a 4-point scale of severity (a copy is included in Appendix C). There are several scoring methods available, but it has been
shown that very similar results are obtained by the various methods. A threshold score is applied to a population and the proportion of respondents with scores above this threshold represents the probable prevalence of illness among the population.

The method of analysis undertaken by the researcher for this study follows the method used by NILS (2002:223). The 0-1-2-3 scoring method was applied, and a threshold score of 11/12 was applied. Therefore a score of 12 or more, out of a total of 36, indicated the prevalence of psychological distress. This threshold score is based on validity research (Goldberg et al., 1997) conducted in 15 areas throughout the world with a variety of respondents from different ethnic backgrounds. It must be noted that the validity of the GHQ-12 for all ethnic groups represented in the LSIA2 sample is unknown and therefore the results must be considered as indicative of the mental health status of recent arrivals, rather than conclusive.

The most concerning results of the analysis show the much higher prevalence of psychological distress among Humanitarian entrants at both waves of interviews, when compared to the other visa groups (Table 8.14). Humanitarian entrants rates of psychological distress also increased over time, while the family and skilled visa migrant’s levels decreased. These high rates of psychological distress are even more concerning when compared with the general Australian population, which were reported to have 7.5% rate of distress when the optimal threshold score was applied (Donath, 2001).

Further, comparison with LSIA1 data shows that the prevalence of psychological distress among the newer group of Humanitarian entrants was significantly higher than that of those Humanitarian entrants in cohort one (Table 8.15).

**Table 8.14 Psychological Distress Rates Among Recent Migrants, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wave 1</th>
<th>Wave 2</th>
<th>% Change between Waves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled n=13144</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>-1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family n=16860</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>-5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanitarian n=2411</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>+2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Table 8.15 Prevalence of Psychological Distress Among Humanitarian Entrants at Wave 1 Interview of LSIA1 and LSIA2
Source: LSIA1 wave 1 and LSIA2 wave 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LSIA1 wave 1</th>
<th>LSIA2 wave 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humanitarian Entrants</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the mental health status of the case study groups was analysed, results were slightly better than those for all Humanitarian entrants, however the increase between waves was greater. There was little difference between the groups, with Sudanese Humanitarian entrants having a slightly higher prevalence rate than Iraqis at the first interview (Table 8.16).

Table 8.16 Psychological Distress of Humanitarian Entrants by Country of Origin, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wave 1</th>
<th>Wave 2</th>
<th>% Change between waves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese Humanitarian Entrants n=182</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>+9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi Humanitarian Entrants n=409</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>+13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above results have been based on analysis that measures distress dichotomously – a person is simply distressed or not distressed. However, a dimensional scoring method enables the level of psychological distress to also be calculated. Table 8.17 shows the average score from the GHQ-12 for all Humanitarian entrants and the case study populations. When comparing these results with those for all migrants in all visa categories in the LSIA (NILS, 2002:230), and the general Australian population (Donath, 2001) the significant effect of Humanitarian visa category on probable poor mental health can be seen (Table 8.18). Further, the increase in level of distress in Humanitarian entrants between the LSIA cohorts can be understood when it is considered that the average score for Humanitarian entrants in the first cohort was 10.1 (NILS, 2002:232).

Finally, a critical point to note is that these statistics refer only to Humanitarian entrants who arrived in Australia on permanent protection visas. They do not represent the experiences of refugees on TPVs. Considering the mounting evidence which shows that
the TPV is contributing significantly to the mental health problems of newly arrived refugees (Steel, 2003; Steel et al., 2006) it is suggested that these already concerning results would probably illustrate an even greater prevalence and level of psychological distress if the GHQ-12 was undertaken with a sample of TPV holders.

Table 8.17 Level of Psychological Distress Among Humanitarian Entrants (mean GHQ-12 score), 6 and 18 Months After Arrival
Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean GHQ-12 Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Humanitarian Entrants</td>
<td>12.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese Humanitarian Entrants</td>
<td>11.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi Humanitarian Entrants</td>
<td>10.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.18 Comparison Rates of Psychological Distress Levels in Selected Populations
Source: NILS, 2002 and Donath, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean GHQ-12 Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average LSIA2 score across all visa categories</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Australian Population</td>
<td>8.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSIA1 Humanitarian Entrant Score</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4.3 Health-Related Experiences During Resettlement

Discussions were held with respondents regarding their experiences of the health system in Australia. The following section first examines some themes raised by both Sudanese and Iraqi respondents, and then deals with health issues related to the TPV and medical care.

Most respondents judged the health system in Australia as superior to the system in their home country. The major factor contributing to this positive response to health care in Australia was related to the financial assistance provided by the government through Medicare. Sudanese respondents remarked on their surprise that they could receive treatment in Australia without first paying the doctor and hospital – a situation very different from that in Africa. In addition, respondents were asked about their need and provision of interpreters at medical appointments. Both the Sudanese and Iraqi respondents who identified that they had needed interpreters were satisfied with the assistance they had.
received. Two respondents who had needed interpreters during labour in Australia were very happy with the presence of female interpreters at the births. Other respondents mentioned (somewhat triumphantly) that as their English has improved they no longer need interpreters at appointments. While previous anecdotal evidence had suggested that inappropriate interpreters (from cultural and linguistic perspectives) had been issued to recently arrived refugees at medical appointments, it had not been a problem for those interviewed.

While the health care system in Australia was perceived as better than in their previous country’s of residence, the new health system had caused some confusion and discontent among some respondents. The system of making appointments in Australia to see a medical practitioner is somewhat different to the system in many parts of Africa where patients attend a clinic or hospital early in the morning and wait until it is their turn for a consultation. While one Sudanese woman remarked that she much preferred the Australian system, another felt that the system of making appointments in advance and then waiting until the appointment for treatment was frustrating. Further discussions revealed that the woman had been required to wait over 6 months for the extraction of her wisdom teeth after her initial visit to the dentist. During this period she had been in a lot of pain and believed that if she had been in Africa the dentist would have removed the tooth on the first visit. Several other respondents echoed the problem of long waiting lists for specialists. In addition, the gap payment required for specialist services (the difference between the scheduled Medicare fee and the fee charged by the doctor) was mentioned as a financial burden for those on low incomes. While no respondents had gone without medical treatment due to the costs, it was agreed by many that the medical bills had caused financial hardship for their households.

Perhaps the most significant theme identified in the interview analysis was the issue of power relationships between refugees and healthcare providers in Australia. Two particular incidents were relayed to the researcher, which demonstrated the power imbalance that refugees face due to language barriers, their cultural background, racism, a lack of knowledge of the Australian health system and financial situation. The following case study is developed from information provided in an interview with a Sudanese respondent. It demonstrates the interplay of factors that contribute to the power imbalance between refugees and health care professionals.
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Health Case Study 1

JL and his wife are Sudanese refugees who were living in exile before arriving in Adelaide. JL and his wife both have university degrees and a good knowledge of general health issues. Prior to receiving their visas they underwent medical tests in Cairo, including tests for TB. After they arrived in Australia, JL’s wife became pregnant. The couple went through another medical test after arriving in Adelaide. JL described it as intimidating after already enduring the test in Cairo. JL’s wife had been coughing up a little blood and she was referred to the chest clinic in Adelaide. The clinic administered a series of three tests for TB and they all returned negative. The doctor was sceptical about the results and ordered a chest x-ray. JL argued with the doctor over this, as his wife was pregnant and he knew that x-rays could be damaging for the foetus. The doctor was stubborn about the x-ray and told JL that TB is not always detected in African and Asian people by the first three tests and that an x-ray was required to confirm the negative tests. JL was very angry with this but the doctor insisted and his wife had the x-ray. It came back negative. JL was extremely upset that his wife and unborn baby had been exposed unnecessarily to the x-ray. JL said that if he had been in Africa he would have fought with the doctor over the issue.

The interplay of factors contributing to this situation is not specific to the case study. Grove and Zwi’s (2006) discussion of the ‘othering’ of forced migrants is helpful when attempting to understand the experiences of refugees in health care settings. Grove and Zwi (2006) explain that through the social construction of refugees as ‘others’ a distance is created between ‘us and them’, and once this is established, a sense of opposition and conflict arises. Associations of ‘self’ with safety, and ‘other’ with danger are linked to notions of health and disease. While refugees are acknowledged as having unique and complex health needs, it is argued by Grove and Zwi that “rather than respond to these health needs, many receiving countries have become concerned with positioning the health problem as their ‘diseased state’ and highlighting the risk refugees pose to others in the community as well as their potential to overload services” (2006:1937). The situation described in the case study above reflects these issues, with the health care professional apparently making decisions based on the risk the disease could pose to the broader community, rather than the health and wellbeing of the mother and unborn child. Grove and Zwi (2006:1937) argue that this way of portraying health issues “inverts the health concerns such that the receiving population is seen to be under threat rather than attending to the health needs of the displaced”.

Two issues specifically related to the TPV policy that were raised in the interviews were entitlements to medical treatment and mental health problems related to detention and the lack of security associated with the visa. These issues have been identified in previous
studies, but the discussion here will provide further detailed evidence of the impact of the visa on health experiences of refugees living on the visa. Two respondents spoke of specific cases where the TPV had presented a problem in terms of accessing medical treatment. The confusion surrounding the entitlement of TPV holders to medical care caused both respondents additional anxiety.

Health Case Study 2
Souad had received a kidney transplant in Iraq several years before fleeing to Australia. While she was in detention at Curtin she became very unwell and spent a lot of time in hospital in Perth. Once she was released into the community Souad travelled to Adelaide to live with her sister. After living in Adelaide for a year, her doctor informed her that she required dialysis as her kidneys had deteriorated further. She was sent to a public hospital and told to place her name on the Dialysis list so that she could have her appointments scheduled. When Souad attended the hospital she was informed that she could not be put on the list, as she was not a Permanent resident in Australia. Souad was very upset and worried because the doctor had explained to her how important the dialysis was. Souad mentioned her problem to a friend at a TPV support group, the woman then organised some assistance for Souad through a church group. A lawyer was contacted who took the case on pro bono. The lawyer arranged a meeting with the hospital administration and an arrangement was made where Souad could receive dialysis treatment. Souad now attends dialysis treatment 3 times per week, with her transport provided by Red Cross volunteers.

Health Case Study 3
Manal’s son was born in Iraq and as a baby he had survived a fever that had left him with several health problems, including hearing loss. After the family was released from detention the son attended a medical assessment. Manal was told her son needed growth hormones to assist his condition. Initially her son was denied the growth hormones because he was on a TPV. Manal explained that a lawyer was contacted and worked pro bono to assist the family, and eventually it was arranged that the growth hormone could be provided at no cost to the family. During the same period the son required a hearing aid, but due to the TPV the family wasn’t entitled to a commonwealth-funded hearing aid. Manal said the staff at the Special School her son attended had donated the money to buy him a hearing aid. Manal was very grateful for their generosity. Now the family has been issued PPVs and her son is eligible for free hearing aids.

From these two case studies it appears that without the intervention of legal advocates the medical needs of these two TPV holders would not have been met. The TPV has obviously been a problem for health care providers as there were issues related to whom the financial responsibility fell with for the treatments.
In addition to access and entitlement issues, the other major health issue raised by TPV holders was the mental health problems related to detention and the uncertainty and insecurity associated with living in limbo on a TPV. This issue has also received considerable attention in the literature (Marston, 2003a; Glazebrook, 2005; Steel et al., 2006). The impact on respondents and their families of being detained was raised time and again by the Iraqi respondents. A family who had been detained on Nauru explained that their oldest son had witnessed terrible events during their time in detention, including violent fights and hunger strikes. The son now has nightmares and problems sleeping, and it is affecting his schoolwork. The parents were extremely concerned about the son during the interviews and mentioned his problems several times.

The pervasive nature of anxiety associated with the possible return of TPV holders was explained by Manal. She and her husband were very worried about the possibility of being returned to Iraq. At times the uncertainty became too much and the couple felt they should make the decision to return (probably to further persecution resulting from their flight) rather than continue to wait at the whim of the government in Australia. Manal said that the worry was always with her, even during sleep. She had experienced nightmares where John Howard had told the family they must return to Iraq. The fear of return was evident on Manal’s face as she spoke of this time spent waiting for a decision.

While the worry and anxiety associated with the temporary nature of the visa was eliminated once the granting of permanent visas occurred, for some respondents it seemed that the damage might be irreparable. One respondent described how her husband had been affected by his experiences in Iraq, in detention and then during the long drawn out period of uncertainty on a TPV. The husband has developed insomnia and requires sleeping tablets in order to get some rest. His memory now fails him and he is unable to work. His wife seemed resigned to the fact that he may never work again. Two other female respondents whose husbands were also incapacitated by their experiences reported similar experiences.

The analysis of the LSIA2 data and the in-depth interviews demonstrate the poorer health status of refugees, when compared to other recently arrived migrant groups. Both the physical and mental health status of Humanitarian entrants is seen to be lower throughout the early settlement period, with very little improvement occurring as resettlement time increases. However, the findings present an even more concerning trend with regard to the
health of TPV holders. The TPV regime appears to be compounding the already significant health problems faced by refugees by restricting access to a limited range of health care services and causing confusion among TPV holders and service providers alike. These problems represent a factor affecting the social and economic integration of refugees into society. The likelihood of recently arrived refugees facing social exclusion as a result of their lack of health care is extremely concerning. The initial confusion regarding the entitlement of TPV holders to healthcare after the TPV regime was introduced has caused considerable problems for TPV holders. While this situation can’t be reversed, in the future it is recommended that health care access be extended to entitle TPV holders to the full scope of medical services and completely remove the policies that treat TPV holders as second-class citizens in terms of health care.

The last section of this chapter will investigate the social networks of recently arrived refugees in Australia. The inclusion of this section contributes to an understanding of the social integration process, and may assist in comprehending the impact that communication and health problems can have on the social lives of recently arrived refugees.

8.5 Social Networks

Social networks based on kinship, friendship and community ties are now central components in migration systems analysis (Boyd, 1989:661). In the resettlement stage of the migration process, social relationships have been found to act as a form of social insurance, providing communication and information networks, and creating norms and sanctions that facilitate social action (Coleman, 1988). Interaction with members of the same ethnic group as well as the host society are important in establishing social networks that can provide invaluable assistance during resettlement (Massey and Espana, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Hauff and Vaglum, 1997) and social networks have been identified as having the capacity to reduce the negative effects of life events (McMichael and Manderson, 2004:89). Research on social networks and immigrant incorporation emphasise the ability of networks to reduce the short-term costs of settlement (Koser, 1997). However, Menjivar (1997) has warned against the notion that a common background, constant contact and a shared migration experience automatically reproduce solid kinship-based networks or represent stable aid to newcomers. She argues that social relations are contingent upon the physical and material conditions in the host society. For this reason, the investigation of
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social network development among recently arrived refugees in Australia is an important element of this study, as the TPV regime has created significant differences in the resettlement experiences of refugees which may contribute to differential social network development between onshore and offshore-visaed refugees.

Unfortunately the LSIA2 survey did not include questions suitable for the quantitative analysis of social networks among recent migrants. Hence the following discussion of social networks among recently arrived refugees draws primarily on the qualitative in-depth interviews with recently arrived refugees in Adelaide, and informal anecdotal evidence gathered by the researcher. The in-depth interviews revealed a considerable amount of information on the social networks of recently arrived refugees, despite the fact that there was a level of suspicion from some respondents regarding reasons for the line of questioning. Some respondents were quite apprehensive about answering questions related to their social contacts, and this was discussed with service providers and other key informants. Many refugees have been exposed to covert information gathering practices in their home country, which may have led to horrific consequences for their family and friends. In some cases, intelligence officers acting as academics, or academics themselves have taken part in these investigations, leading to a well founded suspicion of people asking questions about the type of contact that refugees have with other people. Under these circumstances the researcher decided to scale back her examination of social networks among recent arrivals and gather more general information, rather than conduct a detailed investigation such as Valtonen’s (1994a) study of Vietnamese refugees in Finland.

8.5.1 Size and Composition
Due to the small sample of respondents it was difficult to draw strong conclusions about the social networks operating within the Iraqi and Sudanese refugee communities in Adelaide. However, from the analysis of respondent’s comments and from conversations with key informants and service providers some broad observations could be made.

An initial observation made by the researcher regarded the extent of refugee’s knowledge of other recent arrivals from their home country. Analysis of Sudanese respondents discussion of social networks revealed the broad reach of ethnic community associations within the Sudanese community living in Adelaide. This was reflected at large social events attended by the researcher, where it appeared everyone knew each other. One
respondent encapsulated this expectation that she would know everyone, when she described how amazed she had been at meeting a new Sudanese refugee at the local shopping centre and not being aware of her recent arrival. Further questioning of respondents showed that this knowledge of other Sudanese in Adelaide did not actually extend throughout the entire Sudanese community, but was somewhat restricted to familial relationships and ethnic communities (and friends in refugee camps). For example, several respondents that were interviewed for this study were from the Kuku tribe, and during interviews, mutual acquaintances of the researcher and the respondents, from the Kuku tribe, were identified. However, respondents did not know some other Sudanese refugees from other tribes that the researcher had made contact with. While this sample of respondents was quite small, it can be suggested that recently arrived Sudanese refugees have an extensive knowledge of other refugees from their own tribe and other Sudanese refugees whom they may have known in camps or through family ties. This large range of acquaintances however, must not be recognised as a large pool of possible resettlement support, as will be discussed later.

A difference identified between the Sudanese and Iraqi ethnic community social networks was the perception formed by the researcher that the Iraqi refugees in Adelaide did not have such a broad knowledge of the Iraqi community members in Adelaide. While one respondent who had acted in a voluntary capacity as a community settlement worker did have an extensive knowledge of most Iraqi TPV families in Adelaide, none of the other respondent’s comments revealed such a large network of acquaintances. This was surprising, as it was expected that the communities would reveal roughly the same level of awareness of other community members. Several reasons for this finding are suggested.

Menjivar’s (1997) study of kinship networks found that older, more established ethnic members were more likely to be able to provide assistance in resettlement than recent arrivals, due to their position as legal residents and established employment and social networks. However, in the case of Iraqi TPV holders in Adelaide, the established community did not appear to be providing the level of support (in this case introductions to the wider community) that might be expected. The divisions between the established Iraqi community and more recently arrived TPV holders (discussed in Chapter 6) may account for this somewhat, as the more established community who may act as links between newly arrived individuals may not be inclined to engage in community building activities
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where new arrivals could make connections. Other possible reasons could be the lack of arrivals into the community as a result of family reunion (a difference between the Sudanese and Iraqi communities). Refugees joining family in resettlement have an established network to tap into on arrival. The Iraqi TPV holders in Adelaide were not typically joining family members in Adelaide and could therefore be expected to have reduced opportunities to tap into these networks. A final possibility could be based on cultural differences between the two groups, and not related to resettlement experiences at all. However, there was not enough information available to confirm any of these reasons and much more intensive research among the communities would need to be undertaken in order to further understand the differences in the size of social networks described by the respondents in this study.

An examination of responses to questions about close family and friends who had provided assistance or support during resettlement revealed similar experiences among the Iraqi and Sudanese respondents. Iraqi respondents spoke of close relationships with two or three families, most of whom they had either been on the same boat, or spent time together with them in immigration detention. While Sudanese social networks were found to be extensive, interactions that could be categorised as meaningful in terms of resettlement assistance were limited to a much smaller numbers of associates. Respondents spoke of family members (often their sponsors) and friends they had either known in Africa or made in Adelaide, as making up these smaller ‘mutual assistance’ social groups. These findings are similar to Valtonen’s (1994a) results on social networks among Vietnamese refugees in Finland. She found that the ties between friends made during escape or in refugee camps were enduring and non-casual and very much strengthened by the shared experience of distressing and unforgettable events (Valtonen, 1994a:71). These smaller circles of closely tied individuals and families were found to be a major source of support for refugees in Adelaide as they navigated the resettlement process. While most members of the inner-circle were from the same ethnic community, some respondents identified other individuals from beyond their own ethnic community whom they had come to be friends with.

Iraqis reported interactions with other (non ethnic) refugees more often than the Sudanese. The importance of friendships developed in the adversity of flight and periods of immigration detention was highlighted through the strong relationships formed between Iraqi TPV holders and other Iraqi, Iranian and Afghan asylum seekers. Sudanese
respondents did not mention these types of inter-ethnic minority group interactions to the same degree. While the opportunities for interaction with other minority group members may have been more possible for Sudanese through attendance at English classes and training courses, it appeared from the interviews that Sudanese social networks do not include other minority groups to the same extent as the Iraqis did.

Refugees who are both intra- and inter-ethnically integrated are often regarded as the best adjusted (Sam, 1994) and the analysis of social networks in resettlement often includes an examination of inter-ethnic interactions with the host society (Valtonen, 1994a and 1998). This study found social interactions between Australians and Iraqis were limited, as were the interactions between Australians and Sudanese respondents. Interactions were identified in expected areas such as English classes (with the teacher), Christian churches (for the Sudanese refugees) and in volunteer support relationships organised by settlement providers. Only those refugees with very good English skills identified that they had developed friendships during resettlement with Australians and English proficiency was a major barrier to interactions with Australians. This is in opposition to the findings of Hauff and Vaglum (1997) who identified that competency in the host society language did not predict inter-ethnic social contact. They argued that language competency should not be used as an indicator of social contact and probably not of social integration either – and vice versa. However, given the comments provided in the in-depth interviews with refugees in Adelaide, the lack of a common language for communication does appear to have a significant impact on the social interaction between refugees and Australian society.

From the small sample of interview respondents it appears that social interaction between Iraqis and Australians is limited to one-way forms of resettlement assistance to the Iraqis. Examples of interactions between respondents and their Australian neighbours were provided by a couple of respondents. Loma described a relationship with a Greek-Australian neighbour who cut the lawn for the family and an Iraqi couple mentioned that their neighbours in their new home were much more welcoming and have engaged in conversations in the street. Again the presence of English proficiency facilitated interactions in these circumstances.
8.5.2 Social Networks and Resettlement

Analysis of the interview material was undertaken to ascertain the types and level of assistance provided by social networks to refugees during early resettlement. Menjivar’s (1997) warning not to assume that the presence of social networks represent strong, unified sources of support was taken on board, particularly as Menjivar had identified that poverty, temporary or uncertain legal resident status and poor employment opportunities worked together to debase the potential for support among immigrant communities. This study has found that recently arrived refugees in Adelaide are limited in the type of support they can provide to members of their ethnic community due to their own situation during resettlement. The importance of non-ethnic social networks in some areas of resettlement highlights the benefit of useful inter-ethnic social interactions for refugees during resettlement.

The emotional support that social networks can provide during resettlement can be extremely important for refugees as they seek to adjust to a new environment. Beiser et al., (1989) have identified that social linkages can have a moderate impact on adjustment and McSpadden (1987) has found that social linkages can have a protective influence in terms of reducing isolation-related depression during resettlement. However, the development of close relationships during resettlement can be difficult, and McMichael and Manderson (2004) found that Somali women resettling in Australia had not been able to re-establish the same types of social networks they had experienced prior to migration. This was identified as a significant source of sadness, distress, anxiety and depression among the women. The mistrust generated by the war, as well as the material and social conditions during resettlement were found to negatively influence the development of strong and supportive social networks.

Both Iraqi and Sudanese respondents spoke about the importance of friendships in Adelaide, and how talking through issues with others was very important while they tried to make sense of their new surroundings. Examples such as the support provided by the interpreter to a Sudanese woman (who was also her friend) at medical appointments, and the high value placed on maintaining friendships with those who had shared the same hazardous boat trip, demonstrate the significance of social networks for emotional support. Yet social networks are expected to provide much more than emotional support, and are often described in the literature as a critical resource in terms of resettlement assistance.
However, this study identified that refugee communities in Adelaide are not always able to provide resettlement support to new arrivals.

In terms of specific resettlement support, the interviews revealed that there were some differences between the assistance provided by the Iraqis and the Sudanese refugees in Adelaide. Two key factors leading to these differences may be the broader extent of Sudanese social contacts, compared to the Iraqis and the specific resettlement support coming from the Sudanese as a result of their sponsorship obligations. Interviews with Sudanese refugees revealed more examples of specific resettlement assistance being provided by members of refugee social networks. Examples ranged from the transfer of information related to opportunities for financial assistance to simple yet very important instructions on which bus ticket to buy and how to catch a bus. Sudanese respondents who had arrived as sponsored refugees appeared to have received considerable information from their sponsors and their sponsor’s friends who ultimately made up their social networks during the initial resettlement period. In comparison, the trend revealed in the interview analysis was that Iraqi refugees were less likely to receive this type of resettlement assistance from within their social networks.

A further issue that may be related to the lack of information sharing among the Iraqis could be related to the fact that most of the Iraqi respondents were released from detention during the early phase of the TPV regime, when many policy issues related to resettlement assistance were still being ironed out. For example, it has been shown that confusion regarding the eligibility of TPV holders for English classes and health care was a problem during the early resettlement of Iraqis in Adelaide. During this early resettlement period, many of the Iraqi families were arriving in Adelaide, and as a result of the lack of an adequate orientation process were forced to “find their own way” in Adelaide. While the Sudanese sponsors may still have been relatively recent arrivals, they had been provided with orientation assistance and did not have to contend with confusion surrounding their entitlement to services that may have made it easier for them to provide assistance to other new arrivals.

The previous chapter identified that the borrowing and lending of money among close friends and family was a common occurrence and prime example of financial assistance provided through social networks in resettlement. However, another important area that
social networks are known to be useful in employment (Gold and Kibria, 1993; Waxman, 2001; Mhangain and Collins, 2003; Lamba, 2003; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006). Yet for refugees resettling in Adelaide, the ability of intra-ethnic social networks to assist with finding employment was somewhat limited, as a result of the low employment rate among recently arrived refugees. The social networks of recently arrived refugees were not found to be a very successful strategy for finding employment in Adelaide and job seeking strategies tended to move beyond the ethnic community.

For instance, one Iraqi respondent spoke about her adult son’s difficulties finding work after leaving school. She explained that he had received very little assistance from the family’s intra-ethnic social network, as hardly any of the family’s friends were in employment and were unable to help. The mother took the opportunity in the interview to ask the researcher to help her son find a job, believing that she must have more contacts with people who may be able to offer employment because of her status as a ‘local’. This Iraqi respondent also described how difficult it was for her and her husband to feel so inadequate in assisting their son, when in Iraq they would have had many contacts with people in a position to offer him employment. Clearly, the loss of useful, established social networks in the process of migration is a significant barrier for refugees to overcome in resettlement.

The importance of social networks, not only for resettlement support but friendship and even good mental health has been identified above. The method of developing social networks was considered by the researcher, after the analysis revealed that refugees were finding it much harder to maintain face to face contact with family and friends as a result of the dispersal of new arrivals around the suburbs of Adelaide. From the interviews it appeared that the use of telephones for the maintenance of social networks in Adelaide, as well as throughout Australia and overseas was very important. Glazebrook (2005) has already identified the importance of telephone contact (particularly mobile phone contact) as a positive activity during resettlement among Afghani refugees in Melbourne. She found that “communication facilitated by the mobile phone enabled Hazara to get their ‘bearings’ in order to negotiate a complex urban setting of regulation, procedure, and responsibility” (Glazebrook, 2005:185).
While this study did not enquire directly about mobile phone use, the provision of mobile phone numbers to the researcher for prospective refugee respondents, as well as the multiple interruptions during interviews while respondents took phone calls, indicated that mobile use within the Iraqi and Sudanese population may be as important during resettlement, as for the Hazara in Melbourne. In addition the use of ‘free calling’ (discussed in Glazebrook, 2005) between mobile phones was also identified as key method of communication by the researcher, when she was continually asked if her own mobile number was with a particular communication company that was well known for its ‘free calling’. ‘Free calling’ enables the caller to ring particular mobile numbers and speak for free, for up to 20 minutes at particular times of the day. Respondents described a common technique for conversations that were more involved, whereby the caller was to ring and talk and then hang up before twenty minutes, then call again and continue the conversation.

Social networks have commonly been seen as indisputable sources of assistance for refugees during resettlement, yet this study has found that the current resettlement policy is having an impact on the ability of refugees to provide this type of support. This finding has implications for the resettlement of refugees, particularly TPV holders, who are already excluded from accessing many formal resettlement assistance programs. Without access to formal resettlement programs, and limited assistance from social networks, these TPV holders are significantly more at risk of difficult and delayed resettlement, and consequently negative integration prospects across a range of resettlement spheres.

8.6 Conclusion
This chapter has investigated three critical aspects of social integration for recently arrived refugees in Australia and has found that the social integration prospects for the two groups are significantly related to their visa category. Most critically, the exclusion of TPV holders from federally funded English classes actively discourages social inclusion by maintaining a language barrier between TPV holders and the wider Australian community. Further, the TPV policy was found to have an impact on Iraqi refugee’s access to health care during resettlement, as the temporary nature of the visa caused confusion among health providers. The mental health costs of the TPV were also revealed, with many families affected by mental health problems caused as a result of the immigration detention experience and existence in a state of limbo. Finally, the social networks among members of the Iraqi TPV community were found to be less extensive and of less assistance than the
Sudanese offshore visaed refugees. It was suggested that the TPV policy may be contributing to the differences between the communities, as it had caused some friction among the older established Iraqi community and the newly arrived TPV holders and restricted the reunion of families in Adelaide.

While this chapter has identified some differential experiences between the two refugee groups, it must also be recognised that the social integration with the broader Australian population of both groups in early resettlement was not particularly extensive. Many recently arrived refugees in Adelaide lack the opportunity and the ability (as a result of poor English skills) to interact with Australians. This is limiting their social networks, which is further reducing their chances of integration into the economy and influences their experiences in relation to political and cultural integration. The next and final chapter of this section will present findings that are related to the political and cultural integration experiences of recently arrived refugees.
Chapter 9

Citizenship, Identity and Cultural Adjustment

9.1 Introduction

The presentation of findings up to this point has focused on the social and economic integration of refugees. Resettlement experiences related to cultural integration are also significant and can represent some of the most confronting experiences for refugees during resettlement. This chapter draws together the findings of the research related to the political and cultural integration of refugees during the early resettlement period. The uptake of citizenship by refugees in Australia is examined as a measure of ability and intent to participate in the political arena in Australia. From issues of citizenship arise further issues of identity and these are explored in relation to refugee experiences during resettlement. Finally, the cultural differences between both refugee groups and contemporary Australian society are considered and their impact on resettlement is investigated.

9.2 Political Integration

While Kuhlman’s (1991) model of integration does not specifically mention political participation as an aspect of integration, it does allude to the need for political integration in order for other forms of integration to progress. Other authors have specifically recognised the importance of political participation and political rights for refugees during resettlement (Korac, 2003; Bloemraad, 2005; Valtonen, 2004) and consider political participation a significant factor influencing broader integration (Castles and Davidson, 2000). In fact, the political integration of refugees can be a crucial factor influencing the entire integration process. Integration in other spheres can be severely hampered if refugees are excluded from participating in the political processes that significantly influence their adjustment experiences (Vertovec, 1998:187).

Political integration generally refers to the cohesiveness of the members of the political community in terms of their political values, beliefs, emotive traits and activities (Garcia, 1987:373). Yet a fundamental factor for political integration is the initial incorporation of
newcomers into the political community and, in most cases this is bound to citizenship and the political rights associated with it. Without the basic rights that enable newcomers to gain access to the processes of public decision-making, concerns about the political participation activities of newcomers are premature. Layton-Henry (1990:186) has pointed out that the political marginalisation or exclusion of socially and economically contributing residents “challenges the liberal democratic values and institutional procedures so greatly prized in multi-party democracies”. As such, access to full political rights including the eligibility to vote, stand for public office and participate in political organisations are seen as critical in the settlement process. However, even the granting of full political rights will not ensure the political participation of refugees during early resettlement.

The initial resettlement period for refugees is often dominated by very practical needs and activities, and political issues can be seen as less important at this time. As a consequence, Valtonen found “in the political arena, under-representation is very common during the initial settlement period” (2004:83). While this is partly a result of the focus of refugees interests and energy during this period, it is also a result of political rights being restricted until later in the resettlement process, when full citizenship rights are generally conferred. Political integration is therefore difficult to analyse during early resettlement, as both the desire and ability to participate in political activities influence the political integration process.

Common indicators used to investigate the political integration of newcomers reflect these issues, and most are only applicable after citizenship of the host country has been acquired. Indicators of political integration discussed by Castles et al. (2002:31) include:

- Participation in trade unions and professional associations
- Participation in other associations
- Participation in political parties
- Participation as voters
- Election to representative positions in local, regional and national governments

These indicators reflect the participation rates of newcomers, and offer the ability of comparison with other groups, including the host population. As political integration is often considered to be successful when a newcomer is included and actively participating
in the political life of the host society in a similar way to the native population (Garcia, 1987), this comparative ability of indicators is important.

However, these indicators were not considered appropriate for this study for a variety of reasons. The use of participation in trade unions was considered irrelevant, as most refugees during early resettlement are not in employment and therefore would not be members of these organisations. Participation in political parties or other mainstream associations was discarded on the basis of language skills being a significant barrier to this type of political participation for many refugees. Additionally, as refugees are not eligible to vote and stand for public office in Australia until they acquire citizenship, this indicator was also abandoned. However, the use of citizenship status as an indicator of political integration has been used previously in Australia (VandenHeuval and Wooden, 1999, Khoo and McDonald, 2001) and this indicator has been applied in this study, albeit in an adapted way. As the refugees surveyed in the LSIA2 and many of the in-depth interview respondents were not eligible to apply for citizenship, it is citizenship intention that is examined.

9.2.1 Citizenship and Integration

In today’s modern democratic states, citizenship is a significant precursor to political integration. Discussions of political integration must consider the eligibility of newcomers to participate. In Australia, applications can currently be made for citizenship after two years of permanent residency have elapsed. For offshore-visaed refugees, this means that citizenship is available two years after arrival. Yet, for onshore-visaed refugees, citizenship is not available until they have been a permanent resident for two years, a situation that ignores any time spent in detention or living on a temporary visa. Citizenship is critical for participation in the formal political environment in Australia. While permanent residents in Australia are conferred some rights such as the right of return after travel and access to welfare, health and education services, citizenship entitles Australian citizens important additional rights, including the right to vote in all levels of elections, stand for public office, hold an Australian passport and be employed in the Australian Public Service.

Australia has a long tradition of encouraging citizenship and actively promotes citizenship to new arrivals through programs such as the citizenship preparation classes (as part of the AMEP) and publicity campaigns. In 2001, about 75% of overseas-born eligible residents in
Australia had Australian citizenship, and this had risen steadily over the previous 15 years (DIMIA, 2002c:11). Australia has a higher rate of citizenship among the overseas-born population compared to other immigrant receiving societies such as the United States of America which had only a 40% naturalization rate of foreign born people counted in the 2000 Census (US Census Bureau, 2005).

Predictors of citizenship uptake have traditionally been related to length of residency (Evans, 1988) with those resident longer being more likely to take up Australian citizenship. Citizenship acquisition for long-term residents was considered a reflection of the gradual growth of local and national commitments. However, the reasons for acquiring citizenship can differ considerably between individuals and ethnic groups. The security of Australian citizenship is an important factor for some newcomers, and the higher rate of citizenship acquisition among relatively more recent Asian-born residents (Table 9.1) has been suggested as a response to the unstable or changing socio-economic or political conditions in the countries of origin (ABSa, 2006). A survey by Ip et al. (1997:373) identified that instrumental benefits, such as political participation, protection by the government, freedom, security and economic and educational advantages of citizenship were the main reasons cited by Asian immigrants for taking up Australian citizenship. These findings suggest that citizenship acquisition may be a strategic activity for some migrants beyond inclusion in the political arena of the host society.

For example, Hess’ (2006:97) research into the adoption of United States citizenship by Tibetans in exile found that the adoption of US citizenship was viewed both practically and ideologically, as “bolstering or reinforcing the attachment, and national pride Tibetans have in Tibet”. Naturalisation, on a practical level, was found to allow Tibetans to more easily maintain transnational connections, through ease of travel on a US passport. Naturalisation in the US was identified as empowering for Tibetans, and Hess argues that Tibetans (with US citizenship) are using their political voice effectively in both the national and global arena. In addition, the immersion and participation in democratic society is valued by Tibetans who take up citizenship, and is seen as important for the future Tibetan society once a solution is reached and exiled Tibetans can return. Hess argues that as the meanings of citizenship are transforming, the adoption of US citizenship for Tibetans does not mean abandoning other aspects of identity, including the attachment and loyalty to other nations.
While the benefits of citizenship can be seen to extend beyond the realm of the national political arena and into the global arena, problems associated with the denial of access to citizenship have also been identified in the literature. The use of temporary visas both in Australia and overseas have been criticised for delaying and ultimately excluding migrants and refugees from becoming full members of society. Mountz and her colleagues (2002) have explored the problem of temporary protection for Salvadoran asylum seekers in the US. They argue that the temporary programmes “lay bare the disconnections between the ways in which states see immigrants, and the ways in which immigrants see themselves and live their life.” (Mountz et al., 2002:351). Temporary Protection programs enable states more flexibility in their dealings and they argue that the stipulations of this “refugee-like, quasi-documented, non-citizen status prohibited Salvadorans from transitioning either into transnational spaces or ‘settling’ as documented migrants” (Mountz et al., 2002:352). Research in Australia echoes these findings, with Marston (2003b:14) arguing that the longer refugees are forced to live in limbo and are denied full citizenship rights and entitlements, the “heavier the toll becomes on individual refugees and their families”.

In Australia, and indeed around the world wherever temporary residency visas are used, a hierarchy has developed which differentiates more significantly between the temporary and permanent visa holders in the country, than those with permanent residency and citizenship. Referred to as ‘margizens’ by Martiniello (1994 cited in Castles and Davidson,
2000), they are recognised as people truly living on the margins of prosperous western societies. This group includes illegal workers, unauthorised family entrants, asylum seekers, refused asylum seekers awaiting deportation, former legal residents who have lost their status and those classed as temporary workers who have actually integrated permanently into the workforce. Margizens are not entirely without rights, and in most cases are entitled to the civil rights and legal protection available to all in a democratic society. However, their situation is precarious and the threat of deportation is constantly with them, and dependent on authorities. Some social rights may also be conferred, yet these are often the subject of controversy, as those with permanent attachment to the state may reject the extension of services to those without full citizenship status.

In Australia, the TPV regime is argued to have created two classes of refugees, and onshore-visaed refugees with temporary visas would fit the description of margizens put forward by Martiniello (1994). TPV holders are effectively excluded from participating in many aspects of society through the two-tier resettlement assistance system and conditions imposed by the visa. This creates the marginal attachment of onshore-visaed refugees to Australian society, and also prevents them from participating in formal political processes that could improve their situation through restricting access to permanent residency and citizenship status, and subsequent formal political participation. Under these conditions it could be expected that TPV holders would be equally, if not more determined to apply for Australian citizenship if the opportunity became available. The next section explores the citizenship intentions of recently arrived refugees and then looks at the reasons for applying for citizenship given by recent arrivals.

9.2.2 Citizenship Intentions Among Recent Migrants

The LSIA2 survey asked respondents to state their intention to take up Australian citizenship in the future. Analysis revealed that a very high proportion of all new arrivals intend to apply for citizenship in Australia. Table 9.2 shows there is very little difference between responses given in wave 1 and wave 2, indicating that citizenship intention does not change during the early resettlement period.

Table 9.2 also shows the near universal intention of Humanitarian Entrants to apply for Australian Citizenship. When analysed by country of origin (Table 9.3), there was negligible difference between the two case study groups of Iraqis and Sudanese, with all
respondents in both groups reporting they intend to apply for Australian citizenship in wave 2 interviews.

**Table 9.2 Intentions of Recent Migrants to Apply for Australian Citizenship, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family n=16860</th>
<th>Skilled n=13144</th>
<th>Humanitarian n=2411</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W1 Intend to apply for Australian Citizenship</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>98.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>97.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9.3 Intentions to Apply for Australian Citizenship by Country of Origin, 6 and 18 Months After Arrival**

Source: LSIA2 wave 1 and wave 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sudanese n=200</th>
<th>Iraqi n=909</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W1 Intend to apply for Australian Citizenship</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, as the LSIA2 survey took place prior to respondents having resided in Australia for 2 years, it is difficult to know how well these intentions are followed through into action. Statistics from the 2001 Census indicate that the rate of Citizenship among Iraqi born residents in Australia was 87.6% (DIMIA, 2003d:3). For the Sudanese born, 62.9% reported Australian Citizenship at the 2001 Census (DIMIA, 2004f:2). However, this figure was not adjusted for eligibility, and as many refugees have arrived recently in Australia, they may not have been eligible for Australian citizenship due to residency requirements.

All of the respondents in Adelaide who discussed citizenship with the researcher (17 respondents) stated that they intended to apply for Australian citizenship. One Sudanese woman, who had been living in Australia for several years, said she had received the application forms to fill out, but none of the other Sudanese had started the process of application. None of the Iraqi respondents were eligible to apply for citizenship, as they had not spent the requisite 2 years in Australia as Permanent residents. However, the Iraqi respondents (who were either still on TPVs or had gained PPVs) had strong views on becoming Australian citizens when they were eligible. Their desire to become Australian
citizens did not appear to have been effected by their treatment by the Australian government, and the benefits appeared to outweigh any lasting resentment against the Australian government.

9.2.3 Reasons for Applying for Australian Citizenship
The LSIA2 questionnaire asked respondents to provide their reasons for intending to take up citizenship. Many different reasons were provided, however the top five reasons provided were similar across all visa categories, with a few exceptions (Table 9.4).

Table 9.4 Top 5 Reasons Provided by Recent Migrants for Intending to Take up Australian Citizenship, 18 Months After Arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Recent Migrants</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Humanitarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>To stay here permanently</td>
<td>Spouse is Australian Citizen/family here</td>
<td>To stay here permanently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I like/love Australia/life better here</td>
<td>To stay here permanently</td>
<td>I like/love Australia/life better here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Spouse is Australian Citizen/family here</td>
<td>I like/love Australia/life better here</td>
<td>Belong to/Feel Australian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Belong to/Feel Australian</td>
<td>Belong to/Feel Australian</td>
<td>To bring children up here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>To bring children up here</td>
<td>To bring children up here</td>
<td>To have all the rights of an Australian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results indicate that safety and security issues are more important to Humanitarian entrants than other migrants, which would be logical, as the reasons for their presence in Australia is often linked to previous experiences of insecurity. Further, the citizenship of family members is more important for migrants who have been granted family reunion visas than other migrant types, again not an unexpected finding. While the responses in the LSIA2 survey suggest that refugees are more likely to take up citizenship than other migrants, the introduction of TPVs has made Australian citizenship unattainable for onshore-visaed refugees while they have temporary residency status.

Many respondents in Adelaide discussed the benefits of citizenship in Australia, with several themes arising from the interviews. The first, raised by the majority of respondents was related to the benefits of holding an Australian passport for travelling. A young Sudanese man thought it would be much better to have an Australia passport, because it would stop him “being asked for travel documents all the time”. The ability to travel freely
was clearly a major incentive for respondents, with many planning trips to their home countries within the next five years. Several of the respondents had experienced difficulties with travel in the past as a result of their nationalities. The acquisition of an Australian passport was seen to enable easier travel, and part of this was the perceived respect that an Australian citizen was accorded when travelling. Wang (2004:370) has suggested that in addition to the apparent function of identification, the passport “bears the imprints of class and classification in the world system” and these are transferred to individual passport holders. In the case of dubious passports, the bearer can experience great trouble as a result of institutions refusing to recognise certain documents and subsequently certain citizens.

Souad (an Iraqi respondent) explained how she wanted to be able to tell officials that she was an Australian and travelling on an Australian passport. She believed this would enable her to travel anywhere in the world, at any time, and be respected when she travelled. For these refugees who had previously experienced significant difficulties while travelling, the benefits must mean much more than most Australians could understand. For the Iraqi respondents, it seemed that their only way of returning to Iraq for family reunion visits would be to have an Australian passport. Many respondents indicated that if they returned to Iraq (as Iraqi citizens) and were identified as people who had fled the regime, they might never be allowed to leave the country again. The acquisition of an Australian passport would provide refugees with the ability to return to Iraq for visits without the fear of being detained.

The second theme arising in the interviews was the added security that citizenship provided to newcomers in a country. Both Sudanese refugees who had permanent status during early resettlement due to their immediate permanent residency classification, and the Iraqi refugees on TPVs raised this issue. A Sudanese woman described how she felt that even though she had permanent residency in Australia (and had done since arrival), she still did not feel like she had a ‘place’ in Australia. She hoped that citizenship would give her a proper ‘place’ here. Another Sudanese woman explained that she wanted to take out Australian citizenship because she was getting old and wanted to stay in Australia. This woman talked about citizenship as being part of her plan of organising her life for old age, and the way she perceived citizenship as a means of security in her later years. The Iraqi couple succinctly described their reasons for planning to take out citizenship – it was “to make sure we are in safety and for peace”. Colic-Peisker and Walker (2003) also found
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that Bosnian refugees identified security issues as a reason for taking up citizenship. They found that for most of the Bosnian refugees they interviewed, the Australian passport seemed to be a symbol of security rather than a meaningful sign of belonging (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003:343). From the interviews with Sudanese and Iraqi refugees in Adelaide, security also seems a major incentive to take out citizenship.

Another theme related to the rights that citizens have in Australia, compared to the rights of permanent and temporary residents. While only one respondent specifically mentioned the right to vote as an important benefit of becoming a citizen, other respondents mentioned rights they were acutely aware of being denied whilst living on temporary visas. An Iraqi man felt that Australian citizenship would be very important for his children because it would enable them to apply for any jobs in Australia, including the Police and Defence forces. Another Iraqi respondent felt that citizenship would be beneficial because it would eliminate the problems he had experienced with employers wanting to know if his visa entitled him to work in Australia. He believed that once he became a citizen he would be able to get a job more easily. Other rights that refugees associated with becoming a citizen included the right to own property in Australia (this is actually possible on a permanent residency visa) and being respected as a full member of the Australian community. The lack of importance given to the benefits of citizenship for political integration (right to vote and right to stand for office) can probably be attributed to the early resettlement stage that refugees were still in at the time of interviews. At this stage, the more practical benefits of citizenship related to establishing a new life and recreating a personal identity appear to outweigh the more political aspects of citizenship in Australia. These findings suggest that for these refugees, citizenship status is not so much linked to political integration as it is to other more practical benefits, a finding similar to Ip et al., (1997). As such, citizenship intention is not the most suitable predictive indicator of political integration of these refugees in the future, because it is does not appear that citizenship will be acquired solely for the purposes of political integration.

9.2.4 Residency Requirements for Citizenship

Many of the Iraqi respondents discussed their concerns at the proposed increase in residency period for citizenship applications. Refugees felt that the Howard government was proposing the changes so they would have to wait even longer before they could apply. One Iraqi family in particular, who had spent nearly a year in detention and four
years on a TPV, argued that if the residency period was extended from 2 to 3 or 4 years, they would have been in Australia for nearly 9 years prior to being eligible to apply for citizenship. The family felt this was incredibly unjust and was another example of the Australian government preventing them from properly settling in Australia.

Some parallels can be drawn here between Australia’s current attitude towards the integration of unauthorised asylum seekers and Germany’s policies on the integration of guest-workers and immigrants. The German government’s official denial of permanent settlement and citizenship was designed to maintain a distinction between Germans and foreigners and led to the marginalisation and exclusion of immigrants (Castles and Miller, 2003). Castles (1985) and others (Dorr and Faist, 1997; Koopmans, 1999) identified the prolonged period of insecurity and poor legal status as major reasons for the marginalisation of migrants, ethnic segregation and rising racism in Germany. Despite the permanent settlement of immigrants in Germany, citizenship rights have been strictly controlled and linked to ethnic descent rather than residence. While recent changes have relaxed this policy somewhat, the long-term effects of poor integration as a result of exclusionary policies in Germany continues (Alba, 2005). In light of the experiences in Germany, the prolonged exclusion of refugees from political participation and citizenship in Australia should be a cause for concern, given the results of negative integration in Germany. If Australia continues to use temporary protection, it risks the development of a group of margizens similar to the guest workers in Germany, and also risks the ensuing social problems related to the marginalisation of ethnic groups in a multicultural society.

9.2.5 Transnational Citizenship and Identity

Refugee respondents in Adelaide also discussed the possibility of dual citizenship. At present neither the Sudanese nor Iraqi government allows dual citizenship (although the Australian government has since 2001). One Iraqi woman described how she wished she could have Iraqi, Iranian and Australian citizenship, because she felt as though all these places were her home. Another Iraqi family were not worried that they had to give up their Iraqi citizenship if they took out Australian citizenship because they felt that their future was in Australia and they should become citizens in the country they planned to stay in. However, dual citizenship was seen as problematic for one Sudanese respondent. He was concerned that if he retained his Sudanese citizenship when he returned to visit Sudan, he could be conscripted against his will into the Sudanese army. This man was therefore not
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concerned that he may have to renounce his Sudanese citizenship if he became an Australian citizen.

Bloemraad’s (2004) research on dual citizenship uptake in Canada identified that immigrants with higher human capital (education and professional skills), rather than the economically marginalised were more likely to embrace dual citizenship. She argues that despite dual citizenship undermining some aspects of conventional nationality, it may be a means for countries to promote legal and political attachments among the overseas-born population. However, in the case of the Sudanese and Iraqi refugees in Australia, dual citizenship will not become a reality unless their home countries accept their citizen’s multiple allegiances and permit dual citizenship, irrespective of their economic integration experiences.

Yet the issue of multiple nationalities was not only related to political integration, but also extended to issues of identity, with the relationship between citizenship and personal identity also raised during interviews. The Iraqi respondent, who wanted to have citizenship in three countries because she felt an attachment to all of them, clearly saw a link between citizenship and belonging, but her comments also showed how her personal identity was constructed through an identification with each country. These multiple identities are an issue for all migrants, however the complexity of these multiple identities is further confused for those who have been experienced forced migration.

A Sudanese woman felt that the adoption of Australian citizenship would be important in moving away from her ‘refugee’ identity. Becoming a citizen would provide her with the legal attachment to her new country and enable her to be identified as ‘Australian’ rather than a ‘refugee’ in Australia. However, another Sudanese woman felt that even by gaining Australian citizenship she would never become a ‘real’ Australian because of her appearance as a black Sudanese woman. These issues of identity are discussed further in the next section.

In summary, the political integration of recently arrived refugees in Australia is difficult to investigate, given their exclusion from the major aspects of political life as a result of non-citizen status during early resettlement. While the reported intentions of refugees to acquire Australian citizenship in the future is promising, two significant issues could influence the
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refugee’s ability to act upon these intentions and fully integrate into the political life of Australia. The more significant of these issues is the prolonged exclusion from citizenship of refugees who were issued TPVs on release from detention in Australia. The outcome of the TPV policy has been the marginalisation of refugees from political processes in Australia and the proposed extension of the residency period could further alienate these refugees from society. In addition, this study has identified that dual citizenship may be desired by refugees as a way of maintaining ties with their home country and strengthening their attachment to Australia. However, despite Australia’s positive attitude towards dual citizenship, the two groups of refugees interviewed in this study will be unable to access this form of transnational citizenship due to the restrictions imposed by their home countries.

9.3 Identity

Literature related to identity issues for refugees in resettlement tends to focus on their development of a new identity after arrival. The process of forced migration can lead to people losing everything that previously represented and anchored their social identity (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003:341). The official act of granting refugee status can assist in re-attaching some aspects of identity (through the provision of legal documents), however the ‘refugee identity’ can only be an administrative identity and refugees are faced with the prospect of re-inventing their personal identity in resettlement.

9.3.1 Refugee Identity

One approach to the study of refugee identity has been the application of labelling theory, particularly in relation to the ways in which bureaucratic administration impacts on those labelled as refugees. One of the principle thrusts of this approach is considered by Griffiths (2002:11) to be “the way in which labelling both creates and sustains a condition of dependency for refugees”. Labelling theory in refugee studies has emphasised the top-down effects of administrative categories and procedures on refugee populations and how they react to these. Zetter’s (1991) study of the impact of labelling refugees within the context of housing resettlement schemes for displaced persons in Cyprus, found that refugees are extremely vulnerable to imposed labels due to the importance of symbolic meaning, the dynamic nature of the identity and most importantly “the non-participatory nature and powerlessness of refugees in the labelling process” (Zetter, 1991:39). An identity constructed upon such a label is therefore likely to be problematic. Given the
vulnerability of refugees to state interventions and labelling, investigations of the refugee identity and its impact are clearly warranted. However, ‘refugee’ is a flexible and dynamic label that conveys a complex set of values and judgements and these must be considered when explorations of refugee identity are undertaken.

It has been argued here that refugees included as part of this study are heterogenous and must be considered as individuals with unique situations. This view is of course contrary to the common depiction (both in Australia and overseas) of refugees as “masses of helpless people” (Moro, 2004:420), with their state of exile being the only significant identity marker needing to be considered. Karadawi (1983:540) explained that the international community, unable to address the violations of human rights by states, which are behind most forced migration crises, chose “to avoid the identity of each persecuted group and try to create the uniformity of a new person called a ‘refugee’”. Malkki (1995:13) argues that this homogenising, overarching image of refugees has been used to obscure the refugees’ actual socio-political circumstances. It is used to “erase the specific, historical, local politics of particular refugees, and retreats instead to the depoliticising, dehistorisising register of a more abstract and universal suffering” (Malkki, 1995:13). The application of the ‘refugee’ label, and thus the development of the ‘refugee identity’ has become a complicated legacy of the Convention.

For refugees, the bestowing of the label ‘refugee’ is initially critical for their protection and survival during flight and in exile. At a time when many other identity markers have vanished (occupation, family, homeland) the refugee identity can be vitally important as a way of understanding their place in the world. However, the benefits of the refugee identity are quickly lost during resettlement and an identity based on being a refugee becomes undesirable once a refugee enters mainstream society. Particularly in resettlement countries, refugees are viewed with suspicion (Iredale et al., 1997, Jupp 1994, Summerfield 1999; Colic Peisker and Walker 2003:342) and the ‘refugee identity’ is very often associated with traumatisation and welfare dependency (Jupp, 1994). Harrell-Bond (1999:143 cited in Colic Peisker and Walker, 2003:342) observed that “rather than viewing themselves as heroes who have stood up to and escaped oppressive regimes, today many refugees are reluctant to admit their status”. In Australia, the recent linkage in the political arena of refugees to that of uninvited, ‘illegal’ asylum seekers (Leach, 2003; McAllister, 2003; Gale, 2004) can only have contributed to the undesirability of a ‘refugee identity’
during resettlement. This issue is explored in the analysis of respondents’ comments on identity.

The discussions with respondents elicited a mixed range of responses on the way respondents felt about their refugee identity and the way they described themselves to others. While some refugees stated that when they introduced themselves to strangers they made reference to their nationality and refugee status, others did not voluntarily explain that they were refugees in introductions. This simple way of initially exploring the respondent’s individual perception of their ‘self’ was followed by deeper discussions on the refugee identity.

A Sudanese man who said he did not always mention he was a refugee, explained that he felt that many Australians did not know the difference between refugees and migrants, or refugees, asylum seekers and ‘boat people’. He believed that Australians were only just becoming accustomed to Africans in Australia, and that Australians did not know much about the civil war in Sudan, only about the problems in Darfur. The earlier discussion regarding the homogenisation of the refugee identity (Malkki, 1995) can be seen to play out in this man’s comments. It seems that he felt that his refugee identity would not be of assistance when introducing himself to Australians, as they could not understand the complexities of his situation, and may confuse him with a migrant, or an ‘illegal’ asylum seeker. The importance of his ‘refugee identity’ was still strong despite his reluctance to mention it to strangers, as it obviously meant much to the man, as demonstrated in his desire not be confused with an economic migrant or ‘illegal’ asylum seeker.

An Iraqi respondent discussed the experience of living in exile and its connection with a ‘refugee identity’. She explained that for her, the experience of living as a refugee in exile was the same in Iran or Australia. The ‘refugee identity’ was a constant in her life despite the upheaval of fleeing for a second time from Iran (after fleeing Iraq earlier in her life), being placed in detention in Australia and then being released to live in the community again, as she had in Iran. For her, the refugee identity was entwined with the temporariness and instability that she had experienced as a result of being a refugee. Until she was no longer living in exile, and was able to be sure of her attachment to Australia, this woman believed her identity would strongly be bound to her status as a refugee.
The desire to shed the ‘refugee identity’ during resettlement was described by a Sudanese woman. Vicki spoke of how she had been unhappy knowing she was a refugee ever since she had left Sudan, 20 years before coming to Adelaide. After so many years in exile she was desperate to become a citizen in the country she lived again, and discard her ‘refugee identity’. Vicky felt there was no dignity in being a refugee and she described how being a refugee felt like ‘nothing’.

Respondents also mentioned the TPV as having an impact on their identity. One Iraqi respondent said that she was very upfront with strangers about being a TPV holder. She said she was not ashamed of it because it was not her choice to have a TPV – it was the Australian government’s decision. However, another Iraqi couple said they were more cautious telling people that they were refugees on TPVs. This couple said that sometimes they have wanted to explain that they were refugees from Iraq, and had used people smugglers and spent time in detention, but that they were worried about other people’s reaction to them once they knew. From these comments it can be seen that the refugee identity is extremely problematic for those who have been issued temporary protection visas, and are thus associated with negative stereotypes by virtue of their temporary visa.

The negative stereotypes also extended to descriptions of ‘undeserving refugees’ and of economic migrants posing as refugees in order to come to Australia ‘easily’ and then be entitled to welfare. The suspicion surrounding boat people and ‘illegal asylum seekers’ has added to the problems associated with describing one’s identity in terms of being a refugee. A comment by Manal, an Iraqi who had been issued with a PPV after several years on a TPV, that she didn’t mind telling people that she was a refugee because “it was the truth”, highlights the importance for TPV holders of retaining their refugee identity in resettlement. The current situation of TPV holders having their cases re-examined when they apply for PPVs requires TPV holders to maintain their ‘refugee identity’ for many years after release from detention. This perpetuates their ‘difference’ from society and contributes to the risk of social exclusion during resettlement, as they constantly are reminded of their difference from other offshore-visaed refugees and Australian citizens.

9.3.2 Identity Definition through Connection with Homeland
While the ‘refugee identity’ was found to be problematic during settlement, the attachment to an identity based on the homeland was strongly held by many respondents. Pahjola
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(1991 cited in Cox and Connell, 2003:329) suggests that part of a migrant’s identity will always draw upon the country of origin. A transcultural approach to analysing refugee identity assists in understanding why a refugee would continue to hold onto an identity marker linked to their past. The transcultural or stages approach has been applied by Vasquez and Arayo (1988) and stresses the “processual nature of refugee adaptation which makes explicit the peculiar temporal dimensions of exile” (Griffiths, 2002:15). This temporal aspect of exile is emphasised as playing a part in the formation of identity over time, but also in connection with the continued importance of the past in the constitution of identities (Griffiths, 2002:16). A continuing dialogue is recognised between past and present, while lessening over time, and remains an ingredient of refugee identity. Vasquez and Arayo (1988) outline the stages through which Chilean refugees in France passed during resettlement. Initially refugees moved through a stage of trauma and loss, characterised by rejection of the host country and an idealisation of home, through to a stage of transculturation, where a consistent interplay between the culture of origin and host exists. The authors argue that refugees will eventually critically appraise the home country in the final stage, and this can be characterised as a ‘disturbance of myths’. Vasquez and Arayo conclude that this eventual shift towards the host society does not result in stability or the culmination of the new identity of the refugee, rather an acknowledgment of the possibilities that a re-formed identity could follow. In terms of this study of early resettlement experiences, it will be demonstrated that the initial stage identified by Vasquez and Arayo is also relevant to recently arrived refugees in Adelaide, who are still in the early stages of re-forming identities in a new land, and are ‘looking back’ to their identity links with their homeland.

Previous literature related to refugee identity formation has considered this ‘looking back’ as evidence of diasporic identities. Houston and Wright distinguish between diaspora as a condition and diaspora as a process, with the second conceptualisation argued to enable attention to be drawn to lived refugee experiences – “the making and remaking of diasporic identities” (2003:217). The authors found that “context influences the production of identities” when considering the Tibetan refugee experience in different exile communities (Houston and Wright, 2003:229). Tibetan refugee identities are heterogenous and life stories in various exile communities differ due to their context, yet also “always make reference to His Holiness (the Dalai Lama) and the Tibetan homeland” (Houston and Wright, 2003:229). As such, the homeland for this diasporic community is an important
element of the exiled population’s identity. Displaced Palestinians in Sydney were also found to draw on their life in exile as well as the ‘homeland’ when redefining their identities (Cox and Connell, 2003:341). In the case of Palestinians, where the homeland as a nation state to return to no longer exists, identity was found to be linked to the “communal sense of injustice” and “statelessness, nationalism and the now ‘imagined community’ of Palestine” were found to be more crucial than primordial elements of identity, such as language or local community (Cox and Connell, 2003:329). The homeland is clearly an important factor in identity formation, and for refugees who are in exile; the homeland can become a significant identity marker.

Analysis of the discussions with refugees about identity issues during resettlement revealed that their identity was still significantly attached to their birthplace and ethnicity. Along with introducing themselves as ‘refugees’, respondents also linked their identity to their homelands, specifically mentioning their origin as a marker of their identity. For example, Souad, an Iraqi, linked her birthplace explicitly with her identity, and saw it as a part of her that would never change; “I will always be an Iraqi, no matter how long I stay in Australia”. This is in contrast to her stated intention to take up Australian citizenship when she became eligible. She felt her attachment was first to her birthplace rather than the nation-state she will become a citizen in. This comment demonstrates the separation of identity from nationality and shows how Souad sees her identity as being separate from her nationality.

While the Iraqi respondents spoke about links between the homeland as the nation state of Iraq, the links with birthplace were more intertwined with ethnic identity in discussions with the Sudanese. For example, Victoria believed her identity would always be linked to “being Sudanese Dinka” and Lo identified as “Sudanese from the Kuku tribe”. For the Sudanese, ethnic groups have traditionally played a significant role in politics, and the Sudanese conflict has further politicised ethnic identities (Moro, 2004:420). The politicised ethnic groupings coupled with the divisive conflict between the North and South may be a factor of the strength of identity links with ethnicity for Sudanese refugees in resettlement, compared to Iraqis. For the Iraqis, it appeared from discussions in interviews that divisions within Iraq were drawn more strongly along religious lines (Shia and Sunni versions of Islam) rather than ethnic background, yet once in Australia, the homeland rose in importance as an identity marker.
While national identity still has a significant impact on identity during resettlement, the protracted exile experience that many refugees have faced further confuses their identities. Birthplace can become less important than where a refugee may have spent many years growing up. Several refugees who were interviewed for this study had spent a considerable part of their life living in exile outside of their ‘homeland’ before resettling in Australia. A young Sudanese man who had spent many of his school years in Kenya told the researcher he was very confused about his identity. He said he did not feel Australian, but also did not feel Sudanese or Kenyan. This young man was experiencing significant confusion about his identity, further exacerbated by the various cultural influences in his life. A young woman born in Sudan was also torn between an identity linked to her birthplace and one linked to the country in which she had spent most of her life. Akiki explained that while she told people she was Sudanese, she often had to explain that she could not tell them much about Sudan because she had left as a young girl and spent most of her life in Uganda, and consequently she could tell them much more about Uganda than Sudan. The Iraqis, who had fled Iraq and spent many years in Iran, also discussed these experiences of dual attachment to both birthplace and exile location contributing to their identity. The comment referred to above, from an Iraqi woman describing how she wished she could hold citizenship in Iraq, Iran and Australia, demonstrates the strength of attachment and impact on identity formation that the period living in exile can have on refugees.

While respondents in this study did not draw on the homeland for identity creation in the same way as Palestinians in Sydney, the importance of experiences in the homeland and in exile in forming personal identities bear similarities to the conclusions made by Houston and Wright (2003) on the influence of context in forming refugee identities resettlement. The complexity of identity formation for refugees who have spent prolonged periods in multiple locations of exile was highlighted in comments by refugees and sheds further light on the importance not only of homelands but also other locations as contributors to identity. Personal identity is also strongly influenced by cultural backgrounds, and the two issues of culture and identity are somewhat bound together for refugees during resettlement. The next section reveals the difficulties refugees face when they are confronted with new cultural values, norms and traditions in resettlement.
9.4 Cultural Adjustment

Of the host-related factors considered by Kunz (1981) to influence the resettlement experiences of refugees, the cultural compatibility between the refugee’s background and the new society was suggested to have the most influence on the successful resettlement of refugees. Compatibility in areas such as language, values, traditions, religion, politics, food and interpersonal relations were expected to make the resettlement process easier, particularly for those refugees who had experienced a traumatic migration. Yet for most refugees, resettlement in a country with a compatible culture is extremely unlikely, and the majority of refugees resettling in Australia come from vastly different cultural backgrounds.

The cultural adjustment experiences of refugees during resettlement were continually referred to in discussions with respondents. Adjusting to life in a new cultural environment was identified as a significant factor affecting their resettlement experiences in Adelaide. While the academic literature on refugee resettlement experiences invariably include references to ‘cultural differences’ (Danso, 2001; Valtonen, 2004), very little information and explanation is provided as to what these ‘cultural differences’ might be, and how they affect the resettlement experience. One problem, and a probable reason for the lack of literature specifically focussing on ‘cultural differences’ is the vast range of cultures represented among refugees resettling in the west, and the range of socio-cultural situations that refugees face in resettlement.

However, it is understood that cultural issues can cause considerable difficulties for refugees when attempting to adjust to life in a new culture. For example, refugee migration to developed countries has been characterised by differences as regards individualism and collectivism, gender equality and parent-child relationships between refugee groups and members of the host country (Liebkind, 1996). When discussed in this ‘clinical way’ it can be hard to understand the depth of these issues and the significance of them for refugees in resettlement. The maintenance of cultural norms, customs and belief systems can be the only link some refugees will have with their homeland and their past. While in Australia the policy of multiculturalism encourages the maintenance of cultural traditions, it will be demonstrated in the discussion below, just how difficult and confronting the maintenance of culture can be for new refugees.
Chapter 9: Citizenship, Identity and Cultural Adjustment

This section draws on discussions with respondents and service providers, and the literature related to refugee resettlement and ‘cultural difference’ in Australia. The aim is to explore some of the actual ‘cultural differences’ to try and understand how they play out in the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees from Iraq and Sudan. The discussion first looks at issues related to ‘culture shock’ during resettlement and then moves to issues related to cultural adjustment.

9.4.1 Culture Shock

More than simply a set of customs, culture:

Constitutes a way fully characteristic of organizing life, of thinking and of conceiving the underlying postulates of the principle human institutions, of relating to and interacting with other intelligent human beings. It influences our way of experimenting with the universe, providing a combination of intermediate patterns which channel our feelings and thoughts, making us react in a particular way, different from those who have been submerged in different patterns.

(Gutierrez, 1973:17)

From this perspective culture can be considered as “a network of shared meanings that are taken for granted as reality by those interacting within the network” (Zapf, 1991:105). When culture is viewed in this way, it is proposed that communities construct a common model of the world using their shared experiences, and then these categories from the model will be used as a setting against which new experiences can be interpreted. When people who have been sensitised to a particular model, experience new stimuli and then match it to their internal conceptual patterns, the person can give meaning to the outside event. People with different cultures will perceive the world differently because they have been exposed to different stimuli and developed different models for dealing with these situations. While people are interacting with others who share the same worldview, they may not be consciously aware of the particular patterns of meanings that they have in common. It is not until a person has contact with other people who see the world differently, that an individual may become aware of the cultural patterns they are using. Cross-cultural interactions (such as refugee resettlement in a Western host society) present situations where people can become acutely aware that there is no consensus of reality, and that they do not share the same worldview as others. In these situations, experiences of frustration and disorientation can occur as “predictions break down, incoming stimuli do not match familiar patterns, and actions are misinterpreted by others” (Zapf, 1991:106). Conflicts related to the differences in rules, meanings and values between cultures will be likely in these situations. The frustration and disorientation associated with contact with
people from a new culture can lead to emotional confusion and a decreased sense of wellbeing.

The anthropologist Oberg (1954) introduced the label of ‘culture shock’ for these experiences and initially depicted it as an illness. He termed it an occupational pathology for persons transplanted abroad “precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse” (Oberg, 1954:1). Later the elements of unfamiliar stimuli (Hall, 1959) and the reaction of the individual (Adler, 1975) were added to the description. Ruben et al. (1977) linked culture shock with the adaptation or adjustment process. ‘Culture shock’ has also been considered as a state of stress, and can be viewed as a stress reaction derived from an inability to understand cultural cues.

Culture shock is therefore understood to take place in any situation when cross-cultural engagement takes place, and obviously migrants are prime candidates for experiencing it. Prior preparation to migration is not considered a necessary antidote for culture shock. Research by Wyspianki and Fournier-Ruggles (1985) found that “even the most prepared (immigrant) will encounter some degree of culture shock” (Wyspianki and Fournier-Ruggles, 1985: 226). For refugees, arriving in Australia can present a situation that can induce culture shock. The unfamiliarity of everything in Australia can be overwhelming for refugees, and their pre-migration experiences, coupled with the bombardment of new information can quickly generate strong reactions. Culture shock could therefore be considered as more problematic for refugees than for economic migrants who have arrived with English skills and had the opportunity to prepare for life in a new country.

The difficulties associated with cultural adjustment and culture shock are not a new phenomenon among the most recently arrived refugees in Australia. Kunz (1988) discussed the problems faced by Displaced Persons arriving in Australia in the late 1940s, noting the culture gap between different value systems as difficult for the refugees to bridge. Viviani’s (1996) work with the Indochinese refugees in Australia has also examined the clash of cultures, particularly the intergenerational problems faced by the Vietnamese community. More recently Colic-Peisker and Walker (2003) discussed the influence of culture shock on Bosnian refugees. The impact of language barriers and the loss of ‘cultural proficiency’ were demonstrated as key factors that heightened the culture shock experienced by refugees. Many of the experiences recounted by Colic-Peisker and Walker
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were identified in the research with recently arrived refugees in Adelaide. The following section explores some of the more common aspects of culture shock discussed in the in-depth interviews.

9.4.1.1 Living in Cities

The highly urbanised Australian city was a new experience for some refugees from Sudan. For those refugees who had not spent time in large cities prior to arriving in Adelaide, the extreme differences between the rural African environment and urban Australian environment were overwhelming. For instance, one Sudanese woman from a rural background was amazed at how simple it was to obtain hot water in her home, and how easy it was to go to the shops and be able to buy any type of food she wanted, without worrying about food shortages or the quality. A particular comment made by a service provider about the type of assistance Sudanese refugees often need during the initial resettlement phase was that refugees often required instructions on how to operate gas stoves and heaters, and even assistance using traffic lights when they first arrived. A young Sudanese man recalled how busy the road outside the airport terminal was in Adelaide. These refugees were unprepared for the new experiences of urban life and found them to be very confronting while they adjusted to the new environment.

However, this was not a factor for other Sudanese respondents who had lived in cities prior to coming to Adelaide, nor the Iraqi respondents who came from more urbanised environments in Iraq and Iran. The Sudanese respondents who had lived in cities before were a little concerned that Australians would develop a stereotypical image of Sudanese refugees as ‘uncivilised’, and were insistent that the culture shock of entering an urban environment was a problem, but not a universal experience for all Sudanese refugees. Further, the Iraqi respondents were quick to assure the researcher that problems such as learning to use a stove were not relevant to them as they had lived in houses in towns before coming to Australia and already knew about life in a city. While some refugees who arrived with no previous experience of modern city life experienced culture shock, it was not a universal experience, given the wide variety of backgrounds among refugees.

9.4.1.2 Learning a New System

Perhaps one of the most discussed topics was the problem associated with learning new systems in Australia. Refugee respondents described on many occasions how things were
done differently in Australia, and that it just took time to learn the new way of doing things. This abstract way of discussing cultural adjustment problems required the researcher to prompt refugees to provide examples, and once prompted, a myriad of situations were described. The “bureaucratic style of Australian institutions” identified by Colic-Peisker and Walker (2003:345) was a common example of cultural adjustment put forward by refugees in Adelaide. The attendance at appointments with institutions, constant need to fill in forms and general process of communication between the government and refugees was extremely unfamiliar to many respondents. Language barriers compounded this cultural difference, and on several occasions respondents described how Centrelink had ceased payments as a result of them not understanding that attendance at appointments was mandatory, or when forms were not returned by a due date. It was found that experiences of learning new systems constituted culture shock for some refugees. Yet learning the system in these instances was vital for refugees as they attempted to re-establish a life in Adelaide. Social networks were often used to explain these new systems and how to navigate through them, with sponsors, earlier arrivals and ethnic community members (with an understanding of both the new system in Australia and the old system back home) providing assistance to respondents.

9.4.1.3 Community Living

Another adjustment identified in responses was related to the loss of community, and tied in with discussions on the social networks among refugees in resettlement. Several respondents saw the Australian suburban environment with low-density housing, as creating communities of people who did not know (or want to know) one another. A young Iraqi man, who had arrived as an unaccompanied minor and after release from detention was placed in a one-bedroom unit by himself, recounted a particularly poignant example. The young man recalled how shocked he was that not one of his neighbours had visited him, or even said hello to him in the street after he moved into the unit. He explained that he was shocked because in Iraq, when a new family moves into a neighbourhood, everyone visits them immediately to welcome them and they are provided with food from the community for the first couple of days. He was surprised that this did not happen in Australia, and felt that his neighbours did not care about who lived in their community because they never had anything to do with them.
Sudanese respondents also noticed the lack of close-knit communities in Australia. A difference between Australia and Sudan was recognised by a Sudanese woman and she explained that in Sudan everyone knows their neighbours, but in Australia people don’t mix with their neighbours very much. McMichael and Manderson (2004) also identified that suburban living in Melbourne required a major adjustment by newly arrived Somali refugees. The maintenance of cultural traditions which are bound up with traditional ethics of neighbourliness and reciprocity during resettlement was considered by respondents to be very difficult in Australia, in part due to the dispersed nature of the ethnic community, and also the challenges to these traditions as a result of contact with new Australian values.

For example, the lack of community among Australians was also seen by respondents to extend into the connections between and responsibilities towards family members. Several Sudanese respondents had undertaken training courses to work in aged care facilities and two respondents were employed as personal carers at the time of interviews. These respondents were very interested to talk with the researcher about their new jobs, as these types of jobs did not exist in Sudan. The respondents explained how they were still becoming accustomed to the idea of strangers (themselves) looking after old people who were unrelated to them. In Sudan, the family was responsible for caring for elders, and the idea of placing family members into institutions was particularly strange to these Sudanese women.

These stark differences that refugees were able to identify between their own culture and the Australian culture were very confusing for refugees and demonstrate the susceptibility of refugees to culture shock during resettlement. Beyond the shock of confrontation with a new set of values, traditions and norms, refugees were beginning to move into a period of adjustment, which raised additional issues in the interviews.

### 9.4.2 Acculturation

The analysis of in-depth interviews with refugee respondents identified that the majority of cultural adjustment issues were related to the collision of culturally defined family values, norms and practices with Australian society. Valtonen (2004) argues that if the rate of acculturation is very divergent in families, there is a greater risk of dysfunction and possible erosion of the family’s role in socialization and long-term care and support. Acculturative stress and crises have been identified as major precipitating factors for
family breakdowns (Valtonen, 1999) and the cultural adjustment process has been found to be a difficult experience for many refugee families.

9.4.2.1 Acculturation and the Impact on Family Dynamics

The traditional patriarchal societies from which the Iraqi and Sudanese respondents have been raised in, with distinct gender roles and power structures have created some adjustment issues for refugees resettling in Adelaide. One issue that was raised several times by Sudanese respondents was the issue of parenting payments from Centrelink. In Australia, welfare payments for dependent children are made directly to the mother. For some refugee families, whose primary source of income during early resettlement are welfare payments, this has become a problem. Traditionally men have been the breadwinners in Sudanese families, and have been in control of household expenditure. The system in Australia of making parenting payments to mothers has caused a change in roles within the family, and mothers are perceived as being granted all the money (and power) within the family by the government. This challenge to patriarchal authority is creating tensions within families. Respondents alluded to the break up of marriages as a result, although this had not occurred to any of the respondents.

Previous research into the acculturation of families in new societies has recognised these problems associated with the re-definition of gender roles, yet they have traditionally focussed on the impact of employment on gender roles. Thomas (1995) describes similar problems in families where men are unable to find employment in the host country, and former homemakers enter the workplace. She states “culturally-based conflicts may develop when encountered patterns of gender roles combine with greater access to paid employment for women and new economic, social, and emotional options creating an imbalance in the traditional power structure of the family” (Thomas, 1995:138).

Two female Iraqi respondents also discussed gender roles as changing within their family after arriving in Australia. While traditionally these women’s husbands would have taken the role of decision-maker and the head of the household, their husband’s psychological illnesses prevented them from carrying out their traditional roles in resettlement. In these circumstances the women have taken on these responsibilities, something that may not have happened in the same situation in Iraq, where other male extended family members would have been available to take on the role. These women both appeared to be relishing
the roles, and their integration with Australian society had been sped up as they were forced into situations where they were required to engage with the wider Australian community, which they may not have needed to if their husbands had been well.

The cultural adjustment of children has previously been recognised as occurring faster than for adults (Thomas, 1995). The influence of this differential rate of cultural adjustment plays an important role in the changes that occur in the family power relationships during resettlement. As children can learn languages much faster than adults, and have the opportunity to practice much more at school, their English skills often develop much faster than their parents. This was recognised by respondents and a Sudanese woman spoke of the problems she was having with her teenage son. The son had developed good English skills and become the interpreter for the family. He translated everything for his mother, including the letters that were sent home from his school. Initially this situation was acceptable, until the son was sent home with a letter from the school about his bad behaviour. The son did not translate the letter correctly and deceived his mother about the letter’s content. As the mother did not get the full account of the problem at school she felt it was not important to follow up. The problem apparently got worse, and further action was needed. The mother explained that now she gets a family friend to assist with translating correspondence, as she did not trust her son to tell her the truth. The power structure in this family had been upended as a result of the power accorded to family members who could communicate in English. The mother spoke of feeling a loss of control over the family, and was very aware that the children were adjusting much faster to life in Australia than she was.

In addition to communication gaps, cultural differences were recognised by refugees in regard to parental authority. Respondents described the way they saw Australian children being encouraged to question their parents by schools, under the guise of encouraging independent learning and decision-making. In both Sudanese and Iraqi cultures, parents are consulted on decisions regarding every aspect of children’s lives, from the clothes they wear to their future career paths. The respondents in the in-depth interviews raised concerns that this authority was being undermined in Australia and their children no longer had the same respect for their opinions as they did before coming to Australia. The payment of Youth Allowance (welfare payments for young people) directly to teenagers
further exacerbated the loss of control felt by parents. These issues were causing considerable friction for some families.

Cultural practices with respect to child discipline were discussed in interviews. All respondents who discussed the topic were quick to mention they understood that corporal punishment was not accepted in Australia. Several Sudanese respondents, who had taken part in pre-departure cultural orientation programs in Africa, remembered being told this information at those sessions. Parents had been advised that if there were problems within a family in Australia, the children were allowed to call the police on their parents. This was a completely foreign concept for people who had come from a society where a parent’s right to discipline a child was not questioned by anyone in the community. One Sudanese woman also noted that she had been instructed that she was not to leave children alone at home when she came in Australia. She had been somewhat surprised by this comment, and felt it was a little patronising. This mother was not concerned at the need for a change in parenting styles, because she believed children became confused when they were beaten.

Several refugee mothers commented on the difficulties of raising children in single parent refugee families. Fathers are traditionally responsible for child discipline, and without their partners in Australia, parenting had been very difficult for some of these women. Problems arose when children did not respect their mother’s disciplinary actions, and in some cases, males from the community were needed to impose discipline on the children. This was particularly a problem for mothers with teenage sons.

Another issue, already touched on in discussions above, is the difference in expectations of independence for young adults in Australia. Both Iraqi and Sudanese respondents raised this issue, often making comments such as “Australian parents don’t care about their children when they turn 18” because they encourage them to leave home. The researcher had many conversations with respondents about this issue, with refugees seeking to understand the differences in parenting styles, which would lead to children being expected to leave home when they became legal adults. This issue was a prime example of cultural distance between the researcher and the refugees, yet the refugees were found to be more than willing to try and understand the new culture they were living in. However, the curiosity was not matched with any possible thoughts of changing the tradition of young adults in their own family staying at home until married. For one Iraqi family with an adult
son, the problem of a collision in cultures was compounded by what they perceived as
government policies that contributed to the breakdown of families. The higher rates of
Youth Allowance paid to young adults when they live outside the parental home were
interpreted as the government encouraging young people to reject their cultural traditions.

As a result of the losses that refugees have experienced in exile, the desire to keep families
together during resettlement was extremely strong. However, the difficulties of keeping
families together in Australia are highly practical in nature, as the following example
shows. A Sudanese woman, with 8 children in her care (four of her own and four of her
deceased brother) was interviewed in Adelaide. She spoke many times of the difficulty she
was having finding a suitable house to live in with all of the children. One of the children
had already turned 18 and two others were close to turning 18 years old. The Sudanese
respondent described to the researcher how a SAHT worker had told the woman she should
take a smaller house than currently needed because most of the children would move out in
the next couple of years and then she would not need such a large house. These comments
had deeply upset the woman who explained she had promised her brother to keep the
children all together in Australia. This respondent was having a difficult time adjusting to
these new cultural norms in Australia, and remembered telling the SAHT worker that in
her culture her children will not leave home until they are married. For her, the increased
independence of children in Australia was a significant culture shock.

These experiences of cultural adjustment discussed by respondents from Iraq and Sudan
indicate that for these two groups, family dynamics are being changed as a result of
migration. Culture clash between norms of the old and new societies are well known to
create tensions in migrant families (Collins, 1993:299) and it is evident from these
refugee’s experiences that the intersection of cultures can be quite a difficult experience.
For refugees who perceive their cultural backgrounds to be collectively focussed, the
intersection with the Australian culture which is perceived as much more individualistic is
incredibly confronting and a source of much confusion. Specifically, within the family, the
influence of different cultural norms and traditions can give rise to inter-generational and
inter-gender conflict. Yet these experiences of cultural adjustment do not appear to be
influenced by visa category. For Iraqi and Sudanese refugees, the experiences of cultural
adjustment appear to be predominantly related to the cultural differences between
themselves and Australians, much in the same way that refugees in the past have
experienced cultural adjustment problems. However, the influence of the visa category may not emerge until later in the resettlement process, as the impact of the exclusionary nature of the TPV moves into the cultural integration sphere of resettlement. Particular aspects of the TPV policy, such as the ineligibility of TPV holders for AMEP and subsequent slow development of English proficiency may have longer term impacts on the cultural adjustment of TPV holders, as their prolonged exclusion from society may impact negatively on the cultural adjustment of those refugees. Therefore while cultural adjustment does not appear to be affected by visa category during early resettlement, there may be longer-term impacts that are as yet unknown.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed three final aspects of the refugee resettlement experience of integration in Australia. The political integration of refugees was considered in terms of citizenship intentions. Extremely high rates of positive intentions to take up citizenship were identified for both of the case study groups. The reasons for applying for citizenship were related to three themes, ease of travel on Australian passports, the security associated with citizenship of the country a refugee resides in and the political and social rights associated with citizenship in Australia. An issue of great importance that was raised by refugees in the in-depth interviews was that of the possible extension of residency periods prior to eligibility for citizenship. The introduction of such changes could further prolong the resettlement period of refugees in Australia and concerns were raised over it being a further barrier to full settlement.

Identity issues were explored in the in-depth interviews with refugees in Adelaide. The ‘refugee identity’ was found to be problematic in resettlement due to the connotations associated with the term. Refugees felt a stronger identification with the homeland than their new country of residence. However, this was also shown to be problematic as the prolonged exile experiences of some refugees diffused the attachment to homeland and strengthened attachments with other significant locations.

The cultural adjustment of refugees was also investigated, with ‘culture shock’ found to be a pervasive experience in many aspects of resettlement. Some differences were noted between the Sudanese and Iraqi respondents, with Iraqi respondents not experiencing culture shock in regard to living in an urban environment to the same degree as Sudanese
refugees who had come from rural backgrounds. Other aspects of resettlement, which lead to culture shock, included learning a new bureaucratic system and the loss of tight-knit communities. Further cultural adjustment issues were recognised by respondents, and related to the shifts in gender roles within families, the change in power relations between parents and children, discipline issues and the differences in attitudes between refugees and Australians towards children and independence. While the cultural and political integration of refugees during early settlement does not always receive adequate attention in the literature, it has been shown that these issues can have a significant impact on the experiences of refugees who resettle in the West.
Chapter 10

Implications and Conclusions

10.1 Introduction
The introduction of the onshore refugee program in response to unauthorised asylum seekers has marked a new era in refugee resettlement in Australia. Refugees are now differentiated by their mode of arrival, and the onshore program offers refugees only temporary protection and minimal resettlement assistance, in comparison to the permanent protection granted to offshore-visaed refugees. This study has argued that the introduction of the Temporary Protection Visa regime and subsequent two-tier resettlement assistance system has had a significant impact on the resettlement experiences of refugees issued visas onshore. Through a comparative examination of refugees’ experiences in a range of resettlement spheres, the integration of two groups of refugees has been examined. This has provided an opportunity for the inter-related nature of resettlement issues to be considered. This final chapter of the thesis draws together conclusions from the analysis and discusses the implications of the findings. The chapter summarises the findings, drawn from the LSIA2 and in-depth interviews with recently arrived refugees in Adelaide, in relation to the objectives. Following this, some comments about future trends of refugee resettlement and integration, including a discussion on the future of temporary protection are made. The final part considers the limitations of the thesis and suggests new avenues of research that have been identified in this study.

10.2 The Integration Experience within Four Spheres of Resettlement
The overarching aim of this thesis has been to investigate the impact of current refugee visa category policy on the resettlement and integration experiences of recently arrived refugees in Australia. In pursuing this aim, three objectives were established to focus the research into specific areas that were identified as significant in relation to this study. The first objective, to investigate the integration experiences of recently arrived refugees within four spheres of resettlement: economic, social, political and cultural was developed to enable a broad investigation of the resettlement experience and the consideration of interrelationships between various resettlement factors. Integration was considered in terms
of Kuhlman’s (1991) definition and the analysis of resettlement within these spheres was presented in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

10.2.1 Refugee Experiences of Economic Integration
The integration of recently arrived refugees within the economic sphere of resettlement was found to be limited by poor employment prospects, barriers to education and training, low incomes and significant financial pressures during early resettlement. The experiences of current new arrivals reflect those of earlier waves of refugees in relation to economic integration. However, the two-tier resettlement assistance system was found to compound the already significant disadvantages faced by refugees, to further reduce their prospects of economic integration.

Low rates of employment among recently arrived refugees significantly effect integration into the economy in Australia. Many refugees are undertaking training (particularly English language courses during resettlement) rather than working during early resettlement. Those refugees who are working are concentrated in low-skill and low-paid occupations. These factors combine and result in low incomes for refugees during early resettlement, which contribute to the financial difficulties faced during this period. The current TPV regime compounds these problems for onshore-visaed refugees and creates further difficulties in the economic sphere of integration. For example, the temporary nature of the visas issued to onshore refugees was found to cause confusion among employers who were wary of onshore-visaed refugees’ legal work status. This further disadvantaged TPV holders when applying for jobs and created another barrier to entry to the labour market. TPV holders were more disadvantaged by the restrictions placed on their eligibility for social security. The lower rate of payment for unemployed TPV holders, and the exclusion of fulltime students from the Special Benefit Payment was another factor contributing to the financial stress experienced by TPV holders.

The implications of these findings are that refugees experience poor economic integration in the early resettlement period and therefore require additional assistance to improve their economic integration prospects in the longer-term. Without additional assistance, refugees face marginal attachment to the labour force and a high probability of reliance on welfare. Yet poor economic integration also reflects a lost opportunity and waste of human resources among the refugee population. This study has shown that the educational
qualifications held by refugees are diverse, and that they are prepared to undertake further study to increase their prospects in the labour market. However, despite the programs that are in place to assist refugees have their qualifications recognised, find employment and undertake study, there still are additional barriers that hinder their ability to take up these opportunities. While it is recognised that the early resettlement period is a difficult time for many new arrivals, the prolonged exclusion from economic activities can only add to the problems refugees face integrating with Australian society.

10.2.2 Refugee Experiences of Social Integration
The investigation of integration experiences within the social sphere encompassed three aspects of social integration. English language, health and social networks were examined as indicators of social integration. It was found that English proficiency continues to be lower among refugees than other migrant groups arriving in Australia. However, improvements in English proficiency are greater among refugees than other migrants during early resettlement. The availability of English classes through the AMEP was found to be a significant reason for this improvement, but the TPV policy preventing onshore-visaed refugees access to these courses, and the part-time nature of courses were limiting the development of English for some refugees. Limited English proficiency was found to be a significant barrier to social integration in Australia, yet it also contributed to problems in the economic sphere of resettlement. The availability and appropriateness of interpreters was also identified as a problem for some recently arrived refugee groups, particularly those from new and emerging communities.

It was also found that the health status of refugees is much lower than other migrants on arrival, and the LSIA2 results indicate that health status does not improve greatly during early resettlement, in opposition to previous findings. Onshore-visaed refugees were found to experience additional health problems as a result of their detention, insecure status in Australia and problems with access to healthcare. The TPV was found to create confusion among health care providers who were unsure of the eligibility of temporary residents to publicly funded healthcare in Australia. Health problems for some refugees affect their social integration by limiting their ability to participate in society.

The social networks of recently arrived refugees were found to include a low level of interaction with Australian society. English proficiency was a major problem restricting
social interaction between Australians and new refugees, however a lack of opportunity was also identified, as low employment rates meant very few refugees were undertaking activities that led to opportunities for social interaction. In addition the ability of recently arrived refugee communities to provide assistance through social networks is extremely limited during early resettlement. The TPV policy has also had an influence on the social network development of onshore-visaed refugees. Cleavage between some members of the established Iraqi community and Iraqi TPV holders had occurred, which restricted the ability of the new arrivals to develop social networks with these ethnic community members. This had implications for the ability of new arrivals to draw on the experience and assistance of more established community members.

Further, the findings indicate that the role of civil society might be growing in importance in terms of facilitating the resettlement of recently arrived refugees. For example, the intervention and assistance provided to refugees facing exclusion from the health care system by civil society indicates that as governments continue to withdraw from the provision of assistance, the burden increasingly falls on civil society to ensure that refugees receive the resettlement assistance they need to participate in society. The implications of these findings suggest that the social integration of recently arrived refugees is dependent to a degree on English proficiency, but that health problems and opportunities for engagement with Australian society are also factors affecting their social integration prospects.

10.2.3 Refugee Experiences of Political Integration

It has been difficult to draw any strong conclusions regarding the political integration of refugees during early resettlement, due to the policies restricting refugee’s involvement in formal political processes, and a lack of data on other informal political activities. The exploration of political integration experiences was constrained by the level of ability of recently arrived refugees to take part in political activities during early resettlement. Language barriers, a lack of knowledge of the political system, competing personal and family priorities and exclusion from voting and standing for public office had previously been identified as issues reducing the ability of recently arrived refugees from taking part in political activities in the host country. A significant barrier to political activity in Australia is the absence of full citizenship rights, and a residency period is imposed on new
arrivals before they can apply for citizenship. Therefore the most appropriate and available indicator of future political integration was that of citizenship intention.

Recently arrived refugees indicate a strong desire during early resettlement to become Australian citizens. However, the reasons provided for intending to take up citizenship did not reflect purely political motivations and security, travel and a sense of belonging were identified as key reasons for intending to apply for citizenship. This study found that increased residency periods for citizenship eligibility were not welcomed by recently arrived refugees, some of whom saw citizenship as the final stage of resettlement. Dual citizenship in the future was seen as an avenue by refugees for maintaining an attachment with their homeland, as well as with Australia.

The implications of these findings suggest that refugees are very willing to take up Australian citizenship as a way of securing ease of travel and a permanent place in Australian society. However, citizenship intention may not be a good indicator of future political participation, given that citizenship was rarely linked by refugee respondents to other rights (such as voting and standing for election) and responsibilities. As such, further investigation into the political participation of refugees later in the resettlement period, once citizenship is conferred would be needed in order to ascertain the actual political integration of refugees in Australian society.

10.2.4 Refugee Experiences of Cultural Integration

Issues of identity re-formation and cultural adjustment were considered within the resettlement sphere of cultural integration. The experiences of refugees within the cultural sphere of resettlement, while not as easily measured as aspects of economic and social integration, revealed some significant findings regarding the experiences of refugees as they resettle and integrate into a new environment. Analysis of discussions regarding refugees and the re-formation of their personal identities revealed that while an identity based on being a refugee was helpful during flight and in exile in refugee camps and detention, once refugees began the resettlement process in Australia, the ‘refugee identity’ became problematic. The connotations associated with the term ‘refugee’ in contemporary Australian society are extremely negative as a result of recent events (Leach, 2003; McAllister, 2003; Gale, 2004), and many refugees discussed their desire to ‘lose’ their refugee identity. Refugees felt a much stronger identification with their homeland than
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with Australia. Identity re-formation based on the homeland as a significant identity marker was found to be widespread among the interview respondents in Adelaide. However, this aspect of identity was found to be difficult for some recently arrived refugees who had experienced prolonged periods in exile outside their homeland, prior to arriving in Australia. A diffusion and division of attachment was found to occur among these refugees who had spent extended periods in Uganda, Kenya and Iran.

Culture shock was a pervasive experience for refugees during resettlement. However, the experiences that contributed to culture shock differed between the Iraqi and Sudanese. It was found that some Sudanese from rural backgrounds experienced severe adjustment problems as they resettled in an Australian urban environment. For other Sudanese from urban backgrounds and most of the Iraqi respondents, these experiences were less confronting. Learning a new bureaucratic system was identified as a difficulty for many refugees and was also a source of culture shock. Cultural adjustment problems for recently arrived refugees were dominated by changes in family dynamics as a result of traditional family values and norms based on collectivism being challenged by the influence of individualistic aspects of Australian culture and society. These identity formation and cultural adjustment issues were found to compound the problems faced by recently arrived refugees during resettlement. While cultural adjustment problems would be difficult to avoid, it would appear from discussions with respondents that further information about Australian culture and customs, and increased interaction with Australians may assist refugees negotiate cultural adjustment more successfully.

10.3 The Influence of Resettlement Policies on Integration

The second objective of the study was to determine the influence of resettlement policies on the integration of recently arrived refugees. This section summarises the major findings regarding the relationship between specific policies of the TPV regime and the integration of refugees in resettlement.

Social exclusion as a concept involves a broadening of the focus of deprivation away from purely financial deprivation. The process of social exclusion has been considered in this thesis in terms of Giddens (1998) description of exclusion and the role that certain mechanisms play in acting to detach people from the mainstream. The findings indicate that the TPV regime undeniably acts as such a mechanism, which deprives a specific group
of refugees from a range of opportunities that amount to social exclusion. The multifaceted nature of the visa conditions and policy of limited resettlement assistance were found to significantly influence the integration of refugees and led to social exclusion in all four dimensions identified by Burchardt et al. (2002). The following discussion summarises the ways in which TPV holders face social exclusion as a result of the TPV policy.

10.3.1 Dimensions of Social Exclusion

Consumption

The two-tier system of resettlement assistance is most pronounced in the differential entitlements for onshore and offshore-visaed refugees. The prohibition of TPV holders from accessing the full range of resettlement assistance via the IHSS program compounds other social exclusion factors. The lack of assistance with orientation, household formation and accommodation severely impacts on the initial resettlement experiences of TPV holders. It was found that the lack of initial support was delaying the resettlement process for TPV holders and contributing to the stress experienced by refugees during early resettlement. While the South Australian Government and NGOs were able to provide some assistance in this area, it was unable to be provided as consistently as the IHSS.

The two-tier resettlement assistance system also restricts TPV holder’s access to welfare payments during resettlement. Offshore-visaed refugees are eligible for the entire range of government welfare payments, including such benefits as rent assistance, pharmaceutical allowance and health care cards. TPV holders on the other hand, have restricted access to minimum levels of federally funded welfare assistance (Special Benefit) and have strict conditions placed on payments, such as dollar for dollar reductions when part time work is found and the ceasing of payments if full time study is undertaken. This differential policy on welfare entitlements contributes to the social exclusion of TPV holders; by restricting their ability to access much needed financial assistance during resettlement.

Another situation where the two-tier resettlement assistance program is leading to social exclusion is the lack of federally funded on arrival accommodation and further housing assistance for TPV holders. While offshore-visaed refugees are eligible for on-arrival accommodation and assistance in finding suitable accommodation, TPV holders are excluded from these programs. While in South Australia, the state government and some charities had been able to fill the gap in service provision and offer accommodation to new
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arrivals, the possibility of exclusion from the housing market was considered likely in other states where the State Governments were not providing the same level of housing assistance.

Health care was another area that was found to be a source of social exclusion for TPV holders as a result of the TPV policy. Initial confusion related to the introduction of the TPV and its entitlements had caused accessibility problems for TPV holders to health care. While offshore-visaed refugees were permanent residents and treated as mainstream patients, TPV holders faced discrimination in the health care system as a result of their temporary residence status.

**Production**

Within the production dimension of social exclusion, it was found that the limitations on TPV holders accessing specialised job search assistance contributed to their exclusion from the labour force. Offshore-visaed refugees are eligible for a range of specialised job search assistance and training programs through Centrelink and the Job Network. TPV holders are ineligible for all but basic assistance for job seekers. Without the specialised assistance, the research found that TPV holders had difficulty entering the labour market. In addition, the temporary nature of the visa confused employers and acted as a tool of discrimination. Further, the lack of adequate English language classes for TPV holders were found to compound their disadvantage in the labour market. Hence the policies of restricting access to job search assistance and training programs, including English language classes were found to lead to severe social exclusion within the production dimension.

Further evidence of the TPV policy leading to exclusion within the production dimension was found in relation to education and training opportunities for recently arrived refugees. Offshore-visaed refugees, as permanent residents are eligible for the full range of education and training programs within Australia, including eligibility for HECS for tertiary study. On the other hand, TPV holders as temporary residents are restricted in their ability to access education and training opportunities. By treating TPV holders as international students and requiring them to pay full fees for tertiary study up front, the policy effectively excludes TPV holders from tertiary study in Australia. In addition, it was found that even for those TPV holders who are fortunate enough to secure scholarships to university, the TPV policy still acts in an exclusionary way, preventing them from
accessing a living allowance while studying full time. In addition, the exclusion of TPV holders from AMEP classes restricts TPV holders’ access to other study and training options, as their ability to develop English skills in inadequate classes diminishes their ability to move into mainstream training schemes.

**Political Engagement**

In terms of exclusion from political engagement, it was found that both offshore-visaied refugees and TPV holders face exclusion during early resettlement due to their inability to acquire Australian citizenship, and hence take part in formal political activities during this period. However, as offshore-visaied refugees become permanent residents on arrival in Australia, they become eligible to apply for citizenship after two years in Australia. TPV holders, on the other hand, are classified as temporary residents on their release from detention, and are ineligible to apply for citizenship while they remain on TPVs. In addition, while many TPVs have now been granted PPVs, the residency period begins once a PPV is granted, ignoring their prior residency in Australia on temporary visas. This policy of initially denying TPV holders access to citizenship while they remain on TPVs, and then continuing to delay their applications for citizenship after the granting of PPVs is a serious barrier to inclusion, in particular the political engagement of onshore-visaied refugees. In addition, the ineligibility of TPV holders for the AMEP restricts their ability to develop the necessary language skills to take part in political activities in Australia, further excluding them from understanding the political processes that have a significant impact on their lives. Without the ability to vote in elections, stand for public office, travel on Australian passports and enjoy the full rights as Australian citizens, onshore refugees are effectively prevented from making the final transition in the resettlement process.

**Social Interaction**

Several aspects of the TPV policy limit the social interaction of refugees. The research has found that language barriers are a significant problem leading to social exclusion for TPV holders. The ineligibility of TPV holders to access adequate language classes limits the development of English language skills necessary for social interaction beyond the ethnic group. While the research found that some offshore-visaied refugees also face language barriers during resettlement, their entitlement to the AMEP reduced the likelihood of ongoing social exclusion as a result of poor English proficiency.
In addition, social interaction for TPV holders was restricted by policy, which prevents TPV holders from applying for family reunion. This policy caused significant psychological distress for refugees separated from their family members, reducing their ability to actively engage with Australian society. The social networks available to those refugees who had been able to reunite with family members were found to be much larger than TPV holders who remained isolated from their families and ethnic communities. The lack of social interaction further compounded the culture shock for recently arrived refugees.

The TPV policy was also found to restrict the ability of refugees to interact socially by denying TPV holders’ access to programs to assist them to adjust to a new culture. Offshore-visaed refugees are provided with pre-departure cultural orientation sessions and continued assistance with cultural adjustment issues during resettlement. TPV holders receive little, if any cultural orientation while in detention and are released into the community with little knowledge of Australian cultural practices. This was found to lead to additional social interaction problems as a result of TPV holders being unaware of some Australian cultural norms and traditions. This lack of cultural knowledge was found to have the effect of reducing refugee’s confidence in social situations, leading some to avoid the few opportunities they had to interact with Australians.

Finally, social interaction was found to be limited further by the low levels of employment related to inadequate job search assistance, and limited access to training programs resulting from the TPV policy. The policy is acting to prevent access to the workplace, which is a traditional site of social interaction for new refugees.

From the above summary of the links between the TPV policy and subsequent social exclusion of onshore-visaed refugees, it becomes apparent that several key aspects of the policy are acting in interrelated ways to compound the resettlement problems for TPV holders. The importance of adequate English language classes for recently arrived refugees is better understood when the linkages between language barriers and social exclusion in all dimensions are revealed. Language problems compound other settlement problems created by the two-tier resettlement assistance system, and act as a severe barrier to the social inclusion of a marginalised group of refugees.
The implications of these findings suggest that the TPV regime is leading to the development of onshore-visaed refugees on TPVs as a group of margizens. The additional disadvantages faced by an already vulnerable population as a result of specific government policies is a reflection of the lack of compassion displayed by the Australian government towards some of the world’s most persecuted people. The TPV policy continues this discrimination in Australia, by creating circumstances that effectively prevent refugees from getting on with their lives, in the same way as refugees who had been issued permanent protection visa offshore. The continued use of policies such as the TPV in Australia amounts to a commitment of the Australian government to the ongoing presence of two classes of refugees in Australia. Such a situation is unlikely to result in a cohesive, tolerant society and paves the way for further divisions along racial and religious lines in Australia.

10.4 Recommendations from the Findings
The third objective of the study was to make recommendations for policy makers and service providers that could reduce social exclusion and improve the integration prospects for new refugees. From the findings discussed above, a range of policies and actions has been highlighted that are having a negative impact on the resettlement experience for many refugees. This section addresses these issues by proposing policy changes which could reduce social exclusion and improve the integration prospects for all recently arrived refugees in Australia, regardless of their visa category. Policy recommendations are divided by level of government. Some comments are then made regarding the findings for service providers.

10.4.1 Recommendations for the Federal Government
As the jurisdiction with the most influence on the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees, policy recommendations for the federal government are made first. The findings of the thesis have revealed that the current TPV regime and associated two-tier resettlement assistance system are leading to the possibility of social exclusion for onshore-visaed refugees. Thus, an obvious policy recommendation must be the eradication of the TPV regime.
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**Recommendation 1**
That the federal government cease the use of the Temporary Protection Visa for onshore-visaed refugees and provide all persons found to be in need of protection with Permanent Protection visas and permit all refugees access to the full range of resettlement services.

This significant change in policy away from exclusionary, punitive principles would enable the federal government to ensure that policies regarding the resettlement of all refugees were acting to encourage the social inclusion of refugees into Australian society and were socially just. A return to a more humanitarian approach to resettlement across the board is required if Australia is to regain an international reputation for high standards of resettlement assistance and facilitate the successful integration of new arrivals. However, the improbability of such a policy change within the near future needs to be recognised, given the current political environment in Australia, and thus additional policy recommendations need to be made, which if implemented, would at least improve the integration and inclusion prospects of onshore-visaed refugees.

The first of these recommendations is to remove the two-tier resettlement assistance system currently in place and enable all refugees living in the Australian community, no matter which visa they have been issued, to have full access to the resettlement assistance programs. Specifically this would entail TPV holders gaining access to the IHSS, entitlement to the full range of welfare payments and job search assistance, access to HECS for tertiary education and access to AMEP. In addition, the opportunity to apply for family reunion should be extended to TPV holders. The resumption of resettlement assistance being across the board to all refugees would go some way to ensuring the social integration prospects of recently arrived refugees were improved during early resettlement.

**Recommendation 2**
That the federal government permit all refugees to access the full range of resettlement services.

This recommendation would also head off the possible future development of a three-tier resettlement system, whereby further differentiation of resettlement assistance would be made between refugee visas, SHP visas and TPVs. At present there is already some
differential between refugee and SHP visas and this has the possibility of being increased. From the limited findings related to the differences between the refugee and SHP visa entitlements, it appears that formal resettlement assistance is continually being reduced and there is an expectation that it will be replaced by sponsor assistance. The ability of recently arrived refugees to provide resettlement support for sponsored family members is limited while they are still in the process of resettling themselves. Therefore the current policy of requiring sponsors to provide many aspects of assistance during resettlement is unlikely to result in the successful resettlement of both the sponsor and sponsored refugees. By returning to a system whereby all refugees are entitled to the full range of resettlement assistance, the successful resettlement outcomes of integration and inclusion would more likely occur at a faster rate. Australia has developed some excellent resettlement programs and practices that appear advanced by world standards (DIMIA, 2003a:45). These programs were developed for the very reason of reducing exclusion and promoting the integration of new arrivals. It seems extremely discriminatory to exclude those refugees in greatest need of assistance from these excellent programs.

A third recommendation is made to improve the experiences of TPV holders when they are released into the community after spending time in detention. This research has identified that TPV holders have received very little if any cultural orientation or language classes while in detention and that they are unprepared for life in Australia when released from detention. The provision of a cultural orientation course similar to that offered to African refugees would assist in preparing TPV holders for life in Australia. Further the provision of basic English courses must be a component of these cultural orientation classes if refugees are to have any hope of settling quickly in the community.

**Recommendation 3**
That the federal government provide pre-entry cultural orientation and language classes in detention centres in order to equip refugees with some basic survival skills prior to release in the community.

Some particular areas where additional resettlement assistance for refugees may be needed were also revealed. English language proficiency is extremely important for successful integration in all spheres of resettlement, yet some refugees feel that they are not receiving enough tuition and opportunities to practice English in order to improve their proficiency
quickly. A recommendation is therefore made to increase the intensity of language courses and provide more opportunities for refugees to speak English in real-life environments. One possible avenue for improving practice opportunities would be the integration of work experience with language courses. The benefits of this combination would be to provide refugees with local work experience prior to their entry in the labour market, fulfilling a need identified by refugees in this study for local work experience. In these circumstances refugees would be able to exit a language course with better language skills as a result of more intensive classes and some local work experience, making them more employable in the eyes of local employers.

**Recommendation 4**
That the intensity of English language classes be increased and that work experience components be incorporated into language courses to improve refugees’ job prospects and English proficiency.

Following on from the recommendation regarding English classes is a recommendation that more assistance be provided to refugees while they are studying to encourage students to remain in courses rather than leave in pursuit of employment. This study identified that many refugees felt pressure to leave study in order to find employment and improve their incomes, yet by leaving study they were limiting their employment options to low-skill low-paid positions. The current social security payment rate for young adult students in Australia is currently less than the unemployment payment and one way of improving assistance to refugees who are studying may be to increase their income support. This could occur in a similar way to the program that provides additional financial support to another vulnerable group of students – Indigenous Australians through the Abstudy payment.

**Recommendation 5**
That the federal government increase support provided to refugee students to assist them to enter and remain in courses.

Another barrier to study and employment identified in this and previous studies is the availability of childcare. The Sudanese respondents interviewed in Adelaide articulated a
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need for culturally appropriate childcare options, given the preference for family based childcare. One solution to this issue would be to train more Sudanese parents who are looking after their own children at home to become family day care providers for other Sudanese families. This would provide an income opportunity for the parents providing the family day care, and also for the parents who would be able to access the childcare and thus study or find employment.

**Recommendation 6**
That the federal government promote and provide additional training opportunities for refugee parents in Family Day Care.

Finally, a change in policy regarding the residency period for Citizenship is proposed. The change would entail allowing time spent in Australia on temporary Humanitarian visas to be considered as residency for the purpose of citizenship. This would speed up the political integration process for onshore-visaed refugees who had initially been issued TPVs and enable them to participate in political activities much earlier.

**Recommendation 7**
That the federal government revise its policy on the residency period for citizenship applications and include the time spent on Temporary Humanitarian visas in the residency period.

### 10.4.2 Recommendations for the State Government

The recommendations for state governments are less prescriptive, and tend towards encouraging this level of government in Australia to continue to act independently of the federal government with regard to resettlement issues. It has been found that the current situation of limited resettlement assistance from the federal government has been augmented for some visa groups by state governments who have stepped in to provide assistance in areas that the federal government has backed away from. This has been found to reduce the exclusion of refugees in some areas such as accommodation and limited English language and vocational training programs. The continuation of state funded resettlement support could work in some state’s favour, through providing additional assistance above and beyond the federal level of assistance. This additional assistance
could act as a drawcard for states such as South Australia, which are actively seeking to encourage population growth through migration. In particular, specific resettlement programs in regional areas would be well placed to attract refugees, particularly if they were available in tandem with appropriate employment opportunities. On the other hand, a reduction in state-based resettlement assistance could act as a deterrent to resettlement in other states if they were unwillingly to fund additional settlement support not provided through the federal funding system.

In addition, the maintenance and improvement of state based resettlement assistance can also be viewed as preventative programs to reduce the possibility of social exclusion problems in the community. As it is state and local government jurisdictions which experience the impact of social exclusion problems first hand, it is at these levels of government’s interest to develop additional assistance programs as preventative measures, rather than acting later in the resettlement process to ‘cure’ social exclusion problems that could have been avoided from the outset if appropriate assistance had been provided.

**Recommendation 8**
That state governments extend the resettlement assistance they provide to refugees.

### 10.4.3 Recommendations for Local Government

As discussed above in relation to the state government’s role in providing resettlement assistance, there are important reasons for local governments to become involved in resettling refugees in their area. Local governments are the tier of government closest to the community in Australia, placing them at a distinct advantage in terms of being able to influence the resettlement process at a community level. The promotion of social inclusion programmes at a local level, as well as state and federal levels are very important in developing strong, inclusive communities. Programs that actively seek to engage refugees in all spheres of resettlement are needed, but two particular spheres may have more relevance at local government level.

As a result of the distribution of power and responsibility among the three tiers of government in Australia, the ability of local governments to improve the integration experiences of recently arrived refugees in their region is somewhat restricted to the social and political spheres of integration. Throughout the thesis it has been identified that
refugees (both onshore and offshore-visaed) tend to have limited opportunities to engage and interact with the Australian population. As a result, refugees are finding it difficult to adjust to a new cultural environment and Australians are very wary of these new waves of refugees. While many projects developed at local government level provide opportunities for the ‘introduction’ of newcomers to the Australian community (the researcher attended several such events whilst undertaking fieldwork for the thesis) it seems that these events are often one–off events, attended only by those with a particular interest in refugees. A general recommendation is therefore made to develop more ‘everyday’ opportunities for social interaction between refugees and their local community. Further, local governments have a role to play in developing the political integration of refugees. Local governments are recognised as regular organisers of citizenship ceremonies, however other political activities occur at the local level. Local governments could target refugee groups earlier than the citizenship process to engage them in political activities prior to citizenship. These activities could become social interaction opportunities as well, assisting with inclusion in two critical areas of resettlement.

**Recommendation 9**

That local government continue to take an active role in providing opportunities for social interaction between refugees and the broader community and promote the political participation of refugees within their local community.

**10.4.4 Recommendations for Service Provision**

While the proposed objective was to make recommendations for policy makers and service providers, through the course of the research it became evident that the TPV policy regime was the underlying cause for most of the problems encountered by refugees with respect to service provision. Thus it is felt that the recommendations of this study must be directed at changing the TPV policy, which in turn would improve the ability of service providers to appropriately assist refugees in resettlement.

**10.5 Comments on Refugee Integration in the Future**

From the findings two issues were identified as having a significant bearing on the future for refugee integration, the rise of Temporary Protection and the retreat of governments from the provision of resettlement assistance. These two issues, while discussed in this thesis in relation to experiences in Australia, are also at play in the broader global arena.
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(Koser and Black, 1999; Bloch and Schuster, 2002; Gibney and Hansen, 2003; Crisp, 2003) and are already having an impact on refugee resettlement in other host countries. These issues fall within the broader context of increased restrictions on refugee movements, and a reduced role of nation states in resettlement programs based on economic rationales. Hence the development of temporary protection as a policy tool and the increased differentiation between refugees for the purpose of reducing resettlement assistance are crucial issues, which will have a significant impact on the future of refugee integration, not only in Australia but also around the world.

10.5.1 Temporary Protection in the Future

The use of temporary protection worldwide has risen in favour (Gibney and Hansen, 2003) and is now promoted by the UNHCR as an appropriate tool in times of mass refugee movements in order to provide speedy admission to safe countries (UNHCR, 2005b:393). For nation states, it is seen to provide the opportunity for assistance provision in emergency situations without the burdens associated with permanent resettlement solutions (Koser and Black, 1999). However, while temporary protection may have a role in emergency situations, most refugee generating situations are not temporary and the insecurity and lack of protection in countries of origin often continues for many years, causing situations of prolonged exile. In these circumstances, and as a result of the limited assistance provided to refugees by governments who do not expect them to stay, negative resettlement experiences have occurred (Vrecer, 2000). The poor integration of refugees offered temporary protection has been found to lead to social exclusion. In the future, the use of temporary protection must be reconsidered if positive resettlement experiences and social inclusion are to be pursued. If temporary protection continues to be applied, longer-term problems for nation states will develop, as the likelihood of fast solutions to current situations diminishes. While there may be a place for temporary protection as a response to emergency situations, the current application of the tool, such as the TPV regime in Australia, will continue to create hardship and suffering into the future if serious changes are not made. The introduction of standardised time-limits on temporary protection and the automatic transfer to permanent protection, as well as the provision of adequate levels of resettlement assistance would be the type of alterations to temporary protection policies that are needed.
10.5.2 The Future of Refugee Resettlement in the West

A second key issue that will play a significant role in the integration experiences of refugees in the future is the increased barriers to asylum provision and the retreat of governments from the provision of settlement services. Internationally the response to increased refugees movements has been a tightening of policies aimed at restricting asylum provision to those most in need, and a retreat from broad-scale resettlement assistance towards targeted programs again for those identified as most in need (Bloch and Schuster, 2002; Gibney and Hansen, 2003). An economic rationalist approach has been taken by the majority of resettlement host countries and has led to the differentiation of refugees for the purposes of assistance provision. The Australian policy of reduced assistance for sponsored refugees is but one example of this type of differential treatment. While the economic argument for differential treatment is often obscured by humanitarian arguments based on the ability to help more refugees if the resettlement costs to the nation are reduced, the situation of reduced assistance will ultimately lead to further problems as a result of the socially unjust differentiation. This thesis has identified the possibility of further differentiation among refugees in Australia in the future, with the continued reduction in assistance available to sponsored refugees. The possibility of a three-tier resettlement system must be considered if the differential policies continue. The implications of further differentiation within the resettlement assistance system are considerable. The problems of social exclusion already identified among onshore visaed refugees in early resettlement, could extend to offshore-visaed refugees who are denied access to settlement support as a result of their sponsored status. The long-term economic implications of a policy that was designed to reduce short-term economic burdens may come back to haunt governments in the future, as social exclusion problems tend to cost more to rectify than prevent.

Hence the prospects of refugee integration in the future are critically linked to the future of refugee resettlement policies. Successful integration of refugees will only be possible if changes are made to the temporary protection regime and a return to broad-scale resettlement assistance for all humanitarian visa holders is undertaken. The alternative, a continuation of the TPV regime and a further increase in differentiation for the purposes of resettlement assistance will continue to exclude refugees from participating fully in Australian society and may lead to additional, unknown negative consequences for Australia.
10.6 Implications for Theory

The findings of this study confirm the importance of the influence of host related factors on the adaptation process of refugees during resettlement. In particular it has been identified that policies of the host country related to refugee resettlement are extremely influential in affecting the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees. Some theoretical implications arise from this major finding and will be discussed in relation to the Comprehensive Model of Refugee Integration devised by Kuhlman (1991).

Kuhlman’s (1991) model proposed four independent variables; refugee characteristics, flight related factors and host related factors and policies that contribute to the adaptation process of refugees in resettlement. The model presents these variables out in a way that alludes to their equal impact on adaptation. However, through the research conducted in this study, it has been found that policies in contemporary Australia have a significant impact on the adaptation of refugees. The implication of this finding is that the importance of the variable ‘Policy’ is much greater than previously recognised, and as a result consideration should be made for according this variable additional weight in the model. Hence it is proposed that Kuhlman’s model be refigured to apportion more weight to the variable of ‘host related factors and policies’. Figure 10.1 depicts this reconfiguration.

The temporary status of refugees has also been found to influence the adaptation process and outcomes in resettlement, and must be recognised as another significant factor in resettlement. The figure (10.1) therefore shows the movement of ‘Residence factors’ into the group of factors with a significant influence on the adaptation process. This move has been made in light of the findings that identified that residence status (permanent or temporary) influence the resettlement process.

Through making these alterations to the model, it is proposed that such a theoretical model will be more applicable in the future, as the resettlement of refugees becomes more influenced by national policies. The contemporary global political environment, while encouraging globalisation on a range of fronts, has led to increased restrictions on the flow of people around the world (Richmond, 2002). Refugee movements are increasingly patrolled and restricted by national governments, and the provision of permanent protection as the standard response is waning.
Figure 10.1 Refigured Comprehensive Model of Refugee Integration
Chapter 10: Implications and Conclusions

As such a theoretical model depicting the increased role of policy influence and residency status on the resettlement and adaptation process is warranted.

Another finding of this study, which has implications for theory, was the evidence that civil society is playing a significant, and perhaps increased role in the provision of assistance to new refugees in a climate of reduced government provision of resettlement assistance. The introduction of the onshore refugee program and subsequent reduction in federally funded resettlement services for TPV holders were found to create substantial service gaps. This study has identified that some of these gaps were filled by non-government organisations and civic-minded individuals. While these groups have always had a role in the provision of assistance to new refugees, the new era of refugee resettlement in Australia has created conditions that have forced onshore-visaed refugees to be more reliant on civil society. The theoretical implications of this finding would point towards civil society as another factor emerging in importance that could have a bearing on the resettlement experiences of refugees.

A final implication for theory is related to the findings of this study on the ability of social networks to provide resettlement assistance to recently arrived refugees. Previous research has indicated that the kinship networks among migrant communities are context-specific and the universal ability of social networks to provide resettlement assistance should not be taken for granted (Menjivar, 1997). The findings in this study confirm that the social networks among recently arrived refugee groups are limited in their potential to support new arrivals, and that an over-emphasis of the benefits of social networks may be detrimental to the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees. In terms of theory, there is a need to reconsider the emphasis on social networks in providing resettlement assistance in a range of areas, given that this study found that the emotional support provided by social networks was extremely valuable during a difficult period despite material support and even sharing of information being limited.

10.7 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

While the thesis has contributed to a deeper understanding of the resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees, there were some limitations to the study. These limitations suggest some opportunities for further research. Additional avenues of investigation have also been identified in the course of this research.
Chapter 10: Implications and Conclusions

10.7.1 Resettlement Indicators
In developing the methodology for this research, an examination of resettlement indicators was undertaken. In response to the confrontation of such a range of possible measurement tools, and considerable ambiguity in the literature in relation to the choice of indicators, it was decided to consider the resettlement and integration experiences in a more thematic way, by investigating the experiences of refugees within particular resettlement spheres. While this method was appropriate and acceptable in terms of generating data to analyse, it limited the ability of the thesis to contribute to further discussions on the selection of suitable settlement indicators. A suggestion is therefore made that further research be undertaken into the selection of suitable resettlement indicators. In light of the findings on the early resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees, it is proposed that different indicators may need to be selected for different stages of the resettlement process. For example, this study found that the lack of citizenship during early resettlement restricts the range of indicators that can be used to measure political integration at this stage of resettlement. Additional research into the political integration of refugees may reveal further insights into the political activities of refugees and lead to the development of new indicators for this period of the resettlement process.

10.7.2 Integration as a Two-Way Process: Investigations from the Other Direction
In chapter 3, the concept of integration was presented and attention was drawn to the conceptualisation of integration as a two-way process between refugees and the host society. While this thesis investigated integration experiences in one direction (refugee integration into the host society) it did not attempt to investigate integration in the reverse direction (host society integrating with refugees). This limitation is recognised as enabling only half the integration story to be told. In order for the other half of the story to be explored, research into the integration experiences of Australian society with refugees is needed. This research is envisaged as requiring investigations into the interactions between refugees and Australians, and could possibly lead to a better understanding of how integration can be facilitated on both sides.

10.7.3 Data
A further limitation of this research has been the data available for analysis. While the LSIA2 survey collected a vast amount of data on offshore-visaed migrants and refugees, it did not extend to surveying onshore-visaed refugees. This has severely restricted the
Chapter 10: Implications and Conclusions

analysis able to be undertaken in this thesis, by preventing the comparison of data on offshore and onshore-visaed refugees. In addition, the small number of cases for each of the case study groups limited the ability to draw conclusions that could confidently be applied to the broader population. Unfortunately this has restricted the use of the best available dataset of settlement information in Australia. A recommendation is therefore made to consider the inclusion of onshore-visaed refugees in future cohorts of the survey. The importance of up to date, reliable data cannot be stressed enough if the full extent of the impacts of the TPV regime is ever to be known. It is unlikely that an adequately sized survey could be undertaken without the assistance of the federal government; therefore the responsibility falls on the federal government to ensure that onshore-visaed refugees are included in research projects such as the LSIA.

In addition, the research was also limited through its ability to examine refugee resettlement at a particular stage of the process. While the LSIA2 data assisted in developing a longitudinal understanding of the resettlement process, further exploration of the resettlement process beyond the early resettlement period would be beneficial. A suggestion that further follow-up research be conducted with refugees beyond the first few years is made, to enable the links between early resettlement experiences and longer-term integration prospects to be better understood.

The LSIA does not include the native-born population in the sample and as such direct comparisons between migrants and the Australian–born population were unable to be undertaken. This limited the investigation of the resettlement experiences of refugees in this study to comparisons with other migrants. However, a very important aspect of understanding the resettlement process is being able to investigate the discrepancies between the experiences of recent arrivals and the native-born. In future it would be beneficial if surveys could include a native-born group in the sample to enable the resettlement experiences of new arrivals to be compared with Australians in order to understand more fully the process of integration. There was also a problem with small cell sizes and the validity of findings when responses to questions were related to detailed resettlement experiences by visa type entry or specific source countries.

In addition to LSIA data limitations were limitations associated with the in-depth interview data. As the interviews were not taped, there was no transcription available from which to
extract verbatim quotes. As a result, the study was unable to make use of the personal narratives of refugee respondents, and it was felt that this reduced the ability of the research to project the “lived reality” of the resettlement experience into the discussion somewhat. Also the cultural distance between the researcher and the refugees, and the use of informal interpreters was a limitation in collecting accurate and adequately detailed data. Further, the sample of recently arrived refugee respondents for the in-depth interviews was not as broad as desired, with more females than males interviewed, which resulted in a bias in the responses.

10.7.4 Expanding Research into the Resettlement Experiences of Other Groups

The research found differences in integration between the two case studies beyond the influence of visa categories. These socio-cultural differences exist for every group of refugees and may affect integration and resettlement for some refugees very differently to others. While the experiences of two refugee groups were explored in this thesis, there are many other newly arrived refugee groups in Australia, about which very little is known. Research into both the socio-cultural background of these groups and their resettlement experiences in Australia would be beneficial, firstly to service providers attempting to assist these groups in resettlement, and secondly for the broader Australia public. The importance of social interaction between Australians and newcomers has been highlighted in this thesis, and a potential barrier to social interaction is a lack of knowledge on both sides. Additional research which would provide information on the cultural backgrounds of newly arrived refugees could be utilised in ways to inform the Australian public about new groups and enable greater interaction and tolerance.

Further, this research investigated the experiences of only two groups, and the qualitative data was geographically restricted to the experiences of refugees resettling in Adelaide. The experiences of refugees in Adelaide were found to be somewhat different to those in other states as a result of the state government interventions and assistance. Yet there is still little known about the experiences of TPV holders in WA, Tasmania or Northern Territory. It would be interesting for a comparative study to be undertaken that examined the impact of state interventions and assistance for refugees in these other states.
10.7.5 Examination of Other Temporary Humanitarian Visas

Finally, this research was limited to examining one type of temporary humanitarian visa – the TPV. Throughout the course of the study it became apparent that other temporary visas were also causing considerable hardship for other asylum seekers and refugees. In particular, the Bridging Visas (subclass 050 and 051) were identified as a cause for serious concern, as they restricted work rights and in some cases required visa holders to pay back the costs of detention. Further research into these visas is needed to determine the impact of these more stringent visas, as the findings in this study suggest that these people may face significant social exclusion as a result of their visa conditions.

10.8 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together the major findings and implications of the thesis. It has shown that the resettlement process for TPV holders is significantly delayed and influenced by a policy that contributes to social exclusion, while the resettlement experiences of offshore Humanitarian entrants are influenced by policies that encourage inclusion and positive integration. The exploration of resettlement experiences of recently arrived refugees has contributed to a deeper understanding of the resettlement process and the impact of policies within the process. In conclusion, this thesis provides further evidence to support claims that the TPV regime is socially unjust, leads to social exclusion and creates significant differences in the integration experiences of recently arrived refugees.


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Appendix A: Ethics Clearance Documentation
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICATIONS will be considered in terms of the University's guidelines on the ethics of human research, based on the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans, 1999 - refer application information material, including the list of headings applying to all applications. Submit the completed application including Information Sheet and Consent Form (ELEVEN copies in total), to the Secretary, Human Research Ethics Committee, Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research), Room 661b Wide Building, The University of Adelaide (Ph. (08) 8303 6029, Fax (08) 8303 3417, email sabine.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL OF PROJECT INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS - COVER SHEET - SUMMARISING PROTOCOL & INCLUDING INVESTIGATORS

SIGNATURES Please attach this to the front of the application

APPLICANT Name include title Professor/Dr/Ms/Mr and Position

Professor Graeme Hugo - Professor of Geography
Dr Matthew Rote - Lecturer

DEPARTMENT including campus/institution/contact address

Geography and Environmental Studies
Napier Building, North Terrace Campus
The University of Adelaide
Adelaide, SA
5005

Phone No and email address

Professor Hugo
Ph. 8303 2945
graeme.hugo@adelaide.edu.au

Dr Rote
Ph. 83034655
matthew.rote@adelaide.edu.au

OTHERS INVOLVED

Ms Julia Hinsliff
PhD Candidate
Geography and Environmental Studies
Ph 8303 5645
julia.hinsliff@adelaide.edu.au

If this is a student project please indicate name/department/candidature

PROJECT TITLE

Settlement and Adjustment of Recently Arrived Migrants in Adelaide

LOCATION OF RESEARCH

Adelaide, South Australia

DATE PROJECT TO BEGIN

September 20, 2004

ESTIMATED DURATION OF PROJECT

12 months

SOURCE OF FUNDING

Departmental Research Funds
AIMS OF PROJECT

This project aims to investigate the settlement and adjustment experiences of recently arrived migrants in Adelaide. It will provide in-depth knowledge of the lived experiences of migrants and how their visa category influences their settlement outcomes.

ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PROJECT

As the research will involve interviews with respondents that will investigate their personal lives, the need for confidentiality and privacy is recognised and has been addressed.

The interviewer will only raise issues related to the settlement experiences of respondents in Australia. However, it is recognised that the respondent may volunteer information they feel is relevant about their experiences before arriving in Australia. As the research is investigating migrants and refugees, support in the form of contact details of agencies, will be provided. These contact details will be provided to all respondent regardless of the issues raised during interviews.

The interviews will not be tape recorded to reduce the level of "officialness" of the interviews. Interviews will be arranged in an appropriate location, where the respondent feels comfortable and secure.

The respondents will be from non-English speaking backgrounds and the researcher will take necessary steps to ensure all information is translated into appropriate languages, and that appropriate interpreters are available during interviews.

The researcher will behave in a culturally appropriate way during all contact with respondents, and will observe cultural sensitivities.

PLAN/DESIGN OF PROJECT

The project is divided into two stages. This ethics application is for the second stage.


Stage 2.

a. In depth interviews with recent arrivals using semi structured interview schedule.
   - Interview topics to include issues relevant to settlement experiences in Australia only.
   - Content analysis of in-depth interviews.

DRUGS

Will drugs be administered to subjects? NO

If so give name of drug(s)

Dosage:

Method of administration

Is the administration for therapeutic purposes? NO

Will the project be conducted under the

Clinical Trials Notification (CTN) Scheme? NO

Clinical Trials Exemption (CTX) Scheme? NO

Is Commonwealth Department of Health permission required? NO

If so, has permission been obtained? NO
SUBJECTS

- Source:
  Respondents will be selected from three ethnic communities in Adelaide
  - Sudanese
  - Vietnamese
  - Iraqi

- Age range:
  All respondents will be over 18 years of age

- Selection criteria:
  Respondents will be required to have either a family migration visa, a refugee or humanitarian visa or a temporary protection visa.
  They will have been resident in Australia for between 6 months and 5 years.

- Exclusion criteria
  Respondents who do not fit the above criteria will be excluded

SIGNATURE OF ALL INVESTIGATORS NAMED IN THE PROTOCOL

Date
24 May 2004

Professor GJ Hugo
Geography and Environmental Studies

Dear Professor Hugo

PROJECT NO: Settlement and adjustment of recently arrived migrants in Adelaide
H-38-2004

I write to advise you that I have approved the above project on behalf of the Human Research Ethics Committee. Please refer to the enclosed endorsement sheet for further details and conditions that may be applicable to this approval.

Approval is current for one year. The expiry date for this project is: 31 May 2005.

Where possible, subjects taking part in the study should be given a copy of the Information Sheet and the signed Consent Form to retain.

Please note that any changes to the project which might affect its continued ethical acceptability will invalidate the project’s approval. In such cases an amended protocol must be submitted to the Committee for further approval. It is a condition of approval that you immediately report anything which might warrant review of ethical approval including (a) serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants; (b) proposed changes in the protocol; and (c) unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project. It is also a condition of approval that you inform the Committee, giving reasons, if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

A reporting form is available from the Committee’s website. This may be used to renew ethical approval or report on project status including completion.

Yours sincerely

CE MORTENSEN
Convenor
Human Research Ethics Committee
Subject: Comments re your ethics application  
Date: Wed, 19 May 2004 10:02:21 +0930  
From: sabine.schreiber<sabine.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au>  
Organization: The University of Adelaide  
To: julia.hinliff@adelaide.edu.au

Dear Julia,

Re: 'Settlement and adjustment of recently arrived migrants in Adelaide'

Further to our phone conversation yesterday, the ethics application above has been approved on the basis of minor modification to the information sheet and consent form and clarification of a couple of points. Would you please have Graeme Hugo sign the application cover sheet.

The points raised were:

How will you distribute the information sheet and recruit participants?
Will you have access to participant's details (i.e. names, addresses, telephone numbers) prior to them consenting to be involved in the study?

Is it possible to have another person present during home visits to participants?

The Information Sheet edits were:
/- include how long interviews might take
/- add information re publication of results and maintaining their anonymity
/- reassure participants the voluntary nature of their participation and that there would be no negative consequences if they withdraw
/- at the bottom of the page refer people to the attached independent complaints procedure form, and include a copy of this form
/- delete my details at the bottom

The Consent Form edit was:
/- delete the bottom para that refers to me.

Regards,
Sabine

Sabine Schreiber  
Secretary, Human Research Ethics Committee  
Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research)  
The University of Adelaide, SA 5005, AUSTRALIA  
Ph : 8303 6028  
Fax : 8301 3417  
e-mail: sabine.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au

This email message is intended only for the addressee(s) and contains information which may be confidential and/or copyright. If you are not the intended recipient please do not read, save, forward, disclose, or copy the contents of this email. If this email has been sent to you in error, please notify the sender by reply email and delete this email and any copies or links to this email completely and immediately from your system. No representation is made that this email is free of viruses. Virus scanning is recommended and is the responsibility of the recipient.
Applicant:          Professor GJ Hugo
Department:        Geography and Environmental Studies
Project Title:     Settlement and adjustment of recently arrived migrants in Adelaide

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Project No:        H-38-2004

APPROVED for the period until: 31 May 2005

on the basis of minor modification to the information and consent forms, including reference to and use of the Committee’s contacts/complaints form. It is noted that this study is being conducted by Ms Julia Hirstlaff, PhD candidate.

Refer also to the accompanying letter setting out requirements applying to approval.

Professor CE Mortensen
Convenor

Date:  20 MAY 2004
Sabine Shreiber
Secretary, Human Research Ethics Committee
Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research)
The University of Adelaide
SA 5005

Dear Ms Schreiber,

I am writing in response to your request for minor modifications to the ethics application for the project entitled Settlement and Adjustment of Recently Arrived Migrants in Adelaide.

With regard to the committee's concerns on the recruitment of respondents and distribution of the information sheet I propose the following. Respondents will be identified by key informants (community members and service providers) as prospective respondents who will fit the eligibility criteria. I will provide the key informants with the information sheet that they will pass on to the prospective respondent. After the prospective respondent has received the information sheet I will make contact with the key informant and determine if the respondent will be prepared to participate. At this stage I will ask for the contact details of the respondent so I can provide any additional information and arrange the first interview.

As the researcher will be requiring the assistance of interpreters during the interviews, she will not be alone during interviews in respondent's homes. At all times there will be either an interpreter or note-taker accompanying her.

The following changes have been made to the information sheet:

- Inclusion of information about the length of interviews
- Inclusion of information regarding the publication of results and maintenance of confidentiality
- Additional reassurance of the voluntary nature of their participation and that no negative consequences would occur as a result of their withdrawal from the study
- Inclusion of a reference to the attached independent Complaints Procedure Form
- Deleted details of Committee Secretaries at the bottom of the form.

An independent Complaints Procedure Form has now been developed for this project.

The removal of the final paragraph from the Consent form has occurred.

I believe these changes address the clarifications and minor modifications that the Committee sought.

Yours Sincerely,

Julia Hinsliff

Attachments
1. Revised Information Sheet
2. Revised Consent Form
3. Complaints Procedure Information Sheet (new)
4. Application Cover sheet signed by Professor Hugo
Settlement and Adjustment of Recently Arrived Migrants
In Adelaide

Information Sheet

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Julia Hinsliff and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Adelaide. I am conducting research on the settlement and adjustment experiences of recently arrived migrants in Adelaide. The study is looking at the way cultural background, government policies, settlement assistance providers and your ethnic community can affect your settlement experiences here in Australia.

I would like to conduct a series of 3 interviews with you. Each interview will take about an hour. During the interviews we will discuss your experiences of settling in Australia. I will ask you specific questions about your experiences here in Australia. The topics that I would like to ask you about include housing, employment, education, English language classes, health, visa category and sponsorship, income sources and qualifications. We do not have to discuss all of these topics if you would prefer not to.

The following are an example of the types of questions I will ask you in the interviews.

- Please tell me about your experiences during the first month that you were in Australia.
- For example who helped you to find a house and do the shopping?
- What have been the biggest adjustments you have had to make in Australia?

I will not ask you any questions about your life and experiences BEFORE you arrived in Australia. The questions will be open ended and you can choose how much detail you provide. However the research aims to gain a deep understanding of migrant experiences. The more information you can provide will help the researcher to comprehend your situation.

The discussions will provide an opportunity for you to reflect upon the both the positive and negative experiences you have had since arriving in Australia. The study results may help to improve the assistance provided to recent arrivals, but I cannot guarantee that you or your community will benefit directly from the study.

The study is completely confidential. The information you provide to me may be used in my PhD thesis, conference presentations and journal articles, but I will not report any information you choose to give me in a way that will identify you. I will ask you to give me another name that I will use instead of yours.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you will be free to change your mind and withdraw from the study at any time before the study is completed. Also you are not obliged to answer questions or discuss any issues you do not want to discuss. You do not have to give me any reason if you decide to withdraw from the study and there will be no negative consequences if you do withdraw.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you want to discuss any details of this study further. I will provide you with a copy of the Complaints Procedure Information Sheet that provides contact details of people you can contact for further information about this study if you do not want to discuss your concerns with me.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

Julia Hinsliff

Contact Details

Professor Graeme Hugo
Project Supervisor
Geography and Environmental Studies
University of Adelaide
Ph: 8303 3996
graeme.hugo@adelaide.edu.au

Di Matthew Rote
Project Supervisor
Geography and Environmental Studies
University of Adelaide
Ph: 8303 4655
matthew.rote@adelaide.edu.au
Migrant and Refugee Service Providers in Adelaide

STTARS  (Survivors of Trauma and Torture, Assistance and Rehabilitation Service)  8346 5433
Australian Refugee Association  8354 2951
Migrant Resource Centre of South Australia  8223 3604
Migrant Women Support and Accommodation Service  8346 9417
Migrant Health Service  8237 3900
The Domestic Violence Crisis Services Inc.  8223 2220
The Australian Red Cross  8267 7666
Settlement and Adjustment of Recently Arrived Migrants in Adelaide

Consent Form

I (print your name) ........................................ consent to take part in the study titled "Settlement and Adjustment of Recently Arrived Migrants in Adelaide".

I acknowledge that I have read the attached information sheet that describes the aims and purpose of the study. I confirm that I have had the study, as far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction. My consent to be interviewed for the purpose of this study by Julia Hinstiff is freely given.

I understand the purpose of this study is to gain further understanding of the settlement and adjustment issues faced by recent arrivals. It has been explained to me that my involvement may not be of any direct benefit to me or my community.

I understand that my name will not be connected with any information that I provide, and that I will choose another name to be used, in place of my own.

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that:

- I am free to withdraw the information that I provide at any time before the study is completed
- I do not have to give reasons for withdrawing the information that I provide
- I am under no obligation during the interviews to divulge information or discuss issues if I do not wish to do so.

I understand that I can request to check the notes from the interview before it is used in the study.

I understand that I will be provided with information about the results of the study if I wish.

I do/do not wish to be provided with information about the results of the study.

Please provide your contact details if you would like to have the results provided to you.

Address:

I am aware that I should retain a copy of this consent form, when completed with the information sheet.

Signature....................................................... Date......................

Witness

I, ................................ (witness name) have described to (name of respondent) ................................ the nature of the interviews to be carried out. In my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

Signature (witness)....................................................... Date..............
Complaints Procedure Information Sheet

The University of Adelaide
Human Research Ethics Committee

The Human Research Ethics Committee is obliged to monitor approved research projects. In conjunction with other forms of monitoring it is necessary to provide an independent and confidential reporting mechanism to assure quality assurance of the institutional ethics committee system. This is done by providing research subjects with an additional avenue for raising concerns regarding the conduct of any research in which they are involved.

The following study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee:

Project title: Settlement and Adjustment of Recently Arrived Migrants in Adelaide

1. If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the project co-ordinators:

   Name: Dr. Matthew Rofe
   Telephone: (08) 8303 4655

   or

   Name: Professor Graeme Hugo
   Telephone: (08) 8303 3996

2. If you wish to discuss with an independent person matters related to
   • making a complaint, or
   • raising concerns on the conduct of the project, or
   • the University policy on research involving human subjects, or
   • your rights as a participant

   contact the Human Research Ethics Committee’s Secretary on phone (08) 8303 6028
Professor GJ Hugo  
Geography and Environmental Studies

Dear Professor Hugo

PROJECT NO: Settlement and adjustment of recently arrived migrants in Adelaide  
H-038-2004

Thank you for your report on the above project. I write to advise you that I have endorsed renewal of ethical approval for the study on behalf of the Human Research Ethics Committee.

The expiry date for this project is 1/5/2006.

Where possible, subjects taking part in the study should be given a copy of the Information Sheet and the signed Consent Form to retain.

Please note that any changes to the project which might affect its continued ethical acceptability will invalidate the project’s approval. In such cases an amended protocol must be submitted to the Committee for further approval. It is a condition of approval that you immediately report anything which might warrant review of ethical approval including (a) serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants; (b) proposed changes in the protocol; and (c) unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project. It is also a condition of approval that you inform the Committee, giving reasons, if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

A reporting form is available from the Committee’s website. This may be used to renew ethical approval or report on project status including completion.

Yours sincerely

Associate Professor Garrett Cullity
Convenor
Human Research Ethics Committee
Appendix B: In-Depth Interview Schedule
## Background Information

*Date of 1st Interview*

*Pseudonym*

*Gender*

*Age*

*Country of Birth*

*Nationality*

*Refugee Camp*

*Current Visa type*

*Date of Arrival in Australia*

*Transport to Australia*

*Detention Centre in Australia*

*Religion*

*Marital Status*

*Highest educational qualification*

*Current Occupation*

*Current Household members*

<table>
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<th>Relationship to respondent</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</table>

| Age |   |   |   |   |

*Languages Spoken*

*Current English Proficiency*

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<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>None</td>
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</table>
Interview Schedule

First Interview

The study
This project aims to investigate the settlement and adjustment of recently arrived refugees in Adelaide. It will provide in-depth knowledge of the lived experiences of refugee settlement in Australia and how refugee visa category influences their settlement outcomes.

Your participation in this project is greatly appreciated, and your input will provide an opportunity for you to reflect on both the positive and negative experiences you have had since arriving in Australia. Your participation is completely voluntary, and if you do not wish to discuss some subjects, please let me know.

Because I would like to gain a deeper understanding of the settlement experiences of refugees, the more information you can provide me with, the better. Please do not hesitate to elaborate on questions as the more you can tell me, the more I will be able to understand your experiences.

Particular topics I would like to discuss with you include your initial settlement experiences such as housing, education, employment, health and friendships. I would also like to hear about your experiences learning English and adjusting to Australian society.

Before we begin the interviews the university requires that all the people I interview are provided with a written information sheet. Could you please read this sheet.

>>Read Information Sheet

Do you have any questions about the interviews?

The university also requires me to get you to sign a form saying you have understood the information sheet and that you agree to participate in the study. Could you please read this form, and sign it at the bottom.

>>Sign Consent Form (x2)

Before we begin the in depth section of the interview today, I would like to ask you some background information about yourself, and how you came to be in Adelaide.

>>Complete Background Information Sheet

Migration History
I would now like to know more about how you came to be in Adelaide. Could you please describe to me your journey from (home country) to Australia.

When left home country?
Appendix B

Orderly or rushed departure? With or without family?

Refugee Camps? Details

Transit countries?

Transport?

Arrival in Australia location

Detention Centre in Australia?

The next topic I would like to discuss with you covers your first month in Australia or first month in the community (if in detention)

Where did you spend your first month in Australia?

Initial accommodation Location, who arranged it, other household members

Settlement assistance Banking

Centrelink

Shopping

Religious – church or mosque

School for kids

Can you recall the things that you felt were most different to your home country within that first month

Did you have contact with any settlement providers (Australian Refugee Association, Migrant Resource Centre) during your first month.

What for?

Satisfaction with settlement service providers?

Do you have anything else you would like to share with me about your first month in Australia?
Positive or negative experiences?
Second Interview
Clarification from previous interview if needed

In today’s interview I would like to ask you about your settlement experiences in more depth. The topics I would like to talk about today include your experiences of learning and improving your English language, your friendship groups in Adelaide, and where you have lived in Adelaide. I would also like to talk in more detail about how you are adjusting to a different culture and society.

English Language
First of all, can you describe your level of English language (writing, speaking and reading) when you arrived in Australia.

What is your English like now?
How has it improved?
Who, why

Classes – who, how often, successful?

How does your English proficiency affect your everyday life in Australia?

What about the English proficiency of the rest of your family in Adelaide?
Why better/worse?

Social Networks
I have included this next topic about your friendship groups because previous research has suggested that migrants and refugees have better settlement experiences when they are involved in their community and can access support from friends.

Can you please tell me about your relatives in Adelaide?

Do you have any relatives in Adelaide who do not live with you?
How often do you see them?

Why do you see them

Do you have friends from Iraq/Sudan in Adelaide?

How many?

How many would you see everyday?

How many would you see every week
Less than every week

What sort of interaction?

Do you have friends in Adelaide who are not from Iraq or Sudan (including Adelaide locals?)
How often do you see them?
Interaction?

Assistance/support
Including childminding, money lending, transport, share information, shopping

Assistance Given
Relatives
Ethnic Friends
Non-ethnic Friends

Assistance Received
Relatives
Ethnic Friends
Non-ethnic Friends

**Housing History**
I would now like to ask you about your experiences in finding and keeping accommodation in Australia. I have heard from many people that housing can cause many problems for recent arrivals in Adelaide.

Could you tell me about your experiences related to housing in Australia
Including
All accommodation
Length of residence in each
Other household members
Tenure
Condition
Cultural suitability
Reasons for moving

What were the main problems
Experiences Racism, discrimination large family,

Real estate agents?

**Cultural Adjustments**
I understand that Australian culture is very different to that in Iraq and Sudan, and that many recent arrivals are overwhelmed by the differences in Australia.

Could you tell me about your experiences of the differences between Australian and your homeland’s culture.

Example
Food preparation
Schooling/education
Roles of men and women
Child discipline
Entertaining at home
Time management

Do you have anything else to add about the cultural adjustments you have made in Australia?
Third Interview
Clarification from previous interview
Today will be our final meeting and I would like to discuss some more personal settlement issues with you. Please remember that if you do not wish to answer any questions or discuss certain topics, you do not have to.

The first topic I would like to talk about is education.

Education
What level of education did you have before arriving in Australia?
Have your skills or qualifications been recognised in Australia?
Have you done any training courses in Australia?

What
Where
Why
Outcome

Plans to study?

Employment
Moving on to employment
What was your last job before leaving your home country?
What was the first job you had in Australia?
How did you find out about it?

All other jobs in Australia?
Current Job in Australia

Problems finding work
Problems at work

Health
I would like to ask you to tell me about your Mental and Physical Health now.
Did you have any major health problems before arriving in Australia?
Have you developed any health problems in Australia?
Tell me about your experiences of the health care system in Australia?

Income
Many refugees leave their home country with little or no money. This can significantly affect their settlement in a new country where they have to start over again. I would like to know how you are managing financially, and if your income is sufficient for your needs.
Please tell me about your personal income
Source
How much
How often

**Expenditure**

Remittances
To who
How often
How much

How long

**Identity**

Being a newcomer in a country sometimes requires people to reassert their identity and some people choose to adopt a new identity.
Has your identity changed in Australia or become stronger?

How do you introduce yourself to new people in Australia (Iraqi, Sudanese, new Australian, refugee, migrant?)

How does your visa affect your identity? Do you tell people you are a refugee? Why

Some people think that identity is linked to nationality.
Will you/ have you applied for Australian citizenship? Why
Benefits/negatives

**Visa Category**
The final topic for today is related to refugee visa categories.

Refugee

Sponsored Humanitarian Entrant

Temporary Protection Visa holder
The Australian government has an array of visas for refugees at the moment. Different visas entitle you to different levels of access to settlement services and income support.

Do you think you have experienced settlement and adjustment problems because of the type of visa you have?

How

What additional support could the government have provided you with, during your early settlement period in Australia?
Appendix C: GHQ12 Questions and Answer Scale
## General Health Questionnaire (GHQ12)

* 12 Question Format  
** 0-1-2-3 scoring method

### Questions
1. Have you recently been able to concentrate on what you’re doing?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Better than usual</th>
<th>Same as usual</th>
<th>Less than usual</th>
<th>Much less than usual</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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2. Have you recently lost much sleep over worry?

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<th>Not at all</th>
<th>No more than usual</th>
<th>Rather more than usual</th>
<th>Much more than usual</th>
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<tr>
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3. Have you recently felt you were playing a useful part in things?

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<tr>
<th>More so than usual</th>
<th>Same as usual</th>
<th>Less useful than usual</th>
<th>Much less useful</th>
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4. Have you recently felt capable of making decisions about things?

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<th>More so than usual</th>
<th>Same as usual</th>
<th>Less useful than usual</th>
<th>Much less useful</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

5. Have you recently felt constantly under strain?

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<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>No more than usual</th>
<th>Rather more than usual</th>
<th>Much more than usual</th>
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
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6. Have you recently felt you couldn’t overcome your difficulties?

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<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>No more than usual</th>
<th>Rather more than usual</th>
<th>Much more than usual</th>
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<td>3</td>
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7. Have you recently been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

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<tr>
<th>More so than usual</th>
<th>Same as usual</th>
<th>Less useful than usual</th>
<th>Much less useful</th>
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</table>

8. Have you recently been able to face up to your problems?

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<tr>
<th>More so than usual</th>
<th>Same as usual</th>
<th>Less useful than usual</th>
<th>Much less useful</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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</table>
9. Have you recently been feeling unhappy and depressed?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>No more than usual</th>
<th>Rather more than usual</th>
<th>Much more than usual</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
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10. Have you recently been losing confidence in yourself?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>No more than usual</th>
<th>Rather more than usual</th>
<th>Much more than usual</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

11. Have you recently been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>No more than usual</th>
<th>Rather more than usual</th>
<th>Much more than usual</th>
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12. Have you recently been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?

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<tr>
<th>More so than usual</th>
<th>About the same as usual</th>
<th>Less so than usual</th>
<th>Much less than usual</th>
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<td>0</td>
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