

**Critical Assessment of the Australian Settlement
Process:
Case Study of the African Humanitarian Entrants in
Australia**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	V
DEDICATION	IX
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	XI
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	XIII
LIST OF TABLES.....	XV
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. THIS RESEARCH	1
1.2. RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES.....	8
1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	9
1.4. METHODOLOGY	9
1.5. REFLECTION ON METHODOLOGY	11
1.6. CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS TO THE EXISTING LITERATURE	11
1.7. THESIS OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE.....	12
CHAPTER 2:	15
AFRICAN HUMANITARIAN ENTRANTS IN AUSTRALIA: PROCESS, POLICY AND ISSUES	15
2.1. INTRODUCTION	15
2.2. THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	16
2.3. THE SITUATION IN AFRICA.....	21
2.3.1 The Refugee Camps	21
2.3.2 African Governments and Refugees	22
2.3.3 Refugees Experiences in the Camps	23
2.4. RESETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA	25
2.4.1 The Administration Process for Asylum Seekers	26
2.4.2 Australia’s Humanitarian Settlement Program	27
2.4.3 National and International Organisations dealing with this issue	30
2.5. THE CHALLENGES FACING AFRICAN HUMANITAIRAN ENTRANTS IN AUSTRALIA	36
2.6. CONCLUSION	41
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	45
3.1. INTRODUCTION	45

3.2.	DATA AND ANALYSIS	45
3.2.1.	Contextualising the Interviews.....	45
3.2.2.	Semi-Structured Interviews with Humanitarian Entrants	46
3.2.3.	Interviews with DIBP and MARSS participants.....	49
3.2.4.	The Questionnaire	50
3.2.5.	Documentary Analysis.....	51
3.2.6.	Informed consent and ethical issues.....	52
3.2.7.	Data Analysis	53
3.3.	METHODOLOGY LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES FACED DURING THE FIELDWORK.....	53
3.3.1.	Limitations of the data	53
3.3.2.	Reflexivity.....	54
3.4	CONCLUSION.....	55
CHAPTER 4:	57
AFRICAN REFUGEES’ PERSPECTIVES ON SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA:	57
PROMISES, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS	57	57
4.1	INTRODUCTION	57
4.2	THE CHANGING CONTEXT AND ISSUES OF SETTLEMENT	58
4.3	FACTORS THAT AFFECTS THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENTRANTS	59
4.3.1	Issues related to English language and accent	59
4.3.2	Issues related to culture.....	63
4.3.3	Issues related to employment.....	67
4.3.4	Issues related to discrimination.....	71
4.4	SOCIAL INCLUSION IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS.....	74
4.4.1	Reception experience	75
4.4.2	Social exclusion and isolation.....	77
4.4.3	Institutional racism in workplaces	78
4.4.4	Issues related to family reunion	80
4.4.5	Community perceptions	80
4.5	THE SERVICES PROVIDED TO AFRICAN REFUGEE ENTRANTS	82
4.6	PARTICIPANTS’ GENERAL EXPERIENCE	83
4.7	CONCLUSION.....	84
CHAPTER 5	87
PERSPECTIVES OF SERVICE PROVIDERS ON THE SETTLEMENT OF AFRICAN REFUGEES.....	87	87

5.1.	INTRODUCTION	87
5.2.	OVERVIEW: REFUGEE SETTLEMENT AND SERVICES IN AUSTRALIA	87
5.3.	THE DIBP'S VIEWS ON AFRICAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT	96
5.4.	MARSS OFFICIALS' VIEWS ABOUT AFRICAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT	105
5.5.	THE VIEWS OF THE NGOs INVOLVED IN HUMANITARIAN SETTLEMENT	107
5.6.	COMPARING THE VIEWS AND PERSPECTIVES OF SETTLEMENT STAKEHOLDERS	110
5.7.	ADDRESSING SETTLEMENT PROBLEMS: AN OVERVIEW	111
5.8.	CONCLUSION	113
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION: KEY FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS		115
6.1.	INTRODUCTION	115
6.2.	SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS	115
6.3.	RESEARCH LIMITATIONS	119
6.4.	RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE FINDINGS	120
6.5.	FUTURE RESEARCH	121
APPENDICES		123
Appendix - A.....		123
Appendix - B.....		125
Appendix - C.....		127
Appendix - D.....		129
Appendix - E.....		135
Appendix - F		139
Appendix - G.....		141
REFERENCE.....		143

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides an overview of the main challenges experienced by African humanitarian entrants in their settlement in this country and of the response of the Humanitarian settlement services in Australia to these resettlement issues. The settlement of humanitarian entrants is a crucial issue both for the government and for the refugees themselves. In examining the issue, the thesis particularly considers three major settlement barriers, language, culture and reception experiences, which deeply affect the process of integration and adjustment into the new environment. It focuses upon the experiences of African refugees who arrived in Australia through humanitarian program between 2006 and 2012 and considers the views of the key settlement service provider, the Migrants and Refugee Settlement Service (MARSS), the government department responsible for refugee and humanitarian entrants. The Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) and the major Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) dealing with the issue, the Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA) and the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (FECCA) views were also considered.

This thesis identifies community reception, language, culture and particularly employment as crucial aspects in refugee's settlement. It emphasises the need to strengthen community education about people from different diverse backgrounds, at the same time as providing education to the refugee communities about the culture, norms and values of Australian society.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my two brothers Oscar Nyambe Puteho and Alaskan Puteho who were all in prison in Namibia and Botswana for political reasons at the time when I was pursuing my studies.

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period of this research. I wholeheartedly appreciate your understanding and I will continue thanking you for being what you have been. I share this success with you all.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

Abbreviation	Meaning
AA	African Associations
AA Youth	African Australian Youth
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AHE	African Humanitarian Entrants
AMEP	Adult Migration English Program
AU	African Union
AUCSR	African Union Convention on the Status of Refugees
AUSCOP	Australian Cultural Orientation Programme
CCSP	Complex Case Support Program
CDP	Community Development Program
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIT	Canberra Institute of Technology
CRSR	Convention Related to the Status of Refugees
CV	Curriculum Vitae
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DIMIA	Department of Immigration Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia
HE	Humanitarian Entrant
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
HIS	Integrated Humanitarian Support (Service)
IHSS	Integrated humanitarian Settlement Strategy
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
SGP	Settlement Grant Program
SHP	Settlement Humanitarian Program
SHP	Special Humanitarian Program
UC	University of Canberra
UDHR	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugees

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Global number of refugees per region in 2014

Table 2: Australia's offshore Humanitarian Program per region from 2005 – 2012

Table 3: Australia's Offshore Humanitarian Intake 2008 - 2013

Table 4: Number of persons applied and number refused application in Africa for 2010–2011

Table 5: Humanitarian Entrants interviewed

Table 6: Participants' profiles participated in the survey

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. THIS RESEARCH

This thesis assesses the Humanitarian Settlement Services in Australia and provides an overview of the main challenges experienced by African humanitarian entrants in their settlement in this country. The settlement of humanitarian entrants is a crucial issue both for the government and for the refugees themselves. In examining the issue, the thesis considers three major settlement barriers, language, culture and reception experiences, which deeply affect the process of integration and adjustment into the new environment. It focuses upon the experiences of the African refugees who arrived in Australia through the humanitarian program from 2006 to 2012 and also considers the views of the key settlement service provider, the Migrants and Refugee Settlement Service (MARSS), and the government department responsible for refugee and humanitarian entrants, the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP). This thesis emphasises the need to strengthen community education about people from different diverse backgrounds at the same time as providing education to the refugee communities about the culture, norms and values of Australian society.

i) The Background of the Research

The literature on migration in Australia indicates that in the last decade more than 800,000 people have been offered citizenship on humanitarian grounds (Refugee Council of Australia 2011a). At the same time, Africa's refugee population has been consistently growing since the 1980s because of war. Refugees and humanitarian entrants come thousands of kilometres from their home countries to Australia for humanitarian reasons, usually fleeing from war, armed conflict and persecution. They come to countries like Australia in search of security and the hoped to make Australia their home. The majority of these humanitarian refugees come from the Middle East, Asia and Africa. Most humanitarian refugees from Africa come from South Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo).

The main aim of this thesis is to highlight, and provide an understanding of, the humanitarian entrants' own experience of settlement. The number of settlement challenges encountered by

the migrants and refugees from Africa are extensive and it makes their adjustment complex and different from entrants from other regions. Furthermore, acknowledging and understanding the life experiences, culture and identities of African Humanitarian Entrants (AHE) greatly expedites their adjustment into the host community.

In 2007, the Australian humanitarian intake of African refugees was reduced from 74% to below 20% at a time when the settlement demand was higher than before (Refugee Council of Australia 2013). Of course, the refugee issue is a global phenomenon. Signatory countries to the 1951 United Nation Convention on the Status of Refugees (UNCRSR) have an obligation to assist in accepting and resettling refugees. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) Statistical Yearbook in 2012 reported that 42.5 million people were forcibly displaced worldwide, due to conflict and persecution. Of these, 15.4 million were refugees, 10.5 million under the UNHCR mandate. Of this total, over a third were from Africa (Refugee Council of Australia 2008b), which is the continent with the highest number of refugees and displaced persons.

In Australia, the number of humanitarian entrants, refugees and asylum-seekers are not high. In 2011, UNHCR indicated that Australia hosted 23,434 refugees and 5,242 asylum-seekers. Numbers remained similar in 2012. Before 2001, the majority of the African migrants in Australia were white South Africans and Zimbabweans, who arrived either as economic migrants or for family reunion (Adepoju 2010). Dark-skinned Africans humanitarian entrants are more recent migrants to Australia, a few arriving as skilled migrants and the majority as humanitarian entrants, but the 2006 census revealed a significant increase in the number of African-born residents of Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008 and Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2010).

Most African entering Australia do so under the Australian Humanitarian Settlement Program (AHSP), which is discussed at length in Chapter 2, with 32,900 Africans being granted visas under this programme between 2005 and 2010 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011a). Between 1998-99 and 2009-10 the Australian Government recorded the highest ever humanitarian refugee intake from Africa entering Australia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2009a), in part because, between 2003 and 2007, the Australian Government's humanitarian intake program was focused on Africa, leading to a significant increase in the number of African humanitarian entrants (Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of

Australia 2010). Many, perhaps most, of these refugees apply for settlement from different refugee camps in Africa. Indeed, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2012-13) recorded 12,758 UNHCR-recognised refugees from different countries who applied for resettlement in Australia.

This thesis shows that the challenges and difficulties experienced by African humanitarian entrants from refugee backgrounds are, to a large extent, associated with problems in their home countries, camp life, reception, the host community's attitude and, crucially, language, culture and identity issues.

These African refugee migrants are one of the most disadvantaged community groups in Australia (Hugo 2010). This results, as this thesis will show, in large part from their racial and cultural difference from the 'host' community, but it is, of course, exacerbated by their experiences in their home country and in the refugee camps. On this basis, Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (2009a) endorsed an earlier report by the Department of Immigration, which emphasised that the community required intensive settlement support services to assist in their settlement endeavours. Indeed, the literature on humanitarian issues also emphasises that new entrants from Africa come to Australia with a set of unique challenges that the government and key service providers need to address to support their settlement (Hugo 2011). However, the government tends to apply one single model of resettling refugees, irrespective of their particular experiences and challenges.

Of course, this is a global problem, with the UNHCR emphasising that governments need to expedite and improve their humanitarian entrants intake and settlement programs. Certainly, the Australian humanitarian settlement service for migrants has evolved over the past 60 years, shifting from a White Australia policy, which emphasised assimilation, through a focus upon integration leading to a commitment to multiculturalism. Australia's settlement programme encompasses a number of integration initiative strategies, which are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 2, includes Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategies (IHSS); the Settlement Grant Program (SGP); the Adult Migration English Program (AMEP); and the Translating and Integrating Service (TIS) (Karlsen, Phillips & Koleth 2011). These programs are part of the reforms intended to enhance the advancement of humanitarian entrant settlement initiative.

However, with the move towards multiculturalism, there was increasing emphasis upon social inclusion and encouraging new entrants to practice their own culture. In this context, when

integrating African new arrivals, the Australian government was faced with the problem of understanding and dealing with people from different cultures and with different languages and providing services in a culturally appropriate manner, acceptable to new arrivals. Department of Immigration and Citizenship Media Fact sheet 60 produced by the Australian government in 2011 emphasised that Australia's multicultural policy acknowledged that government services and programs must be responsive to the needs of Australia's culturally diverse communities (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011b). In addition, the onus is on the government to provide equitable services to all Australians from all backgrounds.

Unfortunately, despite the move towards multiculturalism, a number of authors contend that, since 2006, the Australian settlement system provides insufficient support for new arrivals see, for example, (Pittway 2005). The changing demographics of new arrivals lead to new adjustment needs that are not given a significant attention.

Indeed, the Government's response to these new arrivals has been problematic, at best. As just one example of the problem, the Department of Immigration, Multicultural, and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), later known as Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), introduced a policy for resettling African new arrivals across the country and outside urban centres. The policy was intended to limit the concentration of new arrivals in particular residential areas, thus preventing the formation of 'ethnic ghettos'. However, arguably, the policy created other problems, particularly problems of social exclusion, because African culture is based on close ties between family and friends, living together to avoid isolation and loneliness. As a result, key service providers' located new arrivals in country towns where they experienced difficulties in finding employment and were separated communities.

The Howard Government was not sympathetic to the idea of multiculturalism, turning the focus back onto the immigrant's responsibilities to integrate (Curnow & Wettenhall 2010). . As a relevant example here, in 2007 the then Immigration Minister in John Howard's Government, Kevin Andrews, accused the African community in Australia, and in particular the Sudanese, of not adjusting and integrating into the Australian community, prompting an interesting debate about the origins, culture, ethnicity, willingness to integrate and needs of humanitarian entrants entering Australia (Parkham & Jean 2007). Of course, such Government rhetoric had the potential to put more pressure on young and old African humanitarian entrants to adjust, despite the barriers they experienced. They were the problem and integration was the 'solution'.

According to the Refugee Council of Australia in 2008, the Howard Government was responding to, or reflecting on, the views of a section of the Australian public. As an example, a decision by Tamworth Council in 2007 to reject the settlement of Sudanese families highlighted both mainstream Australian perceptions of African entrants and the negative reception of Africans in the country (Refugee Council of Australia 2008a).

In this vein, African humanitarian entrants in Australia are often treated as though they will not be able to integrate; a view reflected in the epithet 'once a refugee always a refugee' (see Reiner 2010). Certainly, the existing research indicates that African new entrants in Australia are still experiencing challenges in their settlement, most commonly in the areas of racial discrimination, vilification and stereotyping and cultural and language difficulties (Karlsen, Phillips & Koleth 2011). The alternative is to provide new entrants with a flexible settlement model or a holistic integration that responds to the variety of refugee needs resulting from a traumatic situation. This will help services become more responsive and ensure immigration is sustainable.

This situation, when coupled with past traumatic experiences in their home country and in refugee camps, generates high levels of fear, which affects their settlement. The argument here is that many of these problems result, in part, from the failure to recognise the barriers to settlement that the African entrants face or pay sufficient attention to the experiences of the refugees. To put it another way, the Government and the mainstream service providers are often not aware of the ways in which daily life in Australia differs from ways of life in the respective countries of these people in Africa (Reiner 2010). This makes this research important now in Australia. Indeed, this thesis argues that the lack of understanding by the Government, the service providers and, most broadly, the Australian community about the cultures of African humanitarian entrants has led to significant settlement problems. In particular, the successful settlement of African new arrivals requires the provision of intensive support during the early months of arrival into the country. In a similar vein, the Refugee Council of Australia (2009), Allen (2010), Karlsen, Phillips & Koleth (2011) and Millbank, Phillips & Bohm (2006) all recognise that the majority of new arrivals from Africa came to Australia with a set of challenges that need to be considered and addressed.

The existing literature on the topic shows that absorption of refugees into the workforce enhances speedy recovery from refugee experience, creates speedy adjustment and results in

quality settlement outcomes. Certainly, Campbell (2007) and Hugo (2011) found that getting employment particularly enhances adjustment into the community.

Overall then, this thesis argues that the challenges and difficulties experienced by African humanitarian entrants from refugee backgrounds result from: problems in their home countries; refugee camp life experiences; their reception on arrival; the host community's attitude; and issues associated with the language, culture and identity of the migrants. The accents of most African-Australians and their language communication skills create a serious barrier, while their cultural and identity differences have a potential to create exclusion. However, the extant literature on the settlement of African humanitarian entrants in Australia fails to sufficiently acknowledge the impact that these problems have upon the refugees' integration and adjustment.

Some literature does acknowledge that most refugees from Africa come to Australia with a set of challenges underpinned by traumas, which resulted from long-term conflict in their home countries, and hardships in refugee camps (see, for example, Taylor and Stanovic 2005; (Refugee Council of Australia 2009). In this context, settlement authorities claim that the settlement of African entrants in Australia has been an issue of concern because they require comprehensive settlement support to address the problems they face (Hack-Polay 2009); (Millbank, Phillips & Bohm 2006). However, the literature pays insufficient attention to the experience of the humanitarian entrants. When dealing with refugees, it is therefore fundamentally important to first understand who they are, where they come from, their situation and how they feel living in a new, and very different, community. This can shed light on the differences between humanitarian entrants from different countries and regions, an understanding of which is crucial to design better services.

Settlement may be defined as a process through which the refugee, as a new arrival, adjusts to the new environment in the country of permanent settlement. Crucially, this is a long process and it differs from person to person. For humanitarian entrants who spent protracted years in a refugee camp, starting life in a new country generates fear and high expectations, in addition to other day-to-day challenges. These challenges are often so huge that it just destroys the excitement of being safe in the new country.

It is also important to emphasise that resettling new arrivals from Africa in Australia not only helps refugees, who have often been languishing in refugee camps for years, but, also, adds to

multiculturalism, social cohesion and social and economic development in the country. The settlement of refugees and migrants in Australia thus matters to the country, as well as to the migrants.

ii) An Overview of Resettlement Policies in Australia

In Australia, the refugee settlement policy was initially connected to assimilation policy, with the idea that immigrants would assimilate, regardless of their language, religion or cultural backgrounds. Under the policy, migrants were expected to gradually abandon their past allegiances and adopt the Australian lifestyle. This view is still evident when new entrants are expected to have a high level of English language skills and Australian work experience to secure jobs. The current prominent public debate on the issue of migrants and refugees in Australia is more related to race and ethnicity as such immigration has become the major source of Australian population growth.

The nature of the migration debate in Australia is often fuelled by politics during election times, and discussions of asylum seekers (particularly boat arrivals). Researchers have been critical of the Government's immigration policies that seem to be discriminatory. The government contend that they should decide which refugees to take in. This has seen the number of refugee humanitarian entrants from Asia and Africa reduced, despite the high demand for resettlement (Hugo 2011).

In the Australian context, the term multiculturalism is used to describe the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia, government measures designed to respond to that diversity and a settlement model that preserves the identity, culture, beliefs and values of all citizens, regardless of the race or colour. However, the introduction of multiculturalism as a model met opposition; because some saw it as compromising the values of the country and undermining the country's identity (see Phillips 2011).

The government, FECCA and peak bodies representing ethnic diverse communities in Australia advocate more multiculturalism. Former Prime Minister Julia Gillard officially launched the policy of multiculturalism as government policy in August 2011 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011d). The intake of African refugees and the abandonment of racially restricted immigration policies in the 1960s in order to encourage integration was

certainly a step forward. The choice of a policy of multiculturalism in Australia was designed to reduce discrimination and promote the full participation of individuals and communities of all racial origins.

The key to the successful settlement and adjustment of people from diverse cultures depends upon the removal of all forms of racial discrimination, community acceptance and language and service provision for immigrants. Given this approach, all Australians have the right to be active and equal participants in Australian society, free to live their lives and maintain their own cultural traditions. Multiculturalism policy is still gaining momentum, but its effect is limited due to political scepticism among certain politicians, as was the case particularly under the government of John Howard (Curnow & Wettenhall 2010).

1.2. RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The overarching aim of the thesis is to assess the impact of current Australia settlement system on the settlement of humanitarian entrants from Africa, particularly those who experienced prolonged refugee camp challenges before being resettled in Australia. In doing so, the thesis focuses on views of both African refugees and key service providers on the prospects and problems of integration into the mainstream society. This thesis aims to collect data from the participants to explore issues related to settlement that have not been sufficiently explored, particularly focusing upon barriers to settlement, to suggest ways in which policy and service provision for future new entrants from Africa can be improved.

Overall then, this research will:

- explore the integration and adjustment barriers, the challenges and difficulties experienced by humanitarian entrants from Africa in Australia
- contribute knowledge about the specific needs of new entrants and the barriers to integration, factors which clearly influence successful settlement, drawing on the lived experiences of the respondents in this study

- examine the influence of language and cultural differences, as well as reception experiences, in the settlement experiences of humanitarian entrants from Africa

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based upon a thorough review of the extant literature, which is presented in detail in the next two chapters, four main questions are addressed in this research:

- Does the current Australian settlement model help humanitarian refugee entrants from Africa integrate into the community?
- Are these people provided with the necessary skills to help them overcome the barriers to integration, as well as the challenges of settlement?
- Is this effort sufficient to satisfy the ongoing needs of these entrants after they exit the program?
- Most broadly, is the Australian government doing enough to help entrants to settle successfully?

However, there are a number of subsidiary questions, which are also addressed:

- What are the major challenges that are experienced by African humanitarian entrants?
- What are the factors that can promote successful settlement and adjustment of African new arrivals in Australia, which can help them cope with integration into the host community?
- How are these refugees responding to the settlement model put in place to integrate humanitarian entrants?
- What can be done to improve the process?

1.4. METHODOLOGY

This research utilised semi-structured interviews with respondents to collect most of the data analysed here (see Alvesson & Skoldberg 2009; Neuman 2004; Silverman 2000); (Creswell 2009) and (Carter & Little 2007). I interviewed 12 humanitarian refugee entrants from Africa,

drawn from New South Wales (NSW), Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) who had lived in Australia between 6 months and 10 years. The target population for this research were resettled refugee humanitarian entrants from four UNHCR recognised refugee regions in Africa: the Southern Africa region; the East and the Horn of Africa region; Central Africa; and West Africa. Refugees from North African countries were not included. These interviews were face to face and they were audio taped.

The sampling frame for this research was purposeful, which means that the sampling took into consideration issues such as gender, age and duration in the country, as well as the different UNCHR regions. However, people who needed interpreters were not included in this research due to time constraints and the fact that interpreters would require payment for interpreting. In addition, I surveyed a further 38 humanitarian entrants; more details of the survey are reported below. The aim was to provide an opportunity for the African entrants to have a voice about their settlement experiences in Australia. The interviews in particular allowed me to gather more in-depth information; crucial given the aim of this research was to ‘tease out’ humanitarian entrants’ experience of the settlement process.

I also interviewed 6 officials from the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) and 6 workers in the Migrants and Refugee Settlement Service (MARSS). The interview conducted with both DIBP and MARSS were semi-structured, but they were group interviews and were not audio taped, as both these conditions were required by the organisations before they were willing to grant interviews.

In the interviews I tried, as far as possible, to allow respondents to talk with limited direction. Using this method, I was able to identify a range of different perspectives, reflecting the difference, as well as the similarities, among, and between, the refugees’, the DIBP and MARSS experiences (Burns 2004); (Richards & Morse 2007).

Apart from the number of the people interviewed for this research, a total number of 38 people all from refugee humanitarian entrants were surveyed. This allowed me to gather data from a wider range of the refugee population to supplement the data collected through face-to-face interviews. A number of questions were asked to explore the settlement experiences of African refugee humanitarian entrants in their integration into the country. The survey questionnaires used for this group is included as appendix E. The methodology is discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

1.5. REFLECTION ON METHODOLOGY

In the interviews, I aimed to give confidence to the humanitarian entrants so that they could find the strength to providing detailed information about often distressing experiences Kayrooz & Trevitt (2005) argue that in qualitative research the researcher is allowed to fully participate in the research in order to enhance, sustain and intensify the experience of the participants and, more importantly, to provide and draw upon his knowledge and experience of the problem. However, I was conscious that I needed to avoid influencing my participants' reports of their experience, although, it was important to my respondents that I had lived the same experience. This helped put them at more ease in responding to the questions.

The process of collecting data involved a set of challenges related to my personal experience, my relationship with the refugee community and with other organisations that were interviewed. My own experience helped me to understand the refugees' experiences. However, that same experience is likely to have affected my interpretation of what they said. As such, reflexivity is crucial here. I tried to take into account how my own experiences affected my interpretation of my respondents' experience, but it is important that the reader is aware that is an issue.

1.6. CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS TO THE EXISTING LITERATURE

This thesis contributes to the existing literature on African refugees in Australia in three important ways. First, there is limited work specifically on the settlement of African refugees in Australia. Rather, the majority of the literature deals with past waves of humanitarian entrants; a significant limitation given the current wave of new entrants from African are likely to have a different attitude towards integration and adjustment into the host community (see, for example, (Allen 2010) and (Reiner 2010). Certainly, Jupp (2009) and Hugo (2011) emphasise that little research has been undertaken on African refugee settlement in the community.

Second, there is little focus upon the extent to which linguistic issue and cultural differences affect this process. Rather, the majority of the extant literature focuses on government service provision to refugees and humanitarian entrants by the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP), formerly DIAC, and key services providers in the States and Territories. However, there are a number of key studies (Hugo 2011, Jupp 2009, and Refugee Council of Australia 2009) which emphasise that researchers need to understand the effects of culture and language on settlement and which, relatedly, stress the need for a more holistic approach by those working with refugees. Existing research is primarily focused on exploring the experiences of African new entrants in order to assist in the development of best practice in relation to: the provision of culturally appropriate services; the need for bilingual settlement workers, who have knowledge about the culture of African entrants; and the need to identify the barriers that affect African humanitarian experience.

Third, existing research does not put the arrival process at the centre of the analysis. Here, the argument is that the experiences of the new entrants are crucial if we are to understand and address the problems. Jupp (2009) and Hugo (2011) suggest that Australia is a diverse country, but still struggles to provide settlement to minority groups with unique backgrounds, languages and culture. Harte, Childs & Hartings (2009) emphasise that the majority of humanitarian entrants move to cities in their settlement process, searching for family members and friends; suggesting that family reunifications play a significant role in the settlement of new arrivals for support. Overall, African humanitarian entrants feel pressured to adjust into the Australian way of life within the six months of the intensive support period, leaving the majority of refugee struggling with settlement.

1.7. THESIS OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into 6 chapters.

Chapter 1 has introduced the topic of the thesis. It also identifies and justifies the reasons why this research is important and how and what it contributes to the ongoing debate about settlement of humanitarian entrants from Africa. The chapter also outlines the methodology used for this research to answer the research question.

Chapter 2 provides the context for the humanitarian entrants' experiences. It outlines the journeys refugees travel from their home countries to Australia. The chapter reviews the extant literature on the resettlement of new arrivals in Australia. It considers the scale of the problem and focuses on the entrants' experiences before, and after, resettlement in Australia. The literature review identifies the challenges involved in the settlement and integration of African humanitarian entrants, focusing particularly on language, culture and the reception experience, but paying considerable attention to the community's perception of refugees. This chapter reports the number of refugees considered for resettlement in Australia each year, in the context of increased demand for resettlement. It also outlines the bureaucratic processes involved in the process of resettlement.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used in this research. The chapter considers how the participants were located and selected for this research and discusses the method used for data collection. The chapter also discussed my position as an insider researcher, outlining the advantages, potential disadvantages and limitations of this position, in other words the crucial importance of reflexivity in the context of this research.

Chapter 4 examines the experiences of African refugees in Australia in relation to their settlement. The chapter compares the experiences and views of the refugees regarding their settlement and integration with claims that they do not fit well into Australia mainstream society. In particular, the extent to which and the way in which culture, language and reception experiences are barriers to settlement is discussed.

Chapter 5 explores the views of the Department of Immigration and the key service providers about the settlement of humanitarian entrants. The chapter provides a short history of the provision of settlement services to refugees in Australia in order to identify what Australia can learn from other country's settlement models that can help improve the settlement experiences of African new arrivals.

Chapter 6 of this thesis summarises the overall findings this research and how they relate to the existing literature. It outlines the views and experiences of both the refugees and the key service providers MARSS and DIBP. The chapter discusses the limitations of the thesis and suggests future research directions.

CHAPTER 2:

AFRICAN HUMANITARIAN ENTRANTS IN AUSTRALIA: PROCESS, POLICY AND ISSUES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The Australian Government is committed to accepting a number of African humanitarian entrants each year under the humanitarian entrant offshore program. This chapter outlines the scale of the refugee problem in Africa and Australia's role in helping address it. It is divided in 4 sections. The first section examines the scale of the problem. The second section then concentrates on the situation in Africa, particularly in the refugee camps. Then, the third section focuses on the processes and procedures within Australia for dealing with African humanitarian entrants, paying particular attention to the organisations involved in the process, and the Programmes provided. The final section then focuses upon the problems with resettlement of new entrants, especially African entrants, identified by the extant literature.

First, however, I briefly distinguish between refugees and other categories of immigrants. Many people use the term "refugees" to refer to asylum seekers, migrants and even displaced persons. In fact, refugees and asylum seekers are distinguished by their status in the process. By definition, an asylum seeker is a person who has fled his/her home countries for fear of persecution based on their race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group, political opinion, fear of unrest or threat of war. They can enter a country legally or illegally, seeking protection from that country under the terms of the United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees, as long as the country has indicated a willingness to accept refugees. An asylum seeker has applied for asylum, claiming to be a refugee, but his/her refugee status has not yet been determined (United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees 1951).

In contrast, a refugee is a person who is outside his or her country of origin and is unable, or unwilling, to return to his country due to a reasonable fear of being persecuted, with that fear resulting from war, ethnic strife, imminent insecurity or the threat of persecution, because of being a membership of a particular social group, religion or tribe or holding a different political

view. In simple terms, refugees are successful asylum seekers (United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees 1951).

It should also be understood that, when a refugee is resettled, his/her status changes and s/he is no longer a refugee, but rather a humanitarian entrant awaiting citizenship of that country. The continuing confusion within Australia about the difference between refugees, asylum seekers and resettled humanitarian entrants is particularly problematic for African-Australians who are easily identified by their racial identity and skin colour. They are continuously referred to as asylum seekers or refugees, even after obtaining Australian citizenship.

2.2. THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

Overall, it is estimated that there were more than 5 million refugees in Africa in 2012 (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2012-13). In 2012, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported that 895,000 people from four African countries were forced to flee, due to civil conflicts, to seek sanctuary outside the borders of their home countries and all ended up as refugees. This was referred to by UNHCR as the year of crisis (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012). In Southern Africa alone, UNHCR recorded the highest ever number of new asylum claims filed by individuals from Zimbabwe 149,000, Somalia, 37,500 and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) 35,600. For the scale of the refugees in Africa, see appendix F, (a) (p.133) picture of African refugees fleeing war. The Regional Operation Profile in Africa (ROPA) also reported that in 2011 more than 917,000 Somali asylum seekers were registered refugees in different refugee camps in Kenya. This number was the largest since 2004, when 2.5 million fled from Sudan. During the period from 2010 to 2012, UNHCR offices in South Africa and Kenya received and recorded 89,500 new applications for refugee status, of which 5,679 applied for resettlement. Only 1,863 were granted visas and 3,816 were rejected, as illustrated below in Table 1 on page 30 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012-13). In the same year, Kenya offices received 19,300 new asylum claims, making it the second highest receiving country in the world, behind Malaysia, with 25,600 asylum requests (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012-13).

One, or more, of the following, caused the movement of people in Africa: civil war; armed conflict; ethnic conflicts; change in government; and abuses of human rights. These crises lead many people to flee their home countries to seek protection in another country. The history of African refugee movement can be traced back to pre-colonial time and continued through the colonial period and the African liberation struggles during the 1950s and 1960s (Odongkara 2005). Asylum seekers and refugees from Africa usually come from war-stricken countries affected by protracted civil conflict, including Somalia, Sudan and the DRC (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012-13). Each year thousands of people are reported fleeing their country, adding to a huge existing number of asylum seekers and refugees, which slows the movement to resettlement. The reality of the refugees' journey to resettlement is long, harsh and exhausting. It remains a factor throughout their lives, given the extraordinary challenges and difficulties the refugees face.

The impact of civil wars and ethnic strife in Africa is massive, thus generating a huge number of refugees fleeing their home countries and living in refugee camps outside the borders of their country. However, there are also other drivers, including the marginalisation of minority groups, ethnic cleansing and victimisation and persecution. The movement of people seeking safe-haven in another country is, thus, habitually associated with security concerns and economic burdens.

The UNHCR remains focus on voluntary repatriation as the first option for refugees. To date, the highest numbers of repatriations of refugees in the recent years in Africa involved Angola, Rwanda, DRC, Liberia and Burundi, where thousands were repatriated back to their home countries (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2009 and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012). The UNHCR Commissioner's report in 2012 identified 4.3 million people around the world who were registered as IDPs and emphasised that their experience was degrading. This number was slightly lower than the 43.7 million recorded in 2010, with the decline due to repatriation back to DRC (823,000), Pakistan (620,000), Cote d'Ivoire (467,000) and Libya (458,000) (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012).

In 2010, more asylum applications were lodged in South Africa than in any other country in the world. The trend continued in 2011 and the heavy demands on the asylum system resulted in a backlog of more than 300,000 applications awaiting decision (United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees 2012-1) and Refugee Council of Australia 2013). The majority of asylum applications received in South Africa during this period were from nationals of Burundi, Ethiopia, DRC, Rwanda, Somalia and Zimbabwe; a total of 58,000 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012-13). A similar situation is happening in all regions of Africa.

The scale of the refugee problem goes beyond the number of refugees who need resettlement; the number of refugees in refugee camps who need assistance is crucial. The majority of African refugees experienced severe mental and physical torture, marginalisation, imprisonment, death threats, exposure to criminal activities and years of harsh life in these camps. In addition, some of the refugees witness brutal murders of their family members, friends and relatives, not to mention other cruel and inhuman treatment. This brings substantial problems for refugees in adjusting into the new community and coming to terms with their past history and experiences as a refugee (Ohman 2005 and Reiner 2010).

An application for resettlement in a third country is usually lodged in the country of asylum. The eligibility criterion for resettlement is based on recognition that the refugee has security concerns and the UNHCR accepts that such a person cannot be repatriated. It is important here to recognise that all recognised refugees have been found to have a genuine fear of persecution in their home countries.

The process of refugee resettlement is slow and it takes a long time to be processed. In 2012, UNHCR submitted over 74,800 refugees for resettlement, 18 percent less than in 2011 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012). Overall, in 2012, only 89,007 refugees, representing 0.8% of the worlds' refugees, were resettled (Refugee Council of Australia 2014a).

Table1: Global number of refugees per region in 2014

Region	Number of refugees	%
Africa	340.267	49.9 %
Asia	3265.447	38.4 %
Middle East and North Africa	33.838	4.9 %
America	30.288	4.4 %
Europe	21.075	3.1 %
Total	690.915	

Source: Refugee Council of Australia 2013-14

The majority of the applicants were resettled in USA and Canada. In the broader context, UNHCR identified about 690,915 refugees still in need of resettlement, but the potential numbers of places for resettlement offered by governments were limited to 85,000 worldwide, leaving the vast majority of refugees in limbo with difficult life conditions in refugee camps (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012-13).

In 2009, there were 27,000 asylum seekers in Africa alone, the highest number ever in one year (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2009). Between 2004 and 2008, UNHCR also recorded an increase in the number of people requiring settlement from 53,706 to 560,000 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2009). In contrast, the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2013a) estimated that there are 10.4 million refugees under UNHCR mandate worldwide, with 95,000 needing resettlement in early 2014. However, only 86,000 places were expected to be offered for resettlement in more than 22 refugee humanitarian intake countries

In responding to the refugee crisis since 2004, Australia increased its humanitarian intake from Africa (Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe 2006 and Refugee Council of Australia 2011a). However, the intake of humanitarian refugee from Africa was reduced in 2007 as the focus shifted to the Middle East and Asia (Refugee Council of Australia 2013).

Table 2 illustrates the number of humanitarian offshore program per region and also shows the declining number of refugees from Africa.

Table 2: Australia's offshore Humanitarian Program per region from 2005 – 2012

DIAC region	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Africa	18,956	15,000	18,846	18,831	2,920	2,266	1,833	3,312
Asia	3,720	5,851	20,378	31,346	3,506	3,638	3,539	7,061
Middle East + SW Asia	4,836	3,715	7,586	20,676	4,366	3,217	3,497	23,307

Source: DIAC 2012-13

Table 3 shows Australia's intake in the offshore humanitarian program between 2008 and 2013.

Table 3: Australia’s Offshore Humanitarian Intake 2008 - 2013

Category	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
Refugee	6,499	6,003	5,998	6,004	12,012
Special Humanitarian offshore	4,511	3,233	2,973	714	503
Onshore	2,492	4,534	4,828	7,041	7,504
	13,507	13,770	13,799	13,759	20,019

Australia is one of the major countries, alongside USA and Canada, which is committed to taking a number of humanitarian refugees each year. Australia’s offshore humanitarian program has been accepting 12,750 refugees each year since 2007, with little prospect of increasing the intake, given the current Coalition Government’s immigration policy. Between 2009 and 2010 UNHCR submitted 53,706 applications for resettlement and the number is increasing each year, given the ongoing conflicts in countries like Syria, Somalia, DRC, Mali and many other countries, but Australia still keeps the number in its resettlement intake each year at 12,750.

Table 4 indicates the number of African refugees per region applying for resettlement in Australia under the offshore humanitarian program in 2010-11.

Table 4: UNHCR application statistics for Kenya and South Africa regions

Number of persons applied and number refused application in Africa for 2010–2011

Africa		Number of applications	Granted		Refused/withdrawn	
	Country	Total	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
UNHCR Headquarters	<i>Kenya - Nairobi</i>	<i>4,181</i>	<i>1,312</i>	<i>31.4</i>	<i>2,869</i>	<i>68.6%</i>
	<i>South Africa - Pretoria</i>	<i>1,498</i>	<i>551</i>	<i>36.8</i>	<i>947</i>	<i>63.2%</i>
Total		5,679	1,863		3,816	

Source: (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2012-13)

Crucially, the numbers who applied were just a fraction of the total number of refugees in refugee camps in the two UNHCR refugee regions. In addition, as Table 4 indicates, a significant number of asylum seekers are turned down.

The number of African-born people from a refugee background living in Australia was 7,082 in 1998, which increased to 14,278 in 2006/07. In addition, the 2010 Census revealed a large increase of African-born residents in Australia, to 60,000 since 1990s (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a).

Overall, the number of refugees is growing faster than ever before and the estimated numbers may be too low, given the constant refugee movements. There are still more than 2.7 million refugees in Africa, but resettlement has become increasingly difficult since September 11, 2001, because of the security concerns leading many countries to drastically reduce their refugee humanitarian intake (Jupp 2009, Allen 2010 and Spinks 2009). It is unfortunate that this happened at a time when refugee resettlement demand is very high.

Certainly, the problem has increasingly forced the global community to be more concerned about the welfare and security of the people who are living under such threats and in such conditions. The problem also affects individual countries hosting refugees, mostly in developing countries, which lack the humanitarian resources to assist new arrivals.

2.3. THE SITUATION IN AFRICA

2.3.1 The Refugee Camps

The majority of Africans flee their home country to neighbouring countries for protection and remain in those countries in refugee camps awaiting their request for resettlement to a third country. Refugee camps were first introduced in Europe during World War I. In Africa, the first refugee camp was established as a result of high number of refugees caused by conflict in many countries forcing people to flee their home countries for fear of their lives. By definition, a refugee camp is a temporary camp built to shelter refugees and asylum seekers in the country of asylum administered by the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In

the context of Africa, some of the refugee camps have been in operation for more than 20 years, such as the Dukwi refugee camp in Botswana, Meheba refugee camp in Zambia and many in other African countries, which have been in operation since the struggles for independence in Africa in the 1960s, more than 50 years ago. The majority of these camps have been compared to concentration camps, despite recent improvements (Klotz 2008).

There are almost 700 refugee camps in the world hosting huge numbers of refugees under the UNHCR mandate. More than half of these refugee camps are in Africa. Some countries have more than one refugee camps, for example Kenya has Dadaab, IFO and Kakuma refugee camps and Zambia has Mayukwayukwa and Meheba refugee camps. See appendix F (b) (p, 133) the map that shows refugees camps in Africa. Other countries, such as Tanzania, DRC, Chad, Burkina Faso and Ethiopia, have more than two refugee camps holding thousands of refugees and asylum seekers. However, there are other countries, for example South Africa, Egypt and Ghana, hosting a huge number of refugees, but with no formal refugee camps.

The majority of refugee camps in Africa are located in isolated places, far from urban centres and always on barren land, in order to discourage refugees from absconding from the camp, undertaking income-generating project or growing food (Klotz 2008). In addition, since the establishment of refugee camps, housing has been the major concern, as the people in the camp stay in temporary shelters. It is clear that this situation has a detrimental impact on the future lives of refugees who are subsequently resettled in Western countries. It is hard to come to terms with living in a tent indefinitely, when one is used to better. It also has an adverse effect on the coping mechanisms of a person once resettled.

2.3.2 African Governments and Refugees

Since the inception of the (Organisation of African Unity (OAU) 1969), African governments have accepted the plight of asylum seekers and refugees, with countries in Africa signing up to the Convention on the Status of Refugees. The majority of the countries in Africa are signatories and party to the Refugee Convention, which obliges them to protect the human rights of all asylum seekers and refugees who arrive in their countries, regardless of how, or where, they arrive and whether they arrive with, or without, valid documents.

In 1998, The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Heads of State agreed to address the needs and challenges of refugee and asylum seeker protection, in accordance with the 1969 Organisation of African Union (OAU) Convention (Southern African Development Community 1998).

In this context, Klotz (2008) and Adepoju (2010) argue that asylum seeker and refugee policies in Africa have undergone three stages. First, refugee laws were subsumed under specific country's immigration laws. Next, in the 1970s, specific refugee laws were developed which were intended mainly to control, rather than protect, refugees. Finally, in the 1980s, legislation was introduced in accordance with international laws that incorporated the principle of the protection of refugees. Despite some significant developments in terms of policy in this third stage, many African countries, for example, Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia, Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria, which host refugees, retained regimes designed for controlling refugees (Klotz 2008). Both regional groupings and individual countries, despite ratifying the 2009 African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa (OAU 1969), still restrict asylum seekers from transiting to other destinations and fail to keep their borders open for them. Of course, most of the refugee-hosting countries in Africa are also among the world's poorest nations and, as a result, struggle in handling refugee needs, when there is instability in their neighbouring countries. For those who are refugees in Africa, it remains to be seen how effectively the refugee laws are implemented and how refugee rights are advocated. Refugees still live in fear in refugee camps of abduction and deportations.

2.3.3 Refugees Experiences in the Camps

Each African country formulates its refugee policies under the umbrella of the AOU/AU's refugees' charter, in line with international refugee protocols. However, in general, the policies have been seen as restrictive. For example, Klotz (2008) argues that South Africa restricts access for refugees, reflecting broader xenophobic attitudes.

Research has pointed to many problems in the camps. Some literature, for example Klotz (2008) and Reiner (2010), emphasizes that women (especially young girls) are targets for abuse and exploitation in the camps. However, men are also subject to exploitation in the refugee camps in Africa. They are usually doing the hard work, but paid less by citizens or camp

officials (Reiner 2010). The situation in refugee camps is also associated with mental health problems that severely impede the well-being of refugees in their future lives, making matters worse in challenging environments (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012 and Reiner 2010).

The current refugee camps in Africa are basic and damaging for people to live in for a long time. The United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees acknowledged the adverse impact of refugee camp life on refugees, emphasising that it has a significant detrimental effect on their future prospects; even more critical for the younger people who were born and grew up in the camps. The majority of refugees from long-term, war-torn countries have common experiences, which may include torture, witnessing the death of family members or friends, rape, poverty, hunger, exploitation by border or camp officials and separation from family and community (Spinks 2009 and Jupp 2009).

These refugees have also witnessed extraordinary human rights violations and undergone the worst experiences in their lives, which makes them more difficult to handle in terms of integration and adjustment into a new society; an issue experienced by resettlement countries. Refugees carry with them the experiences of the past to the country of resettlement. People who have lived in a refugee camp for a long time often exhibit some forms of distress, losing hope, with many displaying signs of mental health problems, isolation, stress-related issues and social interaction difficulties. However, the most common problem all refugees experience in their country of asylum is being considered people with low status, which is reflected in the poor reception they receive on arrival into the country.

Overall, becoming a refugee is a difficult experience for many reasons, including: being negatively perceived; experiencing status change; being easy targets for many forms of abuse; and often having one's human dignity degraded on arrival into the country of asylum, seeking protection. Once a person becomes a refugee, the person's ability to take control of his life remains indeterminate, since one cannot determine one's own destiny. The problems have an adverse impact on many refugees, creating barriers in making progress in their lives. Such a situation usually involves losing one's belongings and livelihood, and separation from loved ones, while heading into a more insecure and uncertain future. Few refugees thought they would become refugees and no one wishes to become one, given the negativity associated with the designation and experience.

2.4. RESETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

Asylum seeking in the last century has become a serious issue in many countries including Australia. By definition, “an asylum seeker is a person who have fled his country of nationality for fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, have crossed the border to another country to ask for protection of that country, unwilling to return to their home country due to the same fear and have not yet be recognised as refugees” (United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees 1951).

As already emphasised, the majority of people in Australia still refer to asylum seekers as refugees. Asylum seekers and refugees have the inalienable human rights and freedoms that are universally acknowledged in international protocols, such as the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (1948).

The way in which refugee-hosting countries in Africa and receiving countries like Australia deal with asylum seekers and refugees leaves much to be desired (Klotz 2008, Adepoju 2010 and Refugee Council of Australia 2013). The major issues experienced by asylum seekers during the process to establish their eligibility for settlement revolve around the way in which interviews are conducted and the delay in responding to applications for asylum. Asylum seekers see the interview process as analogous to an interrogation, given that they often involve members of the security forces, for example, the police, intelligence service or secret service, as well as representatives from the UNHCR and the Refugee Council in that country. In addition, the asylum seeker community are continuously isolated from mainstream society due to their status, which leads to serious prejudice, group profiling and social distinction (Klotz 2008).

Once in the country of asylum, asylum seekers are registered with UNHCR in order to be provided with the necessary international protection, emergency shelter, food and security. However, in Australia in 2009, the Refugee Council of Australia (2009) noted serious concerns about the processing and protection of refugees in general.

2.4.1 The Administration Process for Asylum Seekers

UNHCR administers refugee camps jointly with host governments around the world. However, despite them being under a UNHCR mandate, host governments still have the main say over the rules, processes and decisions governing refugee camps. The bureaucratic systems remain a barrier in processing refugee's applications for resettlement, so, even after approval, the process still takes excessive time. The participants in this study had undergone extensive bureaucratic administrative processes from the time they entered the country of asylum to the time of resettlement. The process is often traumatic for applicants due to the delays as refugees wait for their resettlement after approval.

On arrival in the country of asylum, asylum seekers first undergo screening procedures using quasi-judicial and administrative processes operated by the host government, with the UNHCR advocating on behalf of the refugees and trying to convince governments to grant genuine asylum seekers refugee status. When refugees arrive in the country of asylum, the UNHCR and the host country arrange food, water and accommodation. In managing the influx of refugees, the UNHCR is assisted by organisations like Red Cross in providing emergency relief assistance. The number of refugee camps indicates how much work the UNHCR has around the world. In managing this huge task, UNHCR experiences major economic and administrative challenges in the protection and assistance of asylum seekers, refugees and IDPs.

The screening process for asylum seekers then involves different government agencies, the UNHCR and other refugee organisations. These administrative processes are complex and this adds to the already high levels of stress asylum seekers experience in very difficult situations. Refugee status is usually determined by the host country, in line with the operation of international laws to recognise genuine asylum seeker as refugees.

In many instances, restrictions on the number of refugee intake in countries like Australia are predominantly driven by a political agenda. Similarly, in many countries in Africa restrictions on refugee numbers are often imposed by government agencies for security or administrative reasons. Consequently, asylum seekers are treated differently from country to country, depending upon political, social and economic circumstances. Indeed, many authors have argued that the current Australian immigration administrative process is driven by economic

and political factors (Vasta 2006 and Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2010).

The UNHCR continues to advocate the strengthening of the legal, administrative and operational frameworks that support refugees and asylum-seekers around the world. In some cases, UNHCR agencies experience extraordinary challenges in their effort to engage in negotiation and help refugees. This is particularly true in relation to the war-zone countries, where government authorities are reluctant to provide any humanitarian assistance. In trying to provide humanitarian protection to asylum seekers in conflict war zones, UNHCR is often at odds with both parties in the conflict. As mentioned above, it is vital to understand that UNHCR does not have administrative offices in all countries hosting refugees, which leaves a gap in the care for refugees. In East Africa, UNHCR is monitoring both Sudan and Somalia, which are of particular concern, but also the DRC, Mali and some North African countries (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012-13).

2.4.2 Australia's Humanitarian Settlement Program

Since 1945, Australia has welcomed over 800,000 people from different countries under the Humanitarian Programme in response to changing global resettlement and humanitarian needs. From this number, around 60,000 refugees from the Africa region alone have been given Australian citizenship since the first intake (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a and Millbank, Phillips & Bohm 2006).

During the period, the proportion of those resettled in Australia who came from Africa increased proportionately from around 16 per cent in 1998 to a peak of around 70 per cent between 2003 and 2007 (Refugee Council of Australia 2009). The main countries of birth for these entrants were Sudan, Liberia, the DRC, Burundi and Sierra Leone. Resettlement from this region has been reduced in recent years, owing to improvements in the situation of some African conflict areas and a shifting focus of the programme, but resettlement from Africa still remains second to that from the Middle East.

The Programme established over 30 years ago, assisted many thousands of new entrants to find safety and rebuild their lives in Australia. Furthermore, the programme has evolved over time to respond to changing domestic and international environments and to accommodate changes in government objectives.

Australia's Humanitarian Settlement Program provides resettlement for many new arrivals in desperate need, to save them from the distressed circumstances in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The resettlement strategy aims to address the situation in refugee camps, save lives and support the international protection of refugees and asylum seekers in general. This also helps poor countries who are struggling to manage the influx of asylum seekers in their countries.

African refugee humanitarian entrants come to Australia through various humanitarian resettlement programs offered by the Australian Government. The majority of them come to resettlement with a number of problems experienced in their home country and refugee camp prior to entering Australia, causing immense pressure on settlement authorities.

Humanitarian entrants into Australia are distinguished according to two visa categories: Offshore and Onshore. The Offshore category provides humanitarian settlement for people from refugee camps, while the onshore category gives protection to people who are already in the country and qualify for protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention. This study deals with the offshore category, because, to date, records indicate that there are no Africans in the onshore category.

African humanitarian entrants are accepted into Australia under six visa subclasses:

(i) *Refugee Humanitarian Program (RHP)* – visa subclass 200 - comprised of the people who are identified, recommended by UNHCR and referred to countries for resettlement. These people are found to be in need of resettlement.

(ii) *Special Humanitarian Program (SHP)* – visa subclass 201- the Special Humanitarian Program visa. This visa is offered to people living in their home country under serious threat of persecution, mostly people who are unable to escape or seek protection elsewhere.

(iii) *Global Special Humanitarian Program* – visa subclass 202 - the Global Special Humanitarian Program visa. For refugees who are proposed by relatives or citizen of Australia. They can be a refugee, but not necessarily. This category does not include people who have

been subjected to discrimination or human rights abuses in their countries. Community sponsorship programme were stopped, but recommenced on the 1st June 2013, allowing up to 500 places in the 2014-15 humanitarian programme (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a).

(iv). *Emergency Rescue Visa – subclass 203* - the Emergency Rescue Visa, which is similar to 201 visa. It is offered to people who satisfy refugee requirements, are subject to prosecution in their home country and whose lives are in danger from such persecution.

(v). *Women at Risk program - visa subclass 204* – A visa for women who are subject to persecution or are of concern to UNHCR living outside their home country without protection of a male relative and in danger of harassment or serious abuse because of their gender (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a).

(vi). *Skilled Migrant workers – visa subclass 457* – These are migrants who come for work purposes who have skills needed in Australia and who may apply for permanent residence.

Through the offshore humanitarian intake program, Australia resettles 13,750 entrants each year, including 11,000 places under visa subclass 200 and 1,000 places under visa subclass 204; the latter started in the 2013-2014 intake year (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013b).

Settlement involves a process of adjustment and integration of new arrivals into the new country, hoping to become well-established, living an independent life in the country of resettlement. Settlement cannot just happen, rather it requires external support in the host country (Harte, Childs & Hartings 2009, Campbell 2007, Hugo 2011) and Allen 2010), well-known researchers into the settlement and integration of humanitarian entrants and migrants, all emphasised that humanitarian new entrants, irrespective of their past experience, can quickly settle, depending on a number of factors, including: an effective reception program; acceptance by the host community; the new entrant's ability to interact; and obtaining well-paid employment to be self-sufficient.

In the settlement process, African humanitarian entrants often experience language, cultural and reception problems, presenting barriers to their settlement. In this context, many (Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009a, Hugo 2011 and Karlsen,

Phillips & Koleth 2011) have emphasised the enormous challenges commonly experienced by African humanitarian entrants, including a lack of employment opportunities; language acquisition problems; inadequate community education programmes; racial and social discrimination; and social exclusion.

2.4.3 National and International Organisations dealing with this issue

The main institutions involved with asylum seekers and refugees, before and after the recognition of their protection status, are: Government agencies; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; the International Organisation Migration (IOM); non-governmental organisations (NGOs), like the Red Cross; and human rights and Church organisations. The role of these organisations varies in different contexts. The administration of asylum seekers and refugees by host countries is often crucial, because it involves dealing with already traumatised people and taking an extended time in addressing the settlement issue (Garnier 2013).

a) United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

UNHCR is the United Nation organisation established in 1951 to provide and coordinate International Relief Programs (IRP) for Internally Displaced Persons, asylum seekers and new arrivals, helping them with basic needs and welfare. The work of UNHCR is different in the refugee camps and in the country of resettlement. UNHCR has increased its work sections, focusing upon government and community education about the plight of refugees, while retaining an operational focus on resettlement and refugee protection.

The UNHCR headquarter is based in Geneva, Switzerland and it has the following regional offices in Africa:

- (1) The Southern Africa Region headquarters in South Africa;
- (2) The West African Region headquarters in Senegal;
- (3) The East and Horn of Africa Region headquarters in Kenya;

(4) Central Africa and the Great Lakes have two regional headquarters in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Gabon.

The UNHCR's Regional headquarters for Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and Pacific is in Canberra, Australia. It is important to note that UNHCR does not have an office in all refugee camps, but has a representative in each country that hosts asylum seekers and refugees. The primary role of UNHCR is to advocate for, resettle and provide information to government about the plight of asylum seekers and refugees. UNHCR aims to secure the fundamental human rights of refugees and asylum seekers, such as life, liberty, safety and health (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012).

UNHCR provide the necessities, for example shelter, food, water, sanitation and medical care. The majority of countries in Africa are poor and, as a result, cannot cope with a huge number of asylum seekers. UNHCR also provides refugee documentation required for identification. In addition, UNHCR administers the refugees' camps, ensuring the refugees' lives are improved, by providing services like schools and access to income generation.

All applications for the Humanitarian and Special Humanitarian Programs are processed by the UNHCR in the country of asylum or country of refugee. In regional headquarters like Canberra, the role of UNHCR changes and it takes on a monitoring role for both asylum seekers and resettled humanitarian refugee entrants from refugee backgrounds. Settlement of refugees is often a negotiated process between the country of asylum, the UNHCR and the country of settlement, involving a tripartite agreement. UNHCR carry a huge burden of resettling recognised refugees to the third country (UNHCR 2009).

b) The International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) was established in 1951, under a different name, to address the Migrants and Refugees crisis after World War II. The IOM is based in Geneva, Switzerland, but has more than 100 Offices around the world, and programs and activities in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Oceania and Europe (International Organisation for Migration 2010). The main administrative Centre for IOM in Asia Pacific is in Manila in the Philippine. The organisation has four regional administrative offices in Africa, in South

Africa, Kenya, Egypt and Senegal. These offices assist refugees and people of concern to the United Nations to return to their home countries. The organisation is funded by the United Nation to manage its programmes and activities.

The IOM is an intergovernmental organisation charged with the responsibilities of dealing with the movement of refugees worldwide, to offer assistance in their resettlement, repatriation and/or deportation. In addition, IOM provides assistance to humanitarian and refugee societies and works collaboratively with UNHCR, governments and communities to meet refugee needs. The organisation is tasked to uphold the dignity and wellbeing of migrants and refugees around the world and to advance the understanding of migration issues (International Organisation for Migration 2010).

It is important to note that IOM have no daily contacts with refugees or asylum seekers. The organisation is based in regional centres, not like UNHCR in every country-hosting refugees. IOM manages numerous migration projects, which offer different levels of assistance and financial support to refugees, for example, the IOM Refugee Travel Loan Fund (RTLFL), an interest-free loan program designed to help proposers/migrants meet the travel costs of refugees bound for Australia under the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) (International Organisation for Migration 2010). Africans usually use the program and funds to help their relatives to be resettled in Australia.

c) Organisations in the Country of Asylum

In many Christian countries, church organisations assist in receiving asylum seekers on arrival and provide emotional, spiritual and material support, continuing with their role to the time the refugee is repatriated, integrated or resettled in a third country. For example, the Botswana Council of Churches (BCC) established the Botswana Council of Refugees (BCR) to assist the government to assess refugee eligibility and advise government and refugees on the determination of their status. In some other countries, the equivalent organisation is the Refugee Council, usually established by church leaders and government officials. Such organisations exist in most countries in Africa hosting a large number of refugees. Local and national organisations assisting governments work in partnership with UNHCR in helping refugees.

d) Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Australia

Australian NGOs play an important role in assisting humanitarian entrants, refugees and internally displaced people in their resettlement. Their priority areas for the majority of these organisations are: protection; community resilience and capacity development; conflict reduction; prevention of armed violence; and knowledge management and advocacy. Their activities are not restricted to assisting new arrivals in the resettlement process. Many local organisations in Australia are involved in assisting asylum seekers and humanitarian entrants. Here, I discuss the three most important: The Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA); the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (FECCA); and the Migration and Refugee Settlement Service (MARSS).

i) The Refugee Council of Australia

The RCOA is the key peak organisation as regards issues related to humanitarian entrant advocacy in Australia. It is an NGO, funded by the Government, which also raises funds through donations and membership to assist in its work. The major role of the RCOA is to advocate to the Australian Government and International Organisations, such as UNHCR, on human rights issues on behalf of asylum seekers, refugees, humanitarian entrants and migrants (Refugee Council of Australia 2012). It also undertakes research on issues affecting refugees and advises government on refugee policy issues. In addition, the RCOA provides community awareness programmes and education about the needs and rights of humanitarian entrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The organisation represents refugees in the world forums where refugees cannot represent themselves. It also works hand in hand with organisation, for example the Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia to help refugees.

ii) Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia (FECCA)

FECCA is a national, non-governmental, peak body that was established in 1979. It is a not-for-profit and non-political, community-based organisation. The organisation is managed by a

Board of Directors drawn from across States and Territories and is funded by the Commonwealth Government under its multicultural affairs programme.

FECCA's key role is to represent Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and it is committed to the view that multiculturalism is the key to settling in Australia for refugees and migrants. Another significant role of the organisation is to advocate, lobby and promote refugee issues to government and strive to ensure that the needs of people from diverse backgrounds in Australia are respected. FECCA goes beyond assisting people from other cultures, aiming to protect the fundamental rights of Australian from all racial groups.

iii) The Migrant and Refugee Settlement Services (MARSS)

MARSS is currently the organisation dealing with settlement for migrants and humanitarian new arrivals in the ACT. ACT is the headquarters of the DIBP and the main geographical focus of this research study. MARSS is funded by the DIBP to provide settlement services to all migrants and humanitarian entrants for six months. In the ACT, migrants are assisted by MARSS and the Red Cross, which is funded to assist refugees and asylum seekers, particularly those who are housed in the community detention center with bridging visas.

There are similar sister organisations in all the States and Territories in Australia. MARSS is a not-for-profit organization, run by a Board of Directors. Its mission is to provide settlement-related services for migrants, refugees and humanitarian entrants in the ACT. The DIBP and the Australian Capital Territory Government have mainly funded it since 1990. More importantly, MARSS is one of the two organisations that participated in this study, as the key settlement service in Canberra and its region for all people who come to Australia through the humanitarian program and the Special Humanitarian Program.

MARSS provides the following programs for migrants and refugees:

- The Humanitarian Settlement Program (HSP). The Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) provides reception support and information to refugees on arrival, and meets their initial service needs, for example, housing, health checks, education.

- The Settlement Grant Program (SGP) provides casework support, referral and advocacy services, along with group information sessions on essential and significant issues.
- The Community Development Program (CDP) is a community-based program intended to help bridge the gap between migrants, refugees and the broader community, through English classes, computer classes, home tutoring and sports programs.

iv) Other Australian NGOs

Many NGOs in Australia are involved in assisting refugees and asylum seekers in their quest for protection in the countries of asylum and resettlement. Refugees are often, perhaps usually, more comfortable to tell their problem to NGOs, than to Government or government agencies. In nearly all countries of asylum and resettlement, NGOs play leading roles in assisting refugees and humanitarian entrants. Government and the UNHCR to help in assisting refugees often contract church organisations. In Australia, the Salvation Army, CatholicCare and other organisations play an important role in helping migrants, new refugees and humanitarian entrants.

The Red Cross help refugees and asylum seekers in refugee camps around the world with basic needs, mostly tents, clothes and food on arrival in the new country, even before UNHCR have access to them. Human rights organisations also play a significant role in helping refugees and asylum seekers internationally and, in many countries, they advise governments and UNHR on legal matters pertaining to the refugee rights and on the implications of mishandling the refugees' situation. Oxfam Australia is one of Australia's biggest overseas aid agencies and plays an important role in assisting refugees and asylum seekers and, generally, people in crisis, and in community education around the world. As an example, they recently assisted internally displaced people in Sudan's Darfur region (United Nation High Commissioner For Refugees 2008 and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2012-13).

e) The Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP)

The DIBP is the Commonwealth Department responsible for immigration, migration, refugees and border protection. The DIBP provides funding to organisations that help new arrivals to settle in Australia, through the Federal Government Settlement Grant Program (SGP). The Australian Government, through its Humanitarian Programs, has a crucial role to play in developing a durable solution to the resettlement of refugees and the international protection of asylum seekers. The Program is designed to ensure that Australia can effectively respond to humanitarian situations around the world. The DIBP is the leading government agency charged with responsibility for refugees and humanitarian entrants' settlement into the country, in collaboration with UNHCR. A group involving the host governments, UNHCR and NGOs, providing service on behalf of the government, thus manages the affairs and the welfare of asylum seekers and refugees.

2.5. THE CHALLENGES FACING AFRICAN HUMANITAIRAN ENTRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

As emphasized, African refugees have undergone difficulty situations in their journey to resettlement. The stories of these refugees and humanitarian entrants are well documented; they have witnessed horrible situations, physical and emotional torture, hunger and death. All the above have had pervasive impacts on individual lives. However, they also face problems when they arrive in Australia.

The literature focuses upon the general experiences of African humanitarian entrants in their resettlement in Australia, with particular attention being paid to issues associated with employment, discrimination and family reunion, which are seen as closely linked to settlement and integration, Most scholars suggest that employment and discrimination are related to language skills, qualifications and work experience in Australia (Jakubowicz 2010, Allen 2010 and Hugo 2011). However, Colic Peisker & Tilbury (2006) and Reiner (2010) remain unconvinced, arguing that discrimination is difficult to assess.

Unsurprisingly, what constitutes settlement for people from refugee backgrounds who are special humanitarian entrants to Australia is a matter of contention (Campbell 2007). Certainly, the policy, which provides only six months support for new arrivals significantly impacts on some of them. Realistically, new entrants are different and some take a longer time to integrate than others, due to their past background, adjustment ability and other issues related to their status (Spinks 2009).

In this context, the major settlement issues identified in Australia revolve around: reception on arrival; family reunion; social isolation and exclusion; and problems of language and culture. These are barriers to settlement which need to be addressed. The majority of African humanitarian entrants who are settled in regional cities experience isolation from other friends who arrived before them and, as a result, they follow them to the metropolitan cities, where they can access better services and other opportunities (Jakubowicz 2010).

a) Reception

Over the past decades, humanitarian settlement intake countries, including Australia, have struggled with facilitating refugee settlement and integration (Korac 2003). The Australian settlement service's reception program is said to be advanced by world standards, but some observers believe that there are problems associated with the settlement of humanitarian entrants, particularly those from other cultures with unique problems (Hugo 2010 and Jupp 2009).

In the integration process for new arrivals, appropriate reception plays a key role in laying the foundation for adjustment and making new arrivals feel welcome. How new arrivals are received at the airport and the welcomed by the community is crucial for the success of the refugee's adjustment. For example, the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009 recommended a welcoming approach that has the potential to breakdown many barriers. However, some refugees have problems that require specialist help, for which there are few resources, especially in rural areas.

The negative public attitude towards new arrivals makes it difficult for new entrants, because they feel unaccepted, particularly when there is a hostile public debate about migrants and media scrutiny. Higgins (2009) and Taylor & Stanovic (2005) argue that the settlement location

of humanitarian entrants from Africa is sometimes a challenge to the host country, because many people from refugee backgrounds prefer country life, as they are accustomed to communal life, while others prefer big cities and face challenges in their integration.

The 2007 rejection of Sudanese families by the Tamworth Council was a typical example of the type of reception humanitarian entrants have received from the host communities (Refugee Council of Australia 2008a and Jakubowicz 2010). This is crucial given the fact that African new entrants are minorities and different, and are sensitive about whatever happens to them. Commentators and media portrayals of Africans-Australian as primitive people make them feel unwelcome and easy targets for scrutiny. It is depressing and surprising to note that some of Australians refer to “Africa” as a country, not as a continent, despite the consistence message that refugees come from different countries in Africa, with different cultures. In this vein, the SBS documentary “*Go back to where you come from*” 2012 highlighted the racial hatred by some individual Australians within the society against migrants. Refugees and new entrants particularly Africans, who are easily identified as refugees.

b). Family reunion

Studies in Australia dealing with settlement refer to family reunion or sponsorship of family members and friends as a factor that can help adjustment (Refugee Council of Australia 2010b). Family sponsorship or reunion can solve the issue of isolation that affects seriously on individuals who cannot cope with integration without family members. In fact, it has been made difficult for individuals to propose family members, because of restrictions and cuts in the number of special humanitarian entrants.

There is an intense pressure on both the government to assist entrants with family reunion and on refugees to accept the government’s policy. However, the current Australian settlement strategy does not seem to be doing enough to help humanitarian entrants to adjust and settle without barriers (Allen 2010, Reiner 2010 and Jakubowicz 2010). Everyday life in Australia for those who are far away from their home countries without family member is difficult, particularly among minority groups disadvantaged due to their race, culture and limited language skills. African cultures emphasise the importance of extended family living together

for support, and, therefore, separation, isolation and living without family members are crucial issues in their integration and adjustment into the host community.

African families are always extended, including not only siblings, but also more distant relatives, making the family large. The majority of families in Australia want to live close to their relatives and /or friends, so they can stick together in times of difficulties. Many African families who live without family members, who remain in their country of origin, often in dire circumstances, feel isolated.

c). Social isolation

The Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (2009) established that African entrants into Australia experience social isolation when resettled in locations where there are no communities from their own countries or culture. Reiner (2010), who emphasised that the majority of entrants from Africa experienced isolation, because of their cultural and identity differences from mainstream society, also reiterated this point. Such isolation is often associated with discrimination. In this context, family reunion is an issue that policy-makers often fail to come to terms with, failing to understand how important it is in the settlement process of new entrants from a different culture and racial identity. As Jupp (2009) and Hugo (2010) argue, the new environment is highly confronting to arrivals who often isolate themselves to avoid being subject to racism.

The majority of researchers acknowledge that the social isolation of people from different ethnic and cultural identity promotes exclusion, inevitably leading to the formation of groups based on cultural and ethnic backgrounds in Australia (Odongkara 2005 and Hugo 2010). Due to such isolation problems, migrants and refugees have the highest level of secondary movement between states, often wanting to relocate near to family members and friends (Harte, Childs & Hartings 2009). It is fundamental to understand that the removal of barriers and allowing proactive participation can be an essential element of inclusion. The Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia (2010) emphasised that Australian humanitarian settlement gives no role to the community or to group associations in helping fellow humanitarian new arrivals to adjust to their new country. Involving qualified people from

refugee backgrounds, or from the same culture, in the process clearly enhances the integration of new arrivals, and provides them with hope. In addition, (Gebre-Selassie 2008) argues that the involvement of community associations in the settlement process allows new arrivals to feel at home, when people who understand their language, culture and situation, particularly someone from their own ethnic group, assist them. In New Zealand and Canada humanitarian entrants are welcomed by their family members, relatives or people from their country on arrival, making life easier for them and making them feel welcome (Phillips 2011 and Cebulla, Daniel & Zurawana 2010).

Crucially, social inclusion involves respect for individuals and groups, and supporting community activities that are sensitive to cultural differences (Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe 2006). In light of the above, the involvement and engagement of community-based organisations in the settlement process, advising on what should be done and how it should be done, empowers the new arrivals to participate in society.

The Australian settlement strategies for African humanitarian new arrivals have been changing in the past decades, trying to meet their needs, with the primary aim of addressing the barriers facing new arrivals. Service providers implement projects in key areas that include: assisting new arrivals in their orientation into the new community; helping new arrivals to develop their own community; providing information about where to get services; and promoting social participation and integration (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2009a). Even so, Jakubowicz (2010) argues that the humanitarian settlement programme for Africans needs to better understand their cultural diversity and racial identity in order to help their settlement.

In Australia, reviews of policy changes have increased understanding of the challenges facing people from refugee backgrounds (Refugee Council of Australia 2009) and (Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009a). This means that refugee policy in Australia is developing a better sense of how to encourage humanitarian settlement. As Hancock (2009), Tilbury (2007) and Reiner (2010) argue, it is important to understand that the African community in Australia are racially different from Australian mainstream society.

However, the 'one size fits all' policy model does not suit entrants from Africa, due to their past experiences and level of English skills. Providing the same type and duration of service provision to all new entrants disadvantages emerging communities, meaning that they struggle

with community connection and integration. The Refugee Council of Australia (2009), the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (2009a) and Hancock (2009) have all expressed concern that not all mainstream settlement agencies are equipped to deal with the needs of humanitarian entrants, particularly in terms of funding. The Refugee Council also emphasises that unemployment is the number one concern for new arrivals, particularly when race and identity issues (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2009a) exacerbate this.

d). Housing

Housing is a major issue in the settlement of African families. Access to appropriate and affordable housing has been a huge issue for new arrivals in Australia. With African families in Australia, the size of the family is always seen as a problem. African families are large and affordable houses are mainly 2, 3 and 4 bedrooms houses. As a result of this, they share bedrooms, and landlords do not want many people in their houses, which leaves many African families separated and on the brink of homelessness (Harte, Childs & Hartings 2009 and Reiner 2010). For refugees, finding appropriate housing that is affordable is crucial for stability. Housing for new arrivals families is essential for successful settlement.

There are also changes to housing assistance that has created a huge problem, as new arrivals with no income experience problems with securing accommodation, especially those who move interstate (Harte, Childs & Hartings 2009). This is mostly associated with the size of families and refugees having no rental references.

2.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the challenges refugees and humanitarian entrants face on their journey to Australia and in their experience of settlement once here. In addition, the chapter provided an overview of the challenges associated with the integration of African humanitarian entrants into Australia.

There is a strong argument in the literature that humanitarian entrants, particularly those from Africa, value the role of families, friends and people from their own culture or countries in their settlement, to enable them to share cultural practices and maintain familiar patterns of relationships in their integration. Such links play a significant role in making them feel connected, initially as part of the group and later with the wider community. Jupp (2009) and Reiner (2010) have thus emphasised that the establishment of connections with 'like-ethnic groups' has various benefits, contributing towards effective integration. In the settlement process, language is considered the major resource for accessing education, employment and access to public information, which leads to integration.

The nature of the immigration debate in Australia prevents Australia contributing to the movement of more than a limited number of the millions of refugees in refugee camps in African countries out of the camps. A review of the Australian immigration policies towards refugees is crucial to the integration process. The literature to date does not shed enough light on African humanitarian entrants' experience of settlement. Consequently, this chapter has laid out the background required for Chapter 5 and 6, which focus upon the African humanitarian refugees' own settlement experiences.

In addition, the chapter outlined how organisations involved with refugees are organised, funded and their roles in refugee assistance. UNHCR serves the interest of refugees under the 1951 UN Convention Related to the Status of Refugees, actively advocating for refugees on the international stage by reminding foreign Governments of their obligations under the Convention, and helps assist Signatories with adherence to the convention. UNHCR carry a huge burden of resettling recognised refugees to the third country. It strives to meet the basic needs of people of concern and to provide them with essential services, primarily in emergencies on arrivals. UNHCR works closely with countries holding refugees and countries of resettlement to support refugees that require protection.

In the process of assessing the eligibility of asylum seekers and status determination, it is vital to remove the barriers which face the refugees. Given the uniqueness of the refugee journey to resettlement, it is paramount that resettlement country should be able to understand that resettlement of traumatised new arrivals should be different and requires ample time to allow them to cope with settlement. This chapter outlined the type of experiences that humanitarian

entrants have before and during settlement period and identified some of their barriers experienced during the process.

Many people who came to Australia as refugees under humanitarian entrants since 1945 have significantly contributed to the Australian economy. Today Australia is proudly referred to as a multicultural country, because of the number of people who have come from different culture, which includes those from African descent. As statistics indicate, Africa is still the highest refugee producing continent, but the Australian government has dropped the intake, leaving a huge number of refugees languishing in remote refugee camps for years.

As emphasized, this chapter has established the context for future chapters, which focus on the refugees' own settlement experiences. The next chapter will provide an overview of the methodology utilised.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

As already emphasised, the main purpose of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' experience of their settlement and integration into the Australian society, focusing upon how they themselves understand their settlement and adjustment. The target population for this study were people from refugee backgrounds, but I also conducted group interviews with the DIBP and MARSS. The chapter has 2 sections. Section 1 outlines the methods used for this study, the sample selection and the analysis I undertook. Section 2 then briefly outlines the limitations of the data.

3.2. DATA AND ANALYSIS

I used a combination of a documentary analysis, a questionnaire and qualitative interviews to examine the experiences of my respondents, humanitarian entrants, the DIBP and the main service provider, in relation to resettlement.

3.2.1. Contextualising the Interviews

Before initial interviews were conducted, I attended numerous community and group Association meetings to acquaint myself with the community, their problems and the issues affecting the African community in Australia. In this context, community leaders were informally asked about the challenges their communities experience in terms of adjustment into the Australian society. However, the information from this group is only used to contextualize the interview responses.

3.2.2. Semi-Structured Interviews with Humanitarian Entrants

The semi-structured interviews were designed to help me better understand the experience of both refugees and service providers (Ohman 2005 and Alvesson & Skoldberg 2009). The major reason for using a qualitative method was that it allows the researcher better to understand the meanings people attach to their experiences and actions (Ohman 2005 and Silverman 2000). It provided me with an opportunity not only to collect data, but also to connect with both people who have been experiencing challenges in relation their settlement (Lewis 2007 and Ohman 2005) and those people responsible for delivering the settlement programs.

All the interviews with humanitarian entrants were individual interviews. Prior to these interviews, Companion House and Lifeline were approached to be on the alert in case the interview triggered emotions about past experiences. During the research, the anonymity of individual participants was guaranteed, with all participants' allocated pseudonyms.

Before the interview, all participants were informed of its purpose and procedures, and assured that their confidentiality would be maintained. With the permission of the respondents, all interview sessions were audio-recorded (Richards & Morse 2007). The time and place for interviews and their duration were decided by the interviewee, although the average duration of interviews was one hour.

In the semi-structured interviews I asked a set of predetermined questions. However, the sequence in which the questions were asked differed from participant to participant, depending on the nature of their responses and questions were followed up where appropriate. Before conducting the initial interviews, I tested the validity of the questions on five respondents, all of whom had been in Australia for more than five years (Babbie 2008). The information collected from these pilot interviews was not used as part of the research data. Some of the questions were altered because of advice from the pilot interview participants.

The interviews were semi-structured, but with open-ended questions. Silverman (2000) emphasised that producing a schedule beforehand provides the researcher with a basis for comparing participant's responses, but advocates that the sequence in which the questions were asked should vary depending on the nature of their responses.

Each interview was preceded by a general chat to put the respondent at ease. In the interview itself, I tried to create the atmosphere of an ordinary conversation to tease out the respondent's views, experiences and how they understand their settlement process (Walter 2006). Participants were encouraged to give information in their own way. The dynamics of interviews is heavily dependent on the capacity of the researcher to ask prompting questions, but allow the respondent to provide the relevant information from their own point of view about their experiences.

I focused on refugees who had been in Australia between 6 months and 10 years. To find the participants, I used links which I already had with various organisations, including community groups, the University of Canberra's (UC) African Association (AA), the Canberra Institute of Technology (CIT) and Migrant and Refugee Settlement Service (MARSS), in line with the recommendation of Kaplan (2004).

Recruited participants were asked to assist in finding other participants. Migrants and Refugee Settlement Service (MARSS) and Companion House (CH) were involved both in helping me to secure participants and in the distribution of the survey questionnaires. Companion House is an organisation contracted by the Department of Immigration to provide counselling service to survivors of torture and trauma in Australia. A letter from my supervisor was provided to complement the invitation letters for participation.

I interviewed twelve African respondents drawn from Sydney, Wagga Wagga, Goulburn in NSW, and Canberra in the ACT. In selecting participants, English was a crucial requirement, so that I could directly communicate with respondents and obtain information without using a third person. The participants selected had a sound level of English skills for communication. The table below indicates the demographics respondents interviewed for this research.

Table 5: Humanitarian entrants interviewed:

<i>No</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Rwanda	HE 1	1		1
2	Rwanda	HE 2		1	1
3	South Sudan	HE 3	1		1
4	Namibia	HE 4		1	1
5	Liberia	HE 5		1	1
6	Sierra Leone	HE 6		1	1
7	South Sudan	HE 7	1		1
8	South Sudan	HE 8	1		1
9	South Sudan	HE 9	1		1
10	South Sudan	HE 10		1	1
11	South Sudan	HE 11	1		1
12	South Sudan	HE 12	1		1
<i>Total</i>			7	5	12

The gender and country of origin of the 12 people interviewed is reported in Table 5 and of the 55 people surveyed in Table 6.

TABLE: 6 Participants' profiles participated in the survey

Community participants' gender	Male	Female	Total
Angolan	1	3	4
Burundian	4	3	7
Democratic republic of Congo (Congolese)	2	4	6
Liberian	3	3	6
Namibian	-	2	2
Rwandese	5	2	7
South Sudanese	12	5	17
Sierra Leone	2	3	5
Zimbabwean	-	1	1
TOTAL	29	26	55

The majority of humanitarian entrants in Australia are South Sudanese and they made up the majority of participants in this study. Respondents were from ten countries drawn from across the UNHCR refugee regions: the West African refugee region (Ghana, Nigeria); the East and Horn of African region (Somalia, South Sudan, Kenya); the Southern African region (South

Africa, Tanzania); and the Central Africa and the Great Lakes region (DRC, Rwanda). As such, my sample, while not representative, did reflect various African countries and cultures.

The majority of the participants (here considering the survey respondents and the interviewees together) were male, while the youngest participant was 18 and the oldest 58. The majority of participants were either students or unemployed, but three held fairly senior positions. Surprisingly, one respondent was a teenager living alone, while another was a woman living alone.

3.2.3. Interviews with DIBP and MARSS participants

DIBP and MARSS were reluctant to be interviewed. After numerous visits attempting to discuss the issue, they both agreed to group interviews, but not to them being audiotaped. In both cases, the respondents were those people in the organisation who were directly involved or experienced in dealing with refugees in Australia. They were identified by supervisors or senior officers in the organisation. DIBP insisted that their policies do not permit them to be interviewed and individual interviews are not allowed by the department. Similarly, during the interview negotiations with MARSS, they indicated that, because they are funded by DIBP, they were also not allowed to be individually interviewed or audiotaped during interviews.

a). Interview with MARSS

The interviews with MARSS were semi-structured. This enabled the respondents to provide in-depth views of their organization's view of the settlement process. Six officials from MARSS participated in the interview, including the Chief Executive Officer (CEO), the Deputy Manager and senior caseworkers. They had worked in MARSS between six months and 10 years, dealing with new arrivals and migrants from Africa and other countries. Participants represented the three main sections of the organisation assisting new entrants: the Humanitarian Settlement Service; the Settlement Grant Program, and the Community Development section. Each individual member of the group contributed views in relation to each question, but the officials were clearly conscious of the presence of the CEO. The group interview with MARSS lasted more than one hour and the questions asked dealt with their policy in relation to, and

their experience of, the settlement and integration of humanitarian entrants. However, it is important to emphasise again that the interview was not audio-recorded because the Management were not willing to take an audio tape-recorded interview, so, instead, I took extensive notes.

b) Interview with DIBP

Six officials from DIAC, now DIBP, also participated in a group interview, refusing individual interviews for the same reason as MARSS. All the participants involved were senior staff members and there were representatives of four sections of the department. The participants included the Director and the Deputy Director of the Department of Humanitarian Settlement Services. They had spent between 18 months and 15 years dealing with humanitarian entrants. The interview with this group was not tape-recorded. All participants responded to the questions. As was the case for MARSS, the questions asked dealt with policy in relation to, and their experience of, the settlement and integration of humanitarian

3.2.4. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire responses were used to supplement the interview material. I pre-tested the survey questionnaire by administering it to five respondents to get feedback (Babbie 2002 and Babbie 2008). Hundred questionnaires were sent to humanitarian entrants, 38 of whom responded. The questionnaires sent to potential respondents through Settlement Service Organisations and Community Organisations/Associations using snowballing technique; in some special cases emails were used, depending on the preferences of the participants (Richards & Morse 2007).

The questionnaire had three sections. The first section of the questions were related to personal details and past refugee history, the second section dealt with resettlement and integration and identifying their settlement needs, while the last sections asked them for suggestions about how the settlement process could be improved.

The questions asked included:

1. In which country were you born?
2. How old were you when you became a refugee?
3. For how long did you stay in the refugee camp
4. When did you arrive in Australia
5. For how long have you been in Australia?
6. How did you find reception on arrival in Australia
7. How are finding the Australian culture compared to your culture?
8. How is language affecting your resettlement and integration in Australia?
9. How are coping with integration in Australia?

3.2.5. Documentary Analysis

A number of official documents involving humanitarian settlement, together with a variety of literature on settlement were collected from the beginning of the research. The main source of the documents and literature materials used in this research was the DIBP, but other literature from international and national humanitarian organisations was consulted.

The study drew particularly on the following official documents, which were given me by the DIBP:

- Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *About the Research, Settlement outcomes of new arrivals, Policy innovation*, Research and Evaluation Unit April 2011.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Refugees and Humanitarian Issues, Association Response*, June 2011
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Planning for Services delivered under the settlement grant Program*, November 2011
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship. *Fact Sheet 60: Australia's Humanitarian Program*. www.immi.gov.au/humanitarian/offshore/how-propose.htm
- *Settlement outcome of New Arrivals* (Australian Survey Research, April 2011); <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/research/pdf/settlement-outcomes-new-arrivals.pdf>

- Professor Graeme Hugo, *Social and Civic Contribution of first and Second Generation Humanitarian Economic Entrants*, June 2011
<http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/research/pdf/economic-social-civic-contributions-about-the-research2011.pdf>

These and other documents were accessed during the group interviews with the DIAC, now DIBP and they explain how DIBP assist new entrants in their settlement and integration into the Australian society. Some of the additional documents sourced covered government legislations, settlement policies and other supporting documents from NGOs, for example, Human Rights Organisations and Refugee Councils of Australia representing refugees.

3.2.6. Informed consent and ethical issues

Informed consent is a crucial and important before undertaking a research. Participants in this research were fully informed and issues were explained in simplest terms before asking them to consent to participation, explaining what their participation entailed, their rights to confidentiality and privacy and the risks and benefit from participating. They were encouraged to ask questions about anything they were not sure off and told they had a right to withdraw their participation at any time (Christians 2000 and Silverman 2000).

All participants were given an information pack which provided information about privacy, ethics approval requirements, the retention of data, confidentiality and the formal complaint procedures of the Human Ethics Research (University of Canberra 1999). Participants in this research were not coerced, encouraged or paid for their participation (Christians 2000). In preserving anonymity and confidentiality, participants' responses were not attributed.

In the interviews, I aimed to avoid embarrassment, stress, discomfort or pain to participants by moderating the way in which I asked questions. Cultural and religious issues were particularly sensitive when dealing with my target population. During interviews, I avoided questions that were sensitive in nature, capable of causing discomfort or triggering emotions. The information gathered has been treated in accordance with the human research ethics directives and all data will be destroyed at the end of the recommended timeframe.

3.2.7. Data Analysis

Originally, I planned to use NVivo, a software package designed for qualitative researchers working with text-based data (Bazeley 2007) and (Babbie 2008). However, when undertaking the research I decided to change and use manual analysis in order better to capture the gestures, feelings and emotions of the participants as part of my analysis and interpretation. Five common themes emerged from the interviews and survey responses, covering language problems, culture and identity, reception problems and the perception of the host community, employment, and being black in Australia.

3.3. METHODOLOGY LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES FACED DURING THE FIELDWORK

3.3.1. Limitations of the data

There were a number of important limitations with the data collected from humanitarian entrants. First, the sample size was limited, and results obviously cannot be generalised to the whole community of African humanitarian entrants (Bazeley 2007 and Carter & Little 2007). As such, the results are only indicative and the themes identified could be followed up with a representative sample. Second, most of the interviews were conducted in the ACT, although the questionnaire data was drawn from several locations. Third, the participants were limited to those who could speak English (Temple & Edwards 2006). Even in the case of those I interviewed, some had more limited English skills. Fourth, there was a gender imbalance in the sample for cultural reasons. Fifth, unsurprisingly given their histories, the majority of the respondents were more concerned with their own experience than with the general problems facing African humanitarian entrants.

There were also obvious limitations in the data from service providers. First, the fact that there was no alternative but to undertake group interviews, which were not recorded, with MARSS and DIBP officials was an important limitation. Second, and relatedly, the presence of senior

staff in group interviews meant that more junior staff was probably circumspect in their response.

Despite these limitations, this research is the first to address this issue largely from the perspective of African humanitarian entrants themselves and their voice has been absent from discussions of the important issues raised here,

3.3.2. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a crucial aspect of research of this type. It is my interpretation of the respondents' views that I am reporting. Even though I often report their voices, I have chosen which voices to report (Patton 2002). As such, my own experiences are important and may affect my choices, even though I tried to stand back as much as I could.

In broad terms, I have lived the same experience as my respondents. I came to Australia through UNHCR-organised Humanitarian refugee resettlement and have undergone similar challenges including, unorganised reception on arrival, language and cultural barriers, and, most crucially, employment problems. Before arriving in Australia, like many refugees, I also experienced some forms of torture and trauma, some of which remain barriers to my resettlement and life in general. I also have experience of working for MARSS as a Settlement Grant Program caseworker, helping refugees to settle within the community. This experience helped and added value, giving me a deeper understanding of the refugee and migrant settlement from the perspective of both the migrant and a case-working helping refugees.

While this shared experience inevitably impacted on my interpretations, it also had significant advantages. As Creswell (2009: (p 13, see also Alvesson & Skoldberg 2009) argues: "the researcher being an active participant introduces a range of strategic, ethical, and personal issues into qualitative research". The rapport and trust that resulted from shared experiences was integral, not only for securing participation in the study, but also in sustaining it over time. It gave me a connection with my respondents and made it easier to put them at ease when they were discussing often-traumatic experiences. It also meant I had a better understanding of their experiences; one that it would be difficult for someone without those experiences to gain.

There were personal challenges during interviews because of the emotions of the people interviewed, which obviously evoked response in me, which reflected my own experiences. In many ways, the process of joint reflection involved had a meaningful self-healing effect on both me and I think my respondents.

Therefore, the fact I shared experiences with my respondents helped me develop rapport with them and, particularly, gave me an insight into their experience. However, I also needed to reflect on how this might affect my interpretation of their experience. I am not claiming to be an 'objective' observer, but I did try to be a 'professional' social scientist, in large part by making clear throughout of my awareness of how my interpretations may be affected by my own experiences.

3.4 CONCLUSION

My aim in this research is to provide a better understanding of African humanitarian entrants' views of their experiences of settlement, as well as the views of service providers about the settlement process. As such, I used semi-structured interviews with African humanitarian entrants, backed by a questionnaire, and group interviews with officials from MARSS and DIBP, together with documentary analysis. In this chapter, I have outlined the research process which I undertook, explored issues of reflexivity and acknowledged the limitations with my data. In the next two chapters, I report my findings.

CHAPTER 4:

AFRICAN REFUGEES' PERSPECTIVES ON SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA: PROMISES, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the settlement experiences of African refugee humanitarian entrants in Australia. It will identify the issues they face, such as discrimination, poor community acceptance and a lack of employment opportunities, utilising semi-structure interviews conducted with, and questionnaires completed by, members of the African communities in Australia in November 2012.

The chapter shows that there are important differences between what the literature suggests are the main settlement barriers and the experiences of my respondents. My research indicates that there has been an important shift in the content and scope of the settlement and integration issues experienced by African new arrivals in Australia. A central finding is that the respondents acknowledge their own responsibility in the settlement process, even though they identify various social factors that adversely affect their integration into the host society. My research gives the African new entrants a voice about issues related to their settlement in Australia.

The chapter is divided into 5 sections. The first section briefly outlines the changing context of, and issues involved with, settlement, before the second section focuses on the factors which influence the settlement of African humanitarian entrants. In section 3, I examined my respondents' views about the issue of social exclusion and then in section 4 focus on the services provided to humanitarian entrants. Finally, a brief section outlines my respondents' overall views of the settlement process.

4.2 THE CHANGING CONTEXT AND ISSUES OF SETTLEMENT

It has been acknowledged by various scholars that the majority of African humanitarian entrants experience significant adaptation, adjustment and coping difficulties in their integration into the Australian community (Jupp 2009, Hack-Polay 2009). Most Africans from refugee background come to Australia for settlement purposes because of war in their home countries. On their arrival, they encounter new types of challenges related to integration and adjustment to a new country, its people, culture and language. As Keel & Drew (2004) noted, new arrivals experience particular adaptation challenges during the few months after arrival in their new country.

Africans, like other refugees who come as humanitarian entrants, receive permanent residence status upon landing in Australia, but this is hardly recognised by the host community. Indeed, even after receiving their citizenship, they are still referred to as “refugees”; a common issue experienced by all African-Australians with dark skin. This perception is an issue of concern, as it subjects them to humiliation and makes them feel unrecognised and categorised as second-class citizens.

African Australian citizens feel their citizenship is not recognised because of their racial identity and background, marked particularly and obviously by their skin colour. In this context, other citizens constantly question where they have come from. As an illustration of these difficulties, participant HE 3 from South Sudan said:

I am an Australian citizen, I have been in Australia for 8 years and 6 years being a citizen, but I am still called a refugee, when will people stop calling me a refugee? This form of labelling is a serious problem more crucial, when coupled with my dark skin colour dearly costs my life in Australia (HE 3, interviewed 22.07.2012).

As Tilbury (2007) argues, the tendency to associate African-Australians with a ‘refugee’ identity affects their settlement in Australia adversely, despite the policy of multiculturalism.

As mentioned earlier, another devastating experience African-Australians frequently face is being asked: ‘where do you come from’. Whether this question is negatively or positively asked, what comes into the minds of the person asked is the issue of citizenship, related to

his/her racial identity. This is unsurprisingly regarded as a sensitive issue for the majority of African-Australians in Australia.

4.3 FACTORS THAT AFFECTS THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENTRANTS

In their endeavour to resettle into the community, new arrivals experience a range of factors that are barriers in their adjustment and integration. This section of the chapter discusses how language problems, cultural differences, employment related issues and discrimination affect African entrants in Australia. The information from the research participants indicates that all these issues have a deep effect on their settlement. Settlement is complex, particularly when linked to cultural differences, language problems, an unwelcoming environment and negative community perceptions of new arrivals, all of which reduce motivation and discourage adjustment. This section presents the main themes identified during the survey and interviews conducted with the humanitarian entrants.

4.3.1 Issues related to English language and accent

Language plays a different role in the understanding of refugees and migrants and key service providers. The policy makers expect new arrivals from non-English speaking backgrounds to learn the language in 510 hours of intensive language teaching. However, while language leaning is crucial for the settlement of new entrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, the hours allocated to it do not meet the needs of real beginners, and not enough allowance is made for the difference between humanitarian entrants in language skills. For example, HE 2 from Rwanda (interview, 20 July 2012) stated that: “For me – it was difficult to learn English at CIT AMEP because teachers teach without considering the level of individuals more importantly people from my country who learnt French”.

People who had completed year twelve and diplomas in their countries had a different view. For example, one respondent from Liberia, HE 5, interviewed 06.08.2012, mentioned that, “for me I did find English classes helpful because it was too low for me because I believe I only needed to learn the Australian accent.” The point is that there are, for example, considerable differences between humanitarian refugees from West African region, who can speak English,

but have a ‘difficult’ accent, those from the Great lakes region, for example, Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda, who have limited English because these are former French colonies, and those from Somali and Eretria, which are largely Arabic-speaking countries.

Overall, the general consensus in the literature is that the Adult Migration English Program (AMEP) is not sufficient to meet the standards acceptable in Australian workplaces (see Jupp 2009 Higgins 2009 and Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009a). AMEP aims to teach English for communication mainly and offers no other training, in terms of improving the accent or assisting humanitarian entrants in their search for employment. In this context, HE 1 from Rwanda stated:

Language here is only a problem to people like me who have never learnt English at school, because the official language for my home country was French. On arrival, I was introduced to AMEP classes which was just basic and was not even helpful to people like me, but it is not a problem to the whole of my family who learnt English from the country of asylum.

While the participants interviewed for this study confirmed that knowledge of English has an impact on their settlement and integration, they all indicated that, on arrival, the main problem was the difficulty that the host community experienced with their accents. Accents lead employees to conclude that they cannot communicate well and thus they are denied the opportunity of employment. A number of the African entrants I surveyed and interviewed believed that they had a sound English language level, but noted that accent was the crucial part of their language communication, making it difficult for them to be heard. In their investigation of language proficiency, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2011b) found that a significant number of entrants from Africa speak English. However, Jupp (2008) argues that it is necessary to teach English to all migrants, as a unifying language for the Australian society.

As already indicated, compared to the past decades, the current African humanitarian entrants have much less difficulty in speaking or understanding English. This is partly due to the fact that many countries in Africa, and particularly those which were former French, German and Portuguese colonies, now have English as their official language.¹ The literature emphasises

¹ Angola, Burundi, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo

that new humanitarian arrivals have some levels of English language and job skills from their own country that have important implications for their lives in Australia (Spinks 2009 and Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011a). Indeed, even though many African refugees experienced disruption in their education back in their home countries and in refugee camps, three of my respondents came from Africa with diplomas and degrees in different fields and an excellent knowledge of English.

Overall, the majority of respondent indicated that, before coming to Australia, they had some degree of English language literacy and were continuing to improve their language skills by enrolling in Technical and Further Education (TAFE) courses. As indicated above, accent was an issue, particularly for those who arrived in Australia after completing year 12 in their home countries and for those who resettled in Australia after tertiary studies. Participants HE 3, HE 4, HE 7 and HE 12 expressed concerns about the difficulties they had in learning the local English accent, which they saw as difficult and taking time to comprehend. They noted that this factor created problems in their communications with members of mainstream society. In this context, HE 4 from South Sudan said:

The government provided me with English classes; I can be able to communicate well enough without interpreter. However, I am always embarrassed by my English accent; when I speak people continuously ask me to say it again, because they don't understand what I say and I am confused by different accent, particularly the influence of my home language (and) British and United States America accents. In addition, the problem may not be associated with grammar or tenses, but, as earlier mentioned accent, as you can hear by yourself the way I speak.

Similar concerns were shared by most of the participants interviewed.

A recent DIAC report also indicates that there is a significant decline in the number of people who cannot read and write English among new arrivals (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011d). This document refers to the findings of a study of humanitarian arrivals in Victoria, undertaken by Higgins 2009). This study found that the current wave of humanitarian intake from Africa have some level of English. This has significantly reduced the number of arrivals requiring interpreters. In the context of this study, participants acknowledged that English is a difficult language to learn. As mentioned above, accents particularly make learning

English difficult, given the different accents from United States of America and Britain. This makes the Australian accents and local vocabulary (slang) more difficult to master.

Clearly then, language is considered the base and foundation of the settlement of new arrivals from non-English speaking backgrounds. (Richards & Morse 2007), in a report prepared for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, indicated that English language proficiency is influenced by age, country of origin, formal education in the home country and prior work experience.

HE 7 emphasised:

No matter that Africans speak English, it still remains a problem to listeners making it more challenging in many aspects. For example, I am experiencing a problem with my wife at time is cautious to go for shopping alone because when she speaks, people consistently ask her to say it again, and I also experienced similar problem of being targeted by lecturers what I say and how I say it even in writing because they believe I cannot write well, making it difficult result in many dropping from school.

In this vein, the majority of the participants in the research indicated that people over forty five years old and particularly women, were less willing or able to learn English or to go to college to get qualifications because: i) it is seen as too late for them to learn, ii) it is too hard for them because they have no basic English skill to build upon, iii) it will not be beneficial in terms of getting employment. As a consequence, 9 out of the 12 participants interviewed emphasized that, although it is important to allocate some time to learn English, they prefer working as soon as possible to earn money and look after their families (HE 5 and 6, 23 July 2012).

Compared with adults, children who started their school in Australia, or continued their high school here, experienced fewer challenges related to their accent. Yet, there are still some who feel embarrassed about their accent and refuse to communicate as a result, or decide to drop out from school as a result of bullying and stereotyping (Refugee Council of Australia 2012 and Cebulla, Daniel & Zurawana 2010).

Despite a decline in the number of people who require Adult Migration English Program (AMEP) courses (Refugee Council of Australia 2012 and Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2012-13), Africans from refugee backgrounds still face language problems. As a result, a new version of AMEP began in mid-2013, which is designed to teach the level of

English required and another development here is UNHCR's plan (2012-13) to provide a higher standard of education for refugees in the camps, which may reduce problems in future.

The key humanitarian service provider (MARSS) in the ACT claim that they provide a Home Tutor Program (HTP) and a Program for After School Studies (PASS) for high school and college students, because AMEP does not provide adequately for the new arrivals. However, respondents in this research indicated that these programs were not effective and they were critical about the credibility of the programs provided by the service providers. Nevertheless, the HTP was seen as more effective than AMEP because it meets individual needs, although it still has issues with attracting the migrant's interest.

4.3.2 Issues related to culture

Culture for African refugees is considered a vital tool that helps them to cope in a different environment and it is difficult for other cultures to understand the way in which Africans are connected to their cultures. The socio-cultural heritage of the African community in Australia cannot be easily described and how culture helps them cope is always a mystery to other communities. African life is strange in Australia and the mainstream society has yet to come to terms with their lifestyle, the food they eat and how they communicate with each other.

Mature people who arrive in Australia often maintain their cultures and some strong community ties that continue to hold them together as a linguistic and cultural community, while the second generations of children, who are born or raised in the new country, tend to venture further into the broader community and prefer to mix socially with other groups. For the purpose of this study, culture refers to the characteristics, activities, beliefs, practices and interests of a group that can be passed on from one generation to another. African cultures may sound homogenous, but, despite similarities, they are still different. Culture is undoubtedly playing a significant role in the settlement of migrants. Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe (2006) found that the cultural practices of migrants, particularly Africans, contributed to their happiness, African culture is often highly sensitive because of some practices that are frowned upon, or even illegal, in the Australian context, for example circumcision and some forms of discipline and punishment. Drastic changes in culture create confusion in many African communities,

with individuals trying to switch to another culture becoming more confused. Culture is what makes people who they are among other people from other cultures.

Australian law and the multiculturalism policy allow all ethnic groups the right to express their own culture and oblige respect for others people's cultures (Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe 2006). However, in this context, HE 3 stated that:

My culture in particular and African culture in general, is foreign here in Australia. African culture is considered minority culture and unlegislated, as a result we swim in between our culture and other cultures, for example in the family setting, discipline of children and cultural scenery of problem solving.

Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe (2006) argue that culture is one of the factors that has a bearing on the successful settlement of humanitarian entrants, particularly in the African context. It should be understood that culture and identity are intertwined. Both play a crucial role in making entrants feel at home and giving them a sense of belonging.

There were mixed understanding of culture among my respondents. For example, HE 2 said that; "my culture is in me; therefore, I cannot part with my culture". However, she mentioned that her culture is not a barrier, stopping her from doing things and does not restrict her from general life in Australia. In addition, she mentioned that there is a connection between Africa and her culture in that: "you can take me out of Africa but you cannot take Africa out of me". She argued that culture has no bearing on whether someone can complete a task or do a certain type of a job.

However, culture can have a detrimental effect on employment and on settlement more broadly. As HE 9 said:

In my culture, it is disrespectful to look at someone straight in the eyes it means discrediting the person that you are looking at; conversely, it is disrespectful here not to. In my culture, for example, females are not allowed to be half-naked and kissing in public it is not acceptable behaviour. Your son or daughter is not allowed to bring a girlfriend or boyfriend into his/her parents' house; it is inappropriate.

More broadly, HE 7, from South Sudan, stressed that: “to me changing culture is like changing your identity, though it cannot be rebranded in any circumstances.”

Refugees from Africa lived in different country’s refugee camps, experiencing different cultures during their refugee period before resettlement. Changing cultures every few years has a detrimental impact, particularly on young people. In Australia, despite the policy of multiculturalism that allowed racial group to practice their own cultures, refugees still certainly experience confusion as a result of ‘living’ two cultures at the same time see (Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe 2006).

Cultural homogenization does not work well for the African communities, making it difficult for them to assimilate into any other cultural group, other than their own ethnic community, because of their distinctive racial identity. Compared to refugees from other regions, Africans experience more detrimental cultural impacts on their integration, because of the way they practice and respect their culture. The majority of the respondents acknowledged the different cultural dynamics around the world and the huge gap between African cultures and the cultures of other communities, including the culture of Australia. The majority of the respondents in this study emphasized that culture is what makes them who they are, it gives them strength, and it provides answers to many of the challenges that they face on a daily basis.

Huddy (2002). Licina & Dharmalingam (2007), Jupp (2009) and Hartley & Fozdar (2013), in their assessment of the effect of culture, all found that, in the settlement process, cultural group motivation is enhanced by group cultural identity within mainstream society. People can decide to change their culture at any given time, but it is impossible for Africans with dark-skin to change their identity. It is therefore hard for anyone with dark-skin to be accepted in a dominant white community. African entrants in Australia are experiencing different cultural problems resulting from their attempts to raise their children culturally and live according to their cultural norms.

Africans also experience difficulties in coming to terms with the law in Australia, particularly in terms of how it operates in relation to the raising and disciplining of children. From the perspective of my respondents, if you want to discipline your child the government intervenes. As HE 9 argued (interviewed 18.08. 2012):

I witnessed my cousin taken to prison and court after disciplining his 15 year old girl for misbehavior and she reported him to police. Here one should understand that even a monkey in the forest knows how to care and look after their babies. This form of culture is contrary to our culture in Africa.

Language and cultural differences create boundaries between the African community and the mainstream society in Australia particularly old aged people (Temple & Edwards 2006, Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe 2006 and Jupp 2009). HE 3, HE 5 and HE 8 had similar responses:

“There is a serious stigma among African Australian that is associated with culture for somebody of their age”.

“It should be noted that people should not capitalise on my culture to deny me my entitlements or employment because of my cultural identity or my appearance”.

“My culture cannot make me fail to take an opportunity that may arise in my life or a certain behavior for example not using direct eye contact during interviews”. Our culture here is disregarded despite the provision by the policy of multiculturalism.

Another serious issue mentioned by both humanitarian entrants and key service providers was the form of modern counseling that does not suit African entrants, who have often been traumatized, because it is culturally inappropriate. Other researchers found that refugees and humanitarian entrants were aware of being perceived as needy and culturally distant (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008). This was confirmed in the interviews with HE 5, HE 9, HE 10 and HE 11, who felt that many Australian regard Africans as people without a progressive culture.

The majority of respondents, including key service providers, emphasised that family reunion is one of the major factors which can facilitate integration, but recognised that this is not usually provided to humanitarian entrants. Indeed, the DIAC respondents, as we shall see in the next chapter, saw African new arrivals as abusing the system in relation to family reunion.

These DIAC participants acknowledged the consequences of settlement without family or friends, though they argued that those entrants could still have settled lives. Nevertheless, settlement without family members and friends remains a challenge to humanitarian entrants in Australia, although migrants acknowledged that sponsorship and resettlement of family members is a complex issue.

4.3.3 Issues related to employment

Some minority groups need more support than others in terms of finding employment. Employment is a crucial settlement factor that provides stability in the settlement of migrants from a refugee background. In Australia, employment is difficult to secure, particularly for people from refugee and non-English backgrounds, although it is considered a fundamental right under article 6 of the (United Nations Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights 1976). As mentioned above, the majority of Africans from refugee backgrounds find it challenging to find a job. The ongoing tendency and rhetoric of the employers prioritising local qualification, local work experience and other factors limits the opportunities for migrants, particularly those who are disadvantaged, to get into the workforce, even if they have local qualification. One clear problem is that some people are paying off debts for qualifications that are not needed. So, respondent HE 11 said:

I am 44 years old. I am unemployed. I have a university qualification, which is a white elephant in my house and continue my struggle to pay back the help fee debt. After graduating, I felt I would get a decent job but the situation is even getting worse. However, I know that it is my responsibility to do all what it takes to find a job.

HE 2 and HE 12 similarly indicated that they have been in the refugee camp without working for many years. As HE 12 said:

I took five years of study to improve my language at the university level and build capacity of my employability skill, but employers say I am not smart enough to compete with locals for experience and skills. (He was shedding tears). How can I get experience if they don't employ me?

Recent studies by Refugee Council of Australia (2010a) found evidence of discrimination in the employment of people from refugee backgrounds in the labour market. The United Nations General Assembly (1966) and the United Nations Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1976) commit parties to the convention to eliminating all forms of racial discrimination. The key service providers accept and acknowledge the employment problems

experienced by the refugee community, despite the introduction of job networks designed to assist people to find jobs.

Getting employment for those who came to Australia with high-quality qualifications and experience from Africa is the most difficult problem of all. One participant, HE 12, indicated that:

I come to Australia with evidence of my qualification and vast work experience from my home country, but they were not recognised. I had to start again with less hope to achieve what I had already achieved in the past and my age does not allow me to work again to help my family.

The majority of participants argued that discrimination exists everywhere and takes many forms, but that the discrimination they experienced in Australia was different to that experienced in their home country, because it was rooted in language, identity and race. They contended that settlement life would be different in the absence of race-based discrimination and exclusion. One participant mentioned that many of his friends and cousins from South Sudan with Masters Degrees decided to return home, not because they wanted to, but due to frustration resulting from unemployment and discrimination in Australia.

That majority of participants eagerly looking for jobs indicated that they have concerns with being referred to job networks, because these networks do not provide a solution to the problem. According to them, job networks have absolutely no influence on employers, leaving them in a situation where they feel abandoned. One respondent argued that job networks do very little other than 'preparing a resume' and referring the client to an employer. In terms of employment, Tilbury (2007) and Colic Peisker & Tilbury (2008) suggested that resettled refugees and migrants should be accorded the opportunity to prove themselves by performing duties appropriate to their qualifications.

In Australia, getting employment involves more than having qualifications and experience. A range of factors, including having a good network and an absence of stereotyping and discrimination is central to finding a job (Tilbury 2007 and Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008). In this vein, a participant from Sierra Leone indicated that for a dark-skinned African to get a job in Australia involves God's grace, because they are all stigmatised as unskilled and poor communicators.

People from refugee backgrounds experience enormous racism in workplaces (Valentine & Sporton 2009b and Johnstone 2011). The majority of employed respondents (HE 3; HE 8; HE 9 and HE 11) indicated that, at work, they constantly receive comments, for example: “Can I help you, do you want assistance, tell me if you need assistance, do you know how to do this? Even people that you have trained at work (ask these questions)”. Employers have a false perception about Africans, suggesting that they cannot operate machines, use a computer or do any skilled job, even if one has a local qualification that is appropriate for the job.

One respondent from South Sudan (interviewed on 26.07.2012) discussing the issues related to jobs and discrimination argued that other people get preferential treatment and find jobs more easily, even at a time of high unemployment or recession:

I always apply, sometimes a minimum three (3) and maximum up to five (5) applications per month, it is very rare to receive the answer or be called for interview. In one instance, I was once told that ‘oh the man who was supposed to interview you is not in today’, after been called for interviews and appointment was made in advance. Surprisingly, I was once called for interviews, I thought I did very well, only to be told that I was not successful; the reason provided was that I was competing with a highly qualified and experienced candidate. Nevertheless, the requirement of the position was year 12, leaving me shocked with my degree and experience, after learning that a year 12 girl was secured the position.

Issues of this nature make many Africans from refugee background link such embarrassment and humiliation to discrimination. African communities are confused about whether to go for education or just look for employment, as they see no value for education in terms of employment.

The majority of the respondents in this research expressed disappointment because they had thought that an educational qualification was the only powerful tool in finding a job. From this perspective, education provides personal development, improves chances of getting a well-paying job, allowing economic security and a chance to be part of the larger community. However, the reality is that African-Australians find it difficult to get a job, even if they have higher qualifications. As an example, on Saturday, May 21, 2011, the *Canberra Times* published an article about institutionalized racism, outlining the story of Abdul Kadar Shine, who had Master degree, and Ali Nur Dual, who had a PhD; neither could find employment.

Abdul Kadar Shine and Ali Nur Dual were both 30 years old looking for jobs. They used a number of tactics in searching for jobs. They changed their Curriculum Vitae (CV) or resume, excluding their nationalities and native language and replaced their first names by initials. They also scaled-down their CVs, removing higher qualifications or achievements, so as not to appear too smart for the job. They even moved states² However, they were unsuccessful.

More generally, former Labor Minister Lindsay Turner launched a report by the Australia's Human Right Commission that found evidence of anti-African sentiments in every sphere of public life (Johnstone 2011).

It is in this context that some feel discriminated against in terms of employment and, as a result, some Africans wish to go back to Africa for employment reasons, seeing no hope of getting a job in Australia. For example, HE 9 from South Sudan interviewed on the 09.08.2012, mentioned that, there are many jobs out there but not for people like him.

Researchers believe that African-Australian with high education qualifications are more likely to complain about employment when they fail to get a job appropriate for their skills and qualifications than those without qualifications (Johnstone 2011 and Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008). As one respondent from South Sudan, HE 3, put it: "education is a powerful tool that leads to many opportunities, but that is not happening to me. After obtaining a postgraduate degree, I'm still working in the aged-care for five years, as a career with no prospects of promotion". Another respondent, HE 1, emphasised: "I took a placement program experience offered to South Sudanese in Government Departments; an opportunity aimed at helping the unemployed group. But, it never lasted for a long time before it was stopped".

The majority of humanitarian entrants' interviewees, including many whose English was very good and who had high skill levels, raised the issue of finding work in Australia as migrants. HE 11 argued: "This is what disappointed me really, because I can't find any job. I do apply every week, one or two applications to many different employers, including kitchen hand, cleaning and delivery jobs, but all is time wasting I can't find a job. It's not easy".

² Dual has a PHD in Applied Ontology and Distinguished Career Development Crop Protection Prams' across Africa and India. Shine has a Master in Petrochemical Engineering and a Diploma from Victoria. He had more than 300 failed job applications. He worked as a casual interpreter for Refugees Translation System (Canberra Times 2011).

He went on to say that in the last months: “I have made 10 applications, but never got a chance even for interviews. In my employment circumstances, other people with less skills change jobs, every time seeking a well-paid job; it amazes me how they get it.”

Similarly, HE 9 commented upon what he had observed at his work:

These days, to get a job you need connections and networks. I have seen two people competing for a caseworker’s position, one was an African with a Community Education degree, and other one had a degree in Marketing, with experience in retailing. He secured the Community case work position on the expense of the person with skills about the position”. In essence, it is difficult to tell what employers want. It was later revealed that the parent of the one who secured the position once worked for the same organisation.

Colic Peisker & Tilbury (2006) found that networks and connections are vital in refugees finding employment; those who have no network connection experience difficulties in finding a job. Certainly, refugees felt that connections, networks and favoritism counted in finding a job. A number of respondents, including HE 9, suggested that there are jobs and it makes sense for African Australians with relevant qualifications to help their fellow African arrivals, providing cultural assistance and a welcoming environment.

Matareke (2009) argues that employment is seen as reducing social isolation among many humanitarian refugee entrants; particularly those who felt excluded and isolated. In this vein, one participant from Liberia indicated (interviewed 15.07.2012): “when I got employment I got the opportunity to be able to move, meet people, have friends, you know. At times you will be happy, you find that you have someone to turn to, someone to talk. At the same time, it increased chances of learning other cultures and Australian values”.

4.3.4 Issues related to discrimination

Discrimination exists in many aspects of life. Discrimination may manifest itself in many ways, including nepotism, ageism, sexism and identity favouritism, as also noted by Tilbury (2007), the Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia (2011) and Reiner (2010). The majority of new arrivals and migrants from different cultures with a ‘difficult’ accent in Australia have

experienced either direct or indirect discrimination in the labour market. The term racial discrimination in this study refers to any form of distinction, exclusion, restriction or referencing based on ethnicity, race, or colour, effecting human rights and fundamental entitlement (Rees & Pease 2009 and Boese & Phillips 2011).

Respondents in this research view discrimination as an issue that cannot be easily solved because of its complexity. The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (2002) in its assessment of discrimination against migrants emphasised that labour discrimination is a difficult practice to prevent, even in countries with strong anti-discrimination legislation. African humanitarian entrants report that experience of social and racial discrimination is widespread in Australia and impacts negatively on social relationships with the mainstream community (Jakubowicz 2010).

Australia holds firmly to the belief that no one should be disadvantaged on the basis of their country of birth, cultural heritage, language, status or religious beliefs (Matareke 2009). Yet, participants in this study feel that the public is not aware of the discrimination experienced by African-Australians on public transport, in sports, schools and workplaces, which need to be addressed.

Persons who believe they are superior, due to their skin colour, community status, norms and culture (Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009a), are the groups that practice discrimination. It suffices to say that discrimination weakens the inclusion and participation of migrants in their adjustment in the host society. However, in responding to the problem, DIAC indicated that: “the Commonwealth government appointed a Discrimination Commissioner to look into such matter related to the discrimination and whoever feels discriminated against have the right to report such a case to the Commissioner” (Refugee Council of Australia 2010b).

Among my respondents, HE 3, from South Sudan (interviewed 16.07.2012), was particularly forthright,

I am one of the many, many African Australians who were discriminated at work; not only, that, also humiliated when I was informed that my position, in which I benefited from the government placement training program after eight months. I was informed that the position was phased out. Two weeks towards the end of my work, I was required to train someone to take over the position said to be frozen. I failed to understand why the

position was said to be phased out to me and opened to someone else wants to tell you now that I am making my last touches. I am going back to my home country, if it means dying I will take it because I cannot afford this anymore.

The effect of discrimination, underpinned by racism, enormously traumatises many Africans in Australia. Although discrimination is illegal in Australia, clearly a culture practices in employment and in social interactions (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2006 and Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2010). As already emphasised, discrimination is mostly associated with employment, where employers require local qualifications, work experience etc.

The respondents in this research accepted that it is difficult to ‘prove’ discrimination because it is hard to find evidence, which is usually disguised under the pretext of experience and qualification. In this context, a respondent from South Sudan (HE 11; interviewed 08.08.2012) shared part of his experience of discrimination:

After completing my tertiary study I spent a long time without finding employment, I decided to change my names to escape employment discrimination to be called even for interviews. I changed my name from Deng to Den. Since then, I never missed to be shortlisted for interviews for the jobs I applied for, but always failed to secure employment, despite my tertiary qualification.

He emphasised that he strongly believes his ‘failure’ results from his accent and physical appearance.

Employers deny discrimination and exclusion by making reference to the migrants’ language proficiency, job skills, experience and lack of local qualifications. However, the recently released statistics from the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008 (see Refugee Council of Australia 2010a and Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2011) recognize that there are significant cases involving unlawful discrimination against migrant and people from refugee backgrounds in Australia. African-Australians are particularly poorly perceived by employers, as people with low skills, and considered unemployable (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008). The majority of Africans believe that their names play a role in being discriminated against and not called for interviews; while at interview skin colour can discourage employers from offering employment.

Discriminatory practices in relation to promotion are also rife, As HE 8 (interviewed on 18.08.2012) indicated: “I have worked for the same organisation for the past 6 years, working extra hard, but never recognised in terms of promotion, given my tertiary qualifications, I guess this is because of my race”. Indeed, the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (2009a) and Boese & Phillips (2011) both found that the majority of migrants are discriminated against in terms of promotions predominantly because of their race, not because of their language abilities or qualifications. In their responses in this study, DIAC recognised discrimination against minority groups, but reiterated that the Government-appointed Discrimination Commissioner looks into issues related to discrimination.

A number of respondents recognised that, although discrimination is a refugee settlement barrier in Australia, it is also a worldwide problem. This was pointed out by HE 9 (interviewed 23.08.2012) who emphasised that it was a common problem in his home country, in the country of asylum (refugee camp) and in Australia.

The majority of the literature emphasises that there are compelling social and economic reasons to invest in increasing the education, training and employment opportunities for people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in Australia (Ethnic Community Council of Victoria 2008). Many people from refugee backgrounds first volunteer with NGOs to get experience before joining the workforce.

Overall, respondents for this study view discrimination as a source of unemployment, which, in turn, leads to total dependence on government welfare.

4.4 SOCIAL INCLUSION IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

Some literature, for example Hugo (2010) and Reiner (2010) suggest that Australia’s settlement strategies are one of the best in the world in terms of promoting inclusion. An inclusive society is defined as one in which all people feel valued, their differences and human rights are respected and their basic needs are met, so they can live in harmony with other groups. Social exclusion involves being excluded from the social, economic, political and cultural systems, which, together, contribute to the integration of a person into the community. In the absence of

inclusion, integration and adjustment becomes practically impossible. Exclusion leads to the isolation of individuals or groups and frustrates adjustment.

This study understands social exclusion as a process in which individuals or communities of people are systematically denied full access to various entitlements, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of different groups, and which are of fundamental importance to social integration within that particular group, for example, housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation and due process.

Social exclusion always involves an individual's exclusion from meaningful participation in society, for example youth exclusion from sport is crucial and makes many young people from different racial groups get frustrated when they are excluded from participating in social activities that interest them.

Here, I focus first on the reception experiences of the humanitarian entrants, before turning to their experience of social exclusion and isolation. Next, I discuss their views of institutional racism in the workplace and being black in Australia, before examining the issue of family reunion and finally turning to the importance of community perceptions of the new entrants.

4.4.1 Reception experience

As I have stressed, it is well known that African humanitarian entrants experienced barriers to their integration, including discrimination, based on their ethnicity, *social* isolation, associated with their appearance, and cultural difference, that comes with culture shock. This makes them feel isolated, longing for their own community or people from the same culture. This is particularly reflected in the way in which the receiving community continually asks humanitarian entrants where they come from, making them feel that they are in the 'wrong country'. All the participants in this study had been at some stage asked where they come from and why they came to Australia. The majority of the Australian community are not aware of the effect of these questions on the receiver.

Before coming to Australia, refugee lives have been significantly affected by distressful refugee camp life. The reception process for Africans in Australia plays a vital role in the adjustment process and subsequent integration. However, the hardships that refugees endure

do not end when they arrive in their country of resettlement, but continue with settlement challenges, starting from reception into the country. Drawing on the research by Jupp (2009) and Hugo (2010), I would argue that, when the society welcomes and accept migrants as full members of the community, this could initiate a process of social inclusion. A good reception experience has the potential to create positive settlement.

On arrival, humanitarian refugee new arrivals face new challenges. They can, and most do, feel lost, frightened and uncertain of the people around them. They often miss their families and friends, are uncertain about whether the person looking after them is good or bad and usually hate the change of weather. These problems create depression among entrants and remind them of their past situation.

The majority of my respondents indicated that their family members on arrival received them. In contrast, those who were received by service agents or volunteers from different ethnic and cultural groups experienced a strange reception. One respondent in this research, HE 1, indicated that, on his arrival, he felt humiliated by being accommodated in a motel, with, for three days; seven of them sharing one big family room, with parents questioning the cultural appropriateness of their arrangements. Here, the respondents are emphasising that reception can only be culturally appropriate if it is done by people who understand their culture better. Reception is the foundation of, and stepping stone to, integration and settlement.

Reception at the airport on arrival was a particular issue of concern. Respondents felt shocked at not finding anyone from their communities to receive them, who could speak their language and make them feel at home. Most of the people who provide support are volunteers and community groups, who organise transport, housing, education and, more importantly, provide emotional and psychological support, but their knowledge of the culture and practices of the migrants is very limited, at best. Settlement is a complex process. It requires the wider host community to be open enough to accommodate the new entrants, providing hospitality, and making new arrivals feel welcome into the community (Cebulla, Daniel & Zurawana 2010).

There are different perspectives about migrants in developed countries; some consider them a threat to economic security, while others considered it as a human rights issue. However, a common notion within host community is the perception that migrants and refugees come to developed countries for economic reasons, without making economic contributions to the country (Gebre-Selassie 2008). Many in the mainstream society feel refugees and migrants

take resources from the host community. In the United Kingdom for example, politicians also often think that population growth is mostly driven by the humanitarian intake of migrants and refugees, (Cebulla, Daniel & Zurawana 2010). A similar trend seems to be gaining momentum in Australia (Gebre-Selassie 2008).

Generally, humanitarian entrants who are resettled in Australia believe that the majority of those who came through the humanitarian program, assisted by key service providers, had more problems with reception than those assisted by their family members. Overall, people who were received by their family members and their communities were happier and more satisfied than those received by service providers.

4.4.2 Social exclusion and isolation

Social inclusion is a multidimensional developmental process through which groups and individuals from minority groups, or new arrivals from refugee backgrounds, attain full participation in issues related to their everyday lives in the host society in which they live. The impact of exclusion and isolation restricts these new arrivals over time. My respondents were concerned about different dimensions of exclusion and many doubted the effectiveness of the social inclusion agenda and multiculturalism in addressing these forms of exclusion (Boese & Phillips 2011).

As we saw, there is a significant gap between Africans and other communities in Australia in terms of employment that lowers their self-esteem, affecting their adjustment into the community. My research demonstrates the reality of life for African Australians in terms of their interaction within mainstream society. In recent years, the multiculturalism agenda has changed the discourse about migrants and refugees trying to make it more inclusive (Boese & Phillips 2011). However, in the current integration strategy, community-based Associations, which would involve new arrival friends, fellow compatriots and Africans in the integration process, are not encouraged (Colic-Peisker 2005).

Participants in this study suggested that integration of humanitarian entrants from Africa is difficult because they are settled in a community with which they are unfamiliar, a community that has no knowledge about people from Africa. Inclusion is the most important factor in the

integration and adjustment of humanitarian entrants. Without involving prior African migrants in the settlement process, it is more difficult for migrants to find ways into the mainstream community. The African communities in Australia are living by themselves without any group to coordinate their activities. In this context, it is perhaps unsurprising that African entrants would much prefer to be resettled in areas where there are existing African communities or people from their home countries.

The majority of the respondents acknowledged that they are allowed to maintain and embrace their own humanitarian feeling disadvantaged, with racial discrimination affecting their inclusion into host community life. Interviewees, including among the service providers, identified cultural and ethnic differences as obstacles to effective inclusion. Contrary to the aims of the policy of multiculturalism, migrants are still experiencing racial and social exclusion in many aspects of social life.

Africans in Australia understand that inclusion involves living in the country and participating in economic (employment), social (free from racism and discrimination and community vilification) and political life (participating in the politics of the country). Participants in this research emphasised that they do not feel a sense of belonging, because the majority believe that they are still living as a minority group, living without access to cultural institutions and living in a prejudicial environment marked by racism. For example, HE 8 said, “it is difficult for me to feel part of the group if I am being discriminated, vilified and being stereotyped at all times. I hate to be referred to as a refugee and I strongly believe other resettled Africans hate it too”.

4.4.3 Institutional racism in workplaces

When an African-Australians walks down the street in Australia, because of their skin color, they feel different from many of the people around them and feel insecure. They are always seen as newly arrived refugees, despite being citizens. Berhan Ahmed, who ran the refugee advocacy organisation “African Think Tanks” in Melbourne, identified an ongoing institutional racism affecting Africans in Australia (Rees & Pease 2009 and Johnstone 2011). He argued that the anti-African racism is why Africans use Anglo–Saxon names in order to be

called for interviews; although, when they are found to be black they are sent home. Similarly, Ahmed who is a former Victoria Australian of the Year emphasizes that African-Australians are victims of an anti-black corporate culture, which stereotype them as arrogant and unreliable, thus costing them jobs (Johnstone 2011).

The majority of the respondent had stories to tell about employment in Australia. Although they understood that the current employment situation was tight, they felt that their racial identity exposed them to employment discrimination of some kind. One respondent, HE 5, acknowledged that the issue of discrimination exists everywhere; even where he comes from people discriminate each other in one way or another. As such, he was not surprised at the level of discrimination in Australia, despite it not being legally allowed.

Being black in white Australia is demanding and requires tolerance, understanding and acceptance. Linking identity with skin color is a serious issue for African-Australians. In particular, according to the participants in this study, racial identity limits the opportunities for finding employment, a crucial factor for integration.

Tilbury (2007) found that dark-skinned Africans experience more racial discrimination and stereotyping in terms of employment than any other group in Australia. The group feels excluded and racialized, which makes them lose confidence and self-esteem in relation to applying for jobs or taking part in social activities. African-Australians in Australia often feel themselves to be soft targets of stereotyping, racism and discrimination, particularly in schools and other public places.

In Australia dark-skinned Africans compromise their culture, rebranding it to fit well into the Australian values and culture. Marlowe (2011) found that African-Australians in Australia do not live 100% of their culture in Australia and participants in this study said you try to live only half of your African culture, otherwise you will go nowhere in Australian society. Some people find it hard to live in Australia because they feel the sense of being lost and this affects their resettlement and integration (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008). Africans with dark-skin, particularly those from refugee background, have a serious problem integrating with people from other races. Being black among a dominant white population is a factor that affects integration and adjustment. As such, the failure to identify and recognise the problem will continue to haunt many refugees from Africa. No one talks about the issue, making it an ongoing, and more difficult, problem. As Jupp (2009) argued, many African entrants have a

fear of living among a different white community. Participant HE8, when asked about being black in Australia? Responded that many refugees felt lost and isolated, treated as stranger and seen as indistinguishable from one another. This makes life miserable for migrants from Africa in their settlement in Australia.

It can also be challenging for Africans to start life in Australia due to cultural differences, for example over gender roles, which some would want to change, although such changes can potentially result in family separation and breakdown. Embracing the culture of the host country requires family group agreement, which may result in confusion, and often conflict, in terms of roles within the family/group.

4.4.4 Issues related to family reunion

African new arrivals take a long time to become familiar with the new environment, culture and language in Australia. There is no simple way of solving the settlement barriers, particularly cultural and language problems; it needs time. The overwhelming challenge in settlement results from a disconnection from friends, family members and a known environment. Relocation to another place, with different people and culture, can be so stressful, creating isolation. Many of my participants were sponsored to come to Australia from different countries and various refugee camps in Africa by their family members. In family-sponsored migration, sponsors are obliged to provide support services for up to two years. The majority of the sponsored entrants did not experience reception problems on arrival, but some of them were not provided with goods and services entitlements, for example, a fridge, a microwave, a stove and kitchen utensils. Many of the African-sponsored entrants, mostly those from NSW and ACT were assisted by their family members and indicated that they did not get any service from MARSS.

4.4.5 Community perceptions

Africans in Australia are perceived in different ways depending on where they live. Sometimes they are perceived as people with low status in the community, just refugees or foreigners who

do not belong to Australian, even if they are a citizen (Refugee Council of Australia 2008b). Understanding the host community's perception of Africans is crucial if we are to understand the problems experienced by African communities in Australia. Africans in Australia are commonly seen as refugees and demonised as such. In this context, Campbell (2007) contends that the term refugees is in itself problematic because it has a psychological elements of labelling and leads to stereotyping, forcing us to ask questions like: when will people stop referring to resettled Africans as refugees? Black-skinned African-Australians are referred to as refugees throughout their lives. The existing literature certainly notes that Africans humanitarian entrants are likely to be humiliated due to their skin colour more than other humanitarian entrants with light skin (see for example, Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008, Boese & Phillips 2011 and Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009a).

While some members of the communities understand and accept refugees, others display a negative attitude towards them. As we saw, in 2006, the Tamworth Regional Council refused to settle six families from Sudan and this was widely reported by media in Australia and resulted in heightened racial community tension (Refugee Council of Australia 2007). This type of opposition to black African resettlement in Australia began when an academician, Andrew Fraser from Macquarie University, criticized African resettlement in Australia. Fraser noted that, 'increasing the African population in Australia is indeed increasing crime, violence and many other social problems in Australia' (cited in Jakubowicz 2010). Despite an apology, Fraser' comments and views sent a message that Africans might be dangerous and thus should not be accepted in Australia.

In a similar vein, in 2007 a senior politician in the Howard government accused Africans and the Sudanese in particular, of not adjusting into the Australian community. This view was supported by the Howard Government, who reduced the humanitarian intake from Africa (Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2010). Certainly, there remains a lack of understanding of African cultural and social values that drive migrants' way of life, and shape how they perceive the system, among the services tasked to support their settlement. For example, African-Australians feel their culture is not recognised because their community is not embraced or considered by the Australian community in any shape or form.

4.5 THE SERVICES PROVIDED TO AFRICAN REFUGEE ENTRANTS

As I emphasised earlier, there are substantial variations between the current characteristics of African entrants and those who came to Australia previously. The people who came from Africa in the 1990s had very little familiarity with English, compared to the people who are currently arriving in Australia from the similar situation. The majority of the current humanitarian entrants accepted in Australia are young people who have either learnt English at school in their home country or their country of asylum. Language, financial support, social, emotional support and information services on reception are provided to entrants once they enter the country.

Language and employment are crucial aspects of settlement and integration into the wider community. It also helps in learning the language efficiently. Humanitarian entrants significantly take a long time to find a job and even getting an internship or volunteer work is difficult because employees seem to have doubts about African refugees in terms of skills training for employment. It takes a long time for key service providers to understand the experiences of migrants, in order to implement effective integration and settlement policy. Of course, it is not only service providers, but also new entrants, who face such challenges. People who have recently arrived as humanitarian entrants from Africa have difficulty in adapting to the local culture because they have been accustomed to the culture of their home country and the diverse cultures in the refugee camps. The reality of the new wave of new arrivals from Africa is different from the previous group of African-Australian who come earlier before the era of technology. The group of refugees entering Australia through humanitarian program since 2009 are well up in terms of using technology to find out whatever they want to know. As an example, HE 5, interviewed on the 28 October 2012 mentioned that “I was privileged to attend school in the refugee camp jointly run by the host country and UNHCR completing my year 12 before coming to this country”.

Understanding the diversity among Africans migrating to Australia is crucial, not only in terms of providing the appropriate services, but also for breaking-down barriers, such as stereotyping, institutional discrimination, racial vilification and social inequity. In Australia, the community needs to find a positive way to move the conversation about diversity and multiculturalism forward, to encourage engagement and inclusion and the acceptance of people from different racial groups.

The surveyed participants indicated that culture and language orientation conducted by the Australian government before departure had no impact when they arrive in the Australia. The current generation of African youth experience challenges to living within two cultures, making them more confused. In the main, they are less identified with the culture of their country of origin and find it easier to understand another culture, although they often end up failing to fit into Australian culture because it is not easy to change one's cultural identity.

It remains difficult for new entrants to find friends, family members and people from their home countries, with whom they share a culture and language. My participants highlighted the unfamiliar culture, but such cultural barriers are not felt in the same way by old and young African migrants who come to Australia, because the younger migrants don't identify as much with the culture and traditions of their country of origin.

4.6 PARTICIPANTS' GENERAL EXPERIENCE

Participants were all asked to rate their adjustment since their arrival in Australia, considering a number of factors, including family issues, confidence in being among other races and social issues. The majority of the participants were nervous and concerned on arrival, but the fear was somewhat ameliorated by the community's understanding of people from diverse culture and the spirit of multiculturalism. Employment remains a particular challenge that most migrants have been unable to come to terms with in order to adjust into mainstream society. Most respondents acknowledged that employment problems among African migrants are crucial, although they are not only present in Australia. In addition, in Australia similar problems are experienced by Asians and people from the Middle East, pointing to the crucial relationship between settlement and employment, ethnicity, racism and discrimination. Nevertheless, the above barriers, impact deeply on African-Australians from refugee backgrounds (see Jupp 2009, Johnstone 2011 and Marlowe 2011).

4.7 CONCLUSION

Contrary to the claims made in some of the existing literature, which tends to treat settlement barriers as fixed and unchanging over time, the participants in this study emphasize the dynamic and context-specific nature of such barriers. More specifically, they emphasised that settlement barriers come and go and are changing with changing generations and situations. In this context, what was seen as a problem in the past might not be considered a problem now or in the future. This observation was also confirmed by the government agencies interviewed for this study, whose responses are reported in more detail in the next chapter. Both the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) and the Migrant and Refugees Settlement Service (MARSS) stated that refugees' problems are different and are influenced by several factors, such as age, level of education, family composition and gender. All these factors seem to play a crucial role in the adaptation of African new arrivals into their new community and environment. Given this, a 'one size fit all' type of settlement plan does not sit well with experience of the majority of humanitarian entrants with different needs and particularly not with those individuals who had severe past experiences in refugee camps.

Another key finding of this study is that African-Australians lack confidence and self-esteem in building their own support network capacities to resist the racial and ethnic discrimination that challenges their adaptation and integration in Australia. There are debates among African-Australians about the need to establish businesses, to go to school to get higher qualifications in order to be in employment positions to help their fellow Africans by giving them jobs. There is a strong belief among these African-Australians that other communities employ their own people in their businesses. This type of assistance is lacking within the African-Australian community because they are still a new community in Australia and have not yet established themselves in the country.

Integration and adjustment in Australian settlement policy is primarily limited to providing quality services to enhance integration, aiming to empower the struggling community to champion their own lives by providing education and employment and removing racism and discrimination. It is interesting that some respondent mentioned the need for affirmative action in relation to the settlement of Africans from refugee backgrounds to promote equal opportunities and diversity. This could help to reduce the prevalence of discriminations and employment among refugee communities.

The majority of participants in this study indicated a desire to join the workforce, rather than undertaking full-time studies. Despite high interest in education, reports indicate that humanitarian entrants have a disproportionately high dropout rate from work and school for reasons ranging from bullying, to poor language skills and racial vilification (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008, Refugee Council of Australia 2011b and Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2011). Racism is said to be a major barrier to the economic and social wellbeing of new entrants in particular and migrants in general (Refugee Council of Australia 2010c), although this view is contested because it is difficult to justify the claim of racism (Hugo 2009 and Jupp 2009).

My data suggest different conclusions than those in much of the existing literature, where the focus is upon language problems as the major barrier to settlement. My research identifies three other important factors. First, employment is crucial. African migrants find it difficult to get employment, largely because of discrimination, and that is a major constraint on successful settlement. Second, the presence or absence of a community network is important. Most Africans who have successfully settled are integrated into an African social network in which they have links with family, friends and the broader community. Thirdly, the majority saw a lack of confidence and low self-esteem as a big problem affecting their settlement.

These findings are reinforced by other research (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011d and Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a). The majority of participants' emphasised the difficulties they were experiencing in their attempts to adjust into the community, highlighting the need for additional support to eliminate prejudice and encourage participation and the use of services provided for them; for example, they saw job networks and education as vital in the adjustment process. Assisting refugee entrants to become job-ready was seen as the critical foundation for building a new life in Australia. This is what new entrants need in order to put their past history behind them. Humanitarian entrants believe finding a job and reception are the stepping stones into mainstream society, assisting new arrivals to adapt and feel part of Australian society.

All the respondents in this research identified extreme difficulties created by protracted refugee camp life and its impact on resettlement in countries like Australia. Participants reported significant difficulties in finding employment and having social interaction with mainstream society, caused by racism and discrimination. After exiting the support services from key

settlement service provider, only a few entrants from Africa had confidence in coping with life, without the help of family members. African communities are accustomed to living together and helping each other. For example, families can take turns looking after other family children. It is interesting that some of my respondents saw their own community as possibly more responsible than the settlement authorities for the problems African humanitarian entrants experience in Australia in relation to integration and adjustment.

Certainly, among my respondents there were different perceptions in terms of how humanitarian new arrivals understood their settlement. Some felt they were not pushing themselves enough to make their goal of integration a reality, whilst others felt the government needed to assist more to make resettlement easy and provide intensive assistance for more than six months. However, all were agreed that the involvement of the African communities in the process was crucial for effective settlement.

The next Chapter examines the views and perspectives of the DIBP and MARSS on the settlement of African humanitarian arrival into Australia and the challenges that both humanitarian new entrant and the system face

CHAPTER 5

PERSPECTIVES OF SERVICE PROVIDERS ON THE SETTLEMENT OF AFRICAN REFUGEES

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, I discussed the views of African newly resettled humanitarian entrants. This chapter focuses primarily on the views of the resettlement process of the DIPD (now the DIBP) and the key service providers MARSS. The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first section briefly outlines the history of refugee settlement and services provided to African new arrivals in Australia. The second section explores the DIPD's perception of African settlement, the fourth focuses upon MARSS, the key service provider for humanitarian refugee entrants on arrival, before the fifth section turns to the role of the two main NGOs in the field, the Refugee Council of Australia and the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia. The sixth section of this chapter compares the views of the various organisations involved in the settlement process, before the final section discuss three key issues that need to be faced in addressing settlement challenges.

5.2. OVERVIEW: REFUGEE SETTLEMENT AND SERVICES IN AUSTRALIA

This section of the chapter focuses upon the evolution of the settlement services in Australia, since the establishment of the Department of Immigration of Australia in 1945. There have been significant changes during that period.

The existing literature on refugees in Australia highlights various challenges that Australian Governments have faced in developing policies to meet humanitarian refugee settlement needs (see Spinks 2009, Hancock 2009, Hugo 2009 and Jakubowicz 2010). Similarly, there is ample evidence indicating the difficulties faced by the African entrants with respect to their integration and adjustment in Australia. It is these challenges experienced by both service providers and refugees (albeit in different forms) that lead to government agencies revisiting the existing policies and settlement strategies and adjusting them in ways that meet the needs of new entrants more effectively. It is possible to divide the settlement models and strategies

in Australia in relation to African humanitarian entrants into three phases since the arrival of the first group of African humanitarian entrants in the 1980s.

a) Phase 1: 1980s–2004. Limited Service Provision

In the 1980s the Australian Government had very few services for the first wave of African settlement (Refugee Council of Australia 2012 and Jakubowicz 2010). Very little was known about the settlement and adjustment needs of migrants from Africa. The programs and services that existed before 1980 were mostly suitable for entrants from other countries, particularly those from Europe. During this period, there was no particular assessment that was undertaken to determine the individual or group needs of African-Australians.

The first group of African humanitarian entrants from Ethiopia and Sudan in Australia went through an integration policy framework which was transitioning from assimilation to multiculturalism. During this period, the majority of African entrants were finding it very difficult to manage their settlement with limited services. In addition, as the Department of Immigration realised, refugees from diverse linguistic, religious and ethnic background were struggling with integration, so attempts were made to improve the outcome (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2012-13).

The first African entrants had several integration challenges, outlined in earlier chapters, ranging from identity and culture to English language communication (Jupp 2009, Colic-Peisker 2005 and Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2009a). During the period from 1980 to 2004, there were very few African entrants in the country and they were scattered around States and Territories, making it more difficult for them to help each other. The majority of the African-Australia entrants at that time were concentrated in Melbourne, Sydney and Queensland (Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009a). During this period, the settlement services programs, and their outcome in terms of facilitating the integration of African entrants, were not evaluated.

There was no prior information about the first wave of African entrants enabling government to plan for their adjustment needs; so no need-assessment was done prior to their arrivals. During this time, there was no interpretation or counselling services tailored for the needs of

the African entrants, as most of the entrants to Australia to that date were of European origin. Refugees from the Asian region came later.

In 1989, the Hawke Government, through the Department of Immigration, acknowledged that refugee entrants from diverse backgrounds were experiencing enormous challenges, including social dislocation, culture shock, language and religious barriers, identity issues, unemployment and discrimination, that necessitated reform (Refugee Council of Australia 2010a and Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2006). In the 1990s, during the Labour Government, refugees were not granted the opportunity for pre-arrival orientation or provided with information about what to expect in their new country. This, together with the limited integration service, meant settlement was very difficult for settlers, particularly Africans with distinctive cultures and unique experiences, who were readily identifiable. In addition, the problems caused by their prolonged stays in refugee camps, together with their low levels of English skills, made them soft targets for stereotyping and vilification, making their experience different from other refugees.

A series of major services were introduced in the 1990s responding to the needs of the African refugees, including:

- The Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (HSS), introduced in the 1990s by the Hawke Government (Spinks 2009 and Karlsen, Phillips & Koleth 2011).
- The Settlement Grant Program (SGP) and the Complex Case Support Services Program (CCSSP) made funding available for projects developed by organisations, with priority given to particular communities as determined by an annual needs-based planning process.
- A total of \$32 million was available for the SGP in 2008–09. Of this, approximately \$22 million was to fund new projects, while the remaining \$10 million was for ongoing grant commitments (Spinks 2009).
- .Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Service strategies (IHSS) were all associated with the intake of African entrants responding to their settlement needs. The strategy was mainly used as a support mechanism to assist complex cases.

The interviews conducted with the officials from MARRS reflect the limited nature of the services provided to the first wave of African humanitarian new entrants. The Director and

CEO of MARSS (interview May 12th 2012), for instance, emphasised that, initially, the service providers for migrants and refugees were not adequately funded to provide for the needs of those entrants with unique challenges, for example, language and culture, though she argued that it has slowly started changing for the better in the area of language. It is well acknowledged then that the first group of humanitarian entrants from Africa experienced more challenges compared to the groups that followed, when services were being provided and assistance was increased.

The major review of settlement services of 2002 by the Minister of Immigration, Citizenship and Multicultural Affairs, Gary Hardgrave, resulted in a significant increase in both the provision of services and the number of humanitarian refugees from Africa (Refugee Council of Australia 2009). The changes aimed to meet 21st Century immigration services standards to address the cultural and language barriers faced by immigrants to Australia, in order to facilitate their adjustment into the country quickly, and benefit from their economic contribution.

Consequently, by the end of 2002, the African entrants had access to an array of services from the government, which sought to enhance their integration and adjustment into a new society (Refugee Council of Australia 2011a and Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009b). Of significant importance in the settlement of humanitarian entrants was the introduction of the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS) in 2000 to provide intensive assistance (Spinks 2009 and Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009b). This strategy was developed to deal with the needs of all refugees. The assessment of the migration services and settlement policy review was also introduced in the early 1990s in order to improve existing services to meet the needs of the new refugee entrants accepted into the country.

The implementation of the new program and services that were intended to meet the complex needs of new arrivals was also a major challenge. African entrants, particularly those who had spent a long time in the refugee camps, and those who experienced psychological and physical torture, require intensive support, for example, counselling and social rehabilitation. To manage such cases successfully required more resources and qualified staff. As noted before, another major barrier to settlement during this time was that the majority of the key service providers had no prior knowledge about the culture and language of new entrants. This made communication, and thus service provision, more difficult.

The interviews with the African humanitarian entrants revealed the majority of the respondents complained about the key service workers' inability to understand their language and respect their cultures. Further changes to service provision and a significant shift to regional resettlement contributed to the deepening of the problem, as this often meant that African entrants experienced isolation, despite the expansion of the services. On the other hand, regional settlement had an advantage to new arrivals because there was less job competition with locals than in the metropolitan cities. The aim of resettling African entrants in regional areas was to try to provide a more manageable environment and avoid the pressures of adjusting into big cities of which they had no experience. During this settlement phase, the numbers of humanitarian intake from Africa were still reasonably small and they could not establish group associations to help themselves as they were scattered around States and Territories across Australia. The problems experienced during this period of settlement were largely alleviated during the next phase.

b) Phase 2: 2003/4-2007 Levering Service Provision

During this period, the resettlement of African migrants and refugees from a diverse background increased significantly, from 16% of the humanitarian intake per year a decade before, to 70% in 2003-04 and 2004-05 (Refugee Council of Australia 2008a and Reiner 2010). However, the numbers were drastically reduced to 34 per cent in 2007, making Africa the third largest humanitarian settlement intake region, after the Middle East and Asia. This reduction occurred largely because Africans were viewed as not integrating into Australian mainstream society and requiring intensive settlement support, costing government excessive amounts of money (Reiner 2010). Certainly, in their interview the Department of Immigration and Border Protection respondents mentioned that African humanitarian refugee entrants required more assistance because of their past experience, particularly torture and trauma counselling (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011d). The introduction of counselling services and Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Service marked the first major milestone of refugee and migrant services which were designed to help enhance their settlement and integration in Australia.

In the period between 2004 and 2007, Africans became the major focus of the attention in terms of humanitarian refugee settlement in Australia. The Government was responding to the huge influx of refugees escaping from war in Africa, mainly from DRC, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan, who were in dire need of resettlement.

During this period, a number of services and programs were also introduced, including the Regional settlement program. The major changes and initiative introduced in this period, many of which built upon the services that were developed during the previous decade, included:

- The Living in Harmony Program, introduced in 2006 by the Liberal Government, intended to bring all Australian together. In 2004-2007 Africans started forming Associations to help the settlement of people from their own communities (countries). This move reduced the culture shock as Africans who were already settled could assist in providing and interpreting settlement information for new arrivals from their country of origin.
- During this period, DIAC provided interpreting services in around 500 locations across Australia, with 231 interpreters covering 47 African languages.
- The Regional Settlement Program directed refugees to Regional Australia where they were expected to adjust better into small communities, finding employment easily and connecting to the mainstream community. However, this resulted in considerable subsequent migrant movement interstate, as new entrants searched for family members, friends, people from their own country and job opportunities. One example of the problems of regional settlement was evident in Tamworth Council's refusal to resettle Sudanese families as discussed in the last chapter.
- The Howard Government in 2004/5 established an Australian Cultural Orientation programme (AUSCO) with the aim of giving new arrivals an understanding of what to expect in their new country. In this context, DIAC produced a DVD, called '*Australia a New Home*', to provide orientation information about housing, education, money, work, family, health and Australian laws, designed to assist refugees to adjust quickly.

During this period, household assistance was better funded by the government, as part of the settlement package, than before, when it was dependent on donations from individuals and organisations. In addition, assistance for buying white goods, such as a fridge and a washing machine, were now included as part of the economic assistance package. Although major

changes to services were made, Africans were still blamed for not adjusting into the Australia society (Refugee Council of Australia 2008a). In addition, there were no attempts to measure the refugee humanitarian new arrivals' adjustment or integration beyond the standard one, where entrants are expected to be able to live independently working and to have secured accommodation.

c) Phase 3: 2008-2014. Introduction of New Settlement Services

During this phase of the settlement process, major changes occurred in services, partly as a result of the change of government in Australia. The name of the Department of Immigration changed, mirroring the changes of policies. In the last two decades the Department's name has changed from the Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), after 2004 election, to the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA), to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) in 2007 and, more recently, in 2013/14, to Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP). The majority of these changes were initiated and implemented by successive Liberal Governments. Initially, the Department was called Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA), which reflected the then existing policy of multiculturalism in the 1970s.

In 2009 and 2010 there was a crucial debate about a 'bigger Australia', with migrants seen as a major cause of population growth (Curnow & Wettenhall 2010). The discourse about a 'bigger Australia' implied that the government should take fewer humanitarian entrants to control the fast-growing population. The humanitarian refugee intake and asylum seekers were the biggest contributing groups to Australian population growth. The refugee humanitarian intake remained steady at 12,750, although the Labour Party, the Green Party, the Refugee Council of Australia and the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia argued for an increase in the number of Humanitarian entrants to 20.000, to address the issue of 'boat asylum seekers' (Refugee Council of Australia 2013). However, the position failed to gain momentum and was overwhelmed by the Coalition's policy of turning-back-the-boats (Refugee Council of Australia 2013).

As we saw, after the review of the service and policy change in the 1970s and 1990s, the Australian Cultural Orientation Program (AUSCOP) provided information about where to find

the services needed by the new entrants as humanitarian refugees, both prior to their arrival in Australia and after they arrived. During this time African community groups associations and family members were allowed to participate in the settlement of people from their countries. They understood the refugee's culture and language and made settlement, integration and adjustment easier.

In 2008/09 the Department of Immigration inaugurated a new program entitled 'Complex Case Support Program' (CCSP), which aimed to provide coordinated casework management to support struggling individual new arrival to settle well. This was implemented together with the Settlement Grants Program (SGP), which created a fund to help refugees. For example, torture and trauma counselling services were provided to the majority of new arrivals from Africa. In the ACT and other States and Territories, torture and trauma counselling is currently provided by Companion House and other counselling organisations, funded by the government through DIBP.

In 2009-10, the government increased the Translation and Interpreting Service Scheme (TIS) to cover 831,108 non-English speaking migrants, in order to facilitate their resettlement. However, the numbers of people who require interpreting services is now continuously dropping because most of the current wave of humanitarian entrants has some level of English skills, particularly the youth. The beneficiaries of this program were mainly humanitarian entrants from African countries (Higgins 2009 and Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a). Some of the new developments and new changes to the Humanitarian Programme have resulted from the recommendation of a series of reviews of settlement standards.

In determining the size of the programme, the Government also considered Australia's capacity to facilitate the entry and settlement of humanitarian entrants. The Australian public was invited to provide their views on the management, size and composition of Australia's Humanitarian Programme for 2014-15 and future years (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a). Consultation with key services providers, the RCOA, FECCA and other stakeholders, usually provides input into the program, incorporating the views of the humanitarian community through peak bodies and community or group associations.

In 2013-14 the size of the refugee and humanitarian intake program was reduced from 20,000 planned places to 13,750, back to where it was in 2010-11, and this figure still holds for 2015-

16, according to the Refugee Council of Australia (2015). The situation remains dire since the global refugee trends show that a number of refugees who need global attention risen to 16, 7 million UNHCR figures, cited by the (Refugee Council of Australia 2015-16).

In 2011, the Refugee Council of Australia, together with the migrant community, provided submissions to the government, suggesting ways to provide better services and support for resettled entrants in Australia and working with government to promote fairer government policies that are not available to humanitarian entrants (Refugee Council of Australia 2013).

The general settlement policy framework and services review provided practical support to assist humanitarian entrants to settle in Australia and have access to other support services, currently provided to humanitarian entrants under the Humanitarian Settlement Services Programme. A community sponsorship programme, formally known as the Community Proposal Pilot, recommenced on 1 June 2013, after being suspended for a long period of time, allegedly because it was being abused. The Pilot project program provided for up to 500 places within the offshore component of the 2013–14 programmes. The 2013–14 programmes thus included more places for SHP entrants than in previous years. Priorities within the SHP have been amended to reflect the refocusing of the programme towards family reunification and planned entry for overseas refugees (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a).

In the next section, I report on the data from interviews with DIBP officials on their experience with African humanitarian refugee entrants. The current preferred settlement model is a community-driven, needs-based one suggested by the Refugee Council of Australia (see also Reiner 2010). Reception and community acceptance, culture orientation and language still remain the barriers to the settlement of Africans humanitarian entrants in Australia (Adepoju 2010). However, this model has the greatest potential for delivering services, as evidenced by experience in other entrants' settlement countries, and for dealing with problems related to culture, religion, language and reception generally (Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia 2009b and Refugee Council of Australia 2010a). Based on this understanding, agencies made substantial attempts to change the settlement approach. The Refugee Council of Australia in 2009 outlined the measures that can be taken to improve the settlement outcome based on their view that the previous approach offered little assistance to new entrants. One of the measures suggested was community inclusion and the involvement of group associations in the settlement new entrants from their communities.

5.3. THE DIBP'S VIEWS ON AFRICAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

Australia is one of the 27 countries in the world that signed to offer resettlement to deserving humanitarian entrants from around the world. As we saw, Australia ranks third behind Canada and the United States in resettling humanitarian entrants. As an active participant country, Australia works together with other countries, involving government agencies and international and national NGOs to find settlement solutions to the plight of new arrivals through the settlement programmes.

The Australian humanitarian and refugee policy still aims to provide protection and settlement assistance to humanitarian arrivals to settle in Australia. Australia fully honours its humanitarian commitment and responsibility to accept and resettle migrants from refugee background. Special assistance is often provided for appropriate needs for their resettlement in Australia. However, the settlement of migrants in Australia is strongly influenced by the government of the day and its policies. The DIBP is the major player in the settlement of humanitarian entrants, making decisions and providing advice to Commonwealth government.

Before the actual settlement happens, the Department undertakes research as part of the settlement planning approved by the government to identify the needs and settlement barriers facing the target group on arrival (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011d). This was emphasised during the group interview in response to the question: how do you plan and determine the needs of new arrivals? The official responsible for Settlement Service planning responded: “we usually find out the type of people who are coming and their priority needs by conducting mini research about the group and also from the community that are already in the country from the same country” (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, interviewed 15.08.2012).

5.3.1. DIBP views on the prospects and challenges of settlement

The government have always maintained that the Australia settlement service program is one of the world's best in terms of funding and service provision, despite challenges experienced by new entrants in adjusting into the new environment and coping with settlement barriers. The DIBP, reflecting the view of government, believe that language, to varying degrees, is the cornerstone, which can make settlement successful, helping refugees to find employment and housing.

Each year, the Australian government, through the DIBP, seeks the views of the public about the settlement program. According to the Department, this process is intended to incorporate public opinion into the planning of a successful program for the future. The programs provided by the DIBP are designed to respond effectively to the settlement service needs of new arrivals. One of the DIBP respondents emphasised: "We develop programs and services that are client based to meet their needs" (DIBP interview 15.08.2012).

The general view of the DIBP officials was that humanitarian entrants from Africa are not different from other refugees resettling in Australia, since they share similar settlement experiences. As such, they believe that one settlement model or strategy fits all refugees (DIBP interview 15.08.2012). In this context, the DIBP officials interviewed emphasised that all humanitarian entrants in Australia receive similar support in their integration and adjustment. This view is at odds with the literature that argued that African humanitarian entrants resettled in Australia are different because of their past experience of prolonged refugee camp life and continuing civil war (Valentine & Sporton 2009a and Matareke 2009).

However, the officials did acknowledge that there are particular challenges and barriers to settlement that new entrant Africans face, particularly as a result of cultural differences. However, they contended that this does not mean that other arrivals from other countries do not experience similar barriers, although the extent of the impact varies significantly. This indicates some inconsistency in the DIBP officials' understanding of humanitarian entrants. Insufficient consideration appears to be given to these different settlement experiences.

The DIBP believes that the settlement of humanitarian entrants and refugees is a joint undertaking that involves all stakeholders, key service providers, the community groups, ethnic community groups, refugee advocacy groups, other organisations and the entrants themselves, if it is to be successful. These issues are certainly crucial elements of the settlement process for humanitarian entrants in Australia. In a broader perspective, community education also remains

a key challenge in the settlement process of African humanitarian new arrivals in particular and those already settled in Australia.

The major challenges associated with African entrants include language, community acceptance and reception, culture, family reunion and general services and the DIBP officials' response to these issues are discussed below:

a). Language and Education training

The literature on refugees in Australia identifies education and language as important aspects of settlement (Tilbury 2007 and Reiner 2010). Language acquisition is one of the greatest needs in the settlement of humanitarian entrants, particularly for older new arrivals. Lack of language skills affects the new arrivals when accessing public and private support services and makes it more difficult for them to function within the community in which they are settling. During the group interview with participants from DIBP, one respondent argued: “there are old people from different countries who fail to learn English and give up learning the language” (26 July 2012). The government established a 6 months' period for intensive support services for new arrivals. However, migrant group associations, advocates and other organisation argue that it is not possible for non-speaking person to learn English in 6 months.

The government emphasised that new arrivals need to learn the language in order to integrate well into the community. As indicated on the Department website, the government acknowledges that language communication has significant implications on new arrivals' integration and employment prospects (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2009b accessed 12.03.2013).

During the interview with DIBP officials, one said “all humanitarian refugees settling in Australia to my experience though some have some levels of English skills, but they all experience language challenges”. However, there has been a difference of opinion in relation to how and what should be offered in the AMEP for it to meet the diverse needs of new arrivals from non-English speaking. The previous version of AMEP was revised in 2010/11, because it was not meeting the needs of new arrivals, who had different skills compared to those people who came from refugee camps with no English skills. The current government policy supports the new version of AMEP and its implementation.

The Refugee Council of Australia and other researchers saw the AMEP service as unresponsive to humanitarian refugee entrants and the service was changed and its hours of opening increased in 2010 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011c and Karlsen, Phillips & Koleth 2011). In addition, the Department of Immigration, in a review of its settlement programs, noticed the gaps in the integration process, which prompted changes in the AMEP (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011a). The changes were introduced in July 2013, as part of a view that AMEP's role is to provide skills that are needed in workplaces and provide opportunities for tertiary studies for refugees. In this context, TAFEs in all States and Territories (and CIT in the ACT) are the providers of the Adult Migrant English Program. In interview, the Department emphasised that the government is doing its best to provide all the necessary services through its outreach support program; most importantly, providing language interpreting services for those who cannot speak English to assist them in accessing services.

For those with very low English language proficiency, DIAC offers the Translating and Interpreting Service, which facilitates communication between individuals and other settlement support organisations. There are 231 interpreters, covering 47 African languages (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011a). In addition to English language tuition provided through Adult Migrant English Program humanitarian entrants with low levels of schooling, or who have had difficulties in pre-migration experiences such as torture or trauma, can also access the Special Preparatory Program to help them cope with learning.

b). Host community perception of African refugees

Many studies emphasise that Australian communities still need education about issues related with humanitarian new arrivals from Africa. The host community is unfamiliar with the entrants' culture, language and racial differences, which leads to cultural problems, communication barriers, racial discrimination and discomfort among African new arrivals (Refugee Council of Australia 2010b). Community perception of entrants from refugee backgrounds is often negative, as they are perceived as people coming to take local people jobs, getting money from government and taking the country's resources without making an economic contribution (Gebre-Selassie 2008). Negative community perception of humanitarian entrants inhibits settlement. The majority of the Australian community are not aware of the effect of their reactions on their neighbours from different cultures. New arrivals

always find it hard to establish relationship with members of the community, even neighbours, meaning they live in isolation. Negative media portrayal of refugees is a key factor which helps shape the community's negative attitude. Overall, the literature emphasises that the media and the community attitude towards people from refugee background has an adverse impact on the settlement process of new arrivals (Jupp 2009), (Hugo 2010) and (Karlsen, Phillips & Koletch 2011). In response, in 2009 the Australian government, through the then Department of Immigration, developed a programme that gathers public opinion each year on the challenges facing new entrants in order to develop future plans to address such challenges (DIBP 2013). Some of these opinions are gathered from humanitarian entrant communities who experience such challenges.

c). African Culture

African family structure is one of the challenging factors for individuals and families in the Australian context. African-Australian culture is not homogenous, given they belong to many different cultural groups, as they come from different countries, regions and zones, but they share many similarities. Reliance upon one another in the African culture fosters good relationships, but this doesn't appear to be appreciated by the Australian government. Of course, cultural difference is a two-sided process. The Australian Cultural Orientation (AUSCO) program provides cultural orientation for all refugees preparing to enter Australia for resettlement. However, in Australia there is little recognition of other minority cultures, despite the policy of multiculturalism (Boese & Phillips 2011).

In response to a question about why culture is important, one DIBP respondent argued: "yes culture plays a vital role in the settlement of new arrivals, but key service providers are daunted by the fact that African entrants in Australia come from many different cultures, making it more difficult to follow individual cultures" (DIBP interviewed 15.08.2012). This reflects the responses of humanitarian entrants who emphasised that culture is what makes them who they are, gives them strength and provides answers to many of the challenges they face in the new country, but that this often goes unrecognised by settlement officials.

In a multicultural country, everyone has the right to his own culture and its practice within the law. The United Nations Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1976) gives all

people the right to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Yet, culture still remains a challenge (Rees & Pease 2009 and Mitchell, Kaplan & Crowe 2006). During the group interview, the DIBP participants identified culture as one of the major settlement barriers. They went on to say, “Africans in Australia are known to have a strong belief in their culture and whatever comes in between them and their culture is considered life threatening”. Failure to appreciate African culture and identity significantly affects the integration and adjustment of new entrants. Indeed, respect for other cultures is an essential part of any process of integration (Brotherhood of St Lawrence 2011 and Reiner 2010). According to the information materials provided by the DIBP, the Department recognise the culture differences both among humanitarian entrants and between them and the mainstream society (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011a). The real question concerns the extent to which this view is reflected in DIBP practice. The DIBP response was that the government’s multiculturalism policy allowed cultures to practice their own cultures.

d). Family reunion

Family reunion is crucial in the settlement of African new arrivals. In understanding how this can affect settlement, it is vital to first understand what family means to African new entrants. In the African context, the idea of family is different than it is for Australians. African families are generally larger and the word family is used to cover both the immediate family, parents and children, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, and the extended family, including grandparents, aunt and uncles, nephews, nieces, cousins etc. This causes problems in the Australian context when discussing family reunion. In the African context, the most important function of the family group is to help and support each other socially and financially in times of difficulties.

In June 2013, the Government re-established the sponsorship proposal scheme, through the Community Proposal Pilot Programme (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2013a). The DIBP officials argued that the program allows approved community organisations in Australia to propose humanitarian entrants for resettlement in Australia and help them to settle once they arrive. Organisations are expected to pay a substantial visa fee and meet a range of costs related to the person’s resettlement in Australia (such as airfares, medical checks and

on-arrival support). The settlement planning representative among the DIBP interviewees said proposal that the previous scheme had been closed because it was being abused.

Family reunion plays a vital role in the settlement of new arrival since it provides an inclusive community. It also allows the African community to care for each other, making resettlement more successful. The DIBP officials argued that the Department has a history of supporting family reunion and remains committed to it, despite the abuse of the process which they identified. In particular, the Department officials recognised that Africans consider family reunion as important in their adjustment, and that they thought in terms of an extended family

For many people from a refugee background, beginning life in an unfamiliar country is a huge challenge and needs the presence and support of family members to ensure successful settlement. A large family group from Africa is less likely to rely heavily on external service providers for assistance, because they can help each other financially, emotionally and otherwise. In the context of settlement, the African family plays a pivotal role in providing support and nurturing problem solving strategies (Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2010). In this context, the DIBP officials argued that humanitarian new arrivals have responsibilities to each other within the context of the family to provide material and emotional support to each other.

e). Reception and host community acceptance

Australia is known to be a welcoming country, although its treatment of asylum seekers and boat people is often criticised (Curnow & Wettenhall 2010). In the settlement context, the majority of the people arriving in Australia are met at the airport on arrival by volunteers. Community acceptance is important for both the new arrivals and the host community, if Australia is to be a successful multiculturalist country. The government expects the host community to provide a positive reception and accepts new entrants as members of the community. Certainly, the attitude of the host community plays a significant role in the settlement process of new arrivals. When asked about the issue of community acceptance, the DIBP officials emphasised that community education about refugees is high on the government agenda. However, the frequent racial attacks experienced by African community in Australia, and by 8 out of the 12 humanitarian entrants interviewed, increased their feelings of social

exclusion (HE 4; HE7; HE 12; HE 8, HE 10 and HE 11 interviewed between April 14 2012 and 15 August 2012). The community within which new entrants are settled tends to be the main resource in the settlement process and what is required is a recognition and acceptance of, and a positive attitude to, new entrants by that community.

Another issue that has a significant role in the perception of African new entrants by the community is the negative media portrayal of immigrants. Media portrayals of refugees' are generally negative r making many refugees particularly in the African community insecure and unaccepted. Windle's (2008) article, entitled 'The racialization of African youth in Australia' was produced after Kevin Andrews, a former Minister in the Howard government, criticised African youth in 2007. It shows how the media reports a generalised view of African youth, not rooted in a thorough study of particular cases. Similarly, the Refugee Council of Australia (2010a) reported a complete lack of balance in the media coverage of migrant issues, particularly in relation to Africans.

Overall, the DIBO official recognised that, before resettling new arrivals into a given community, it is important to provide citizens with education about the people coming into their community, as they are the people who will be in contact with them on a daily basis.

f). General services

DIAC runs a number of programs designed to help migrants and humanitarian refugee settle in Australian. Humanitarian entrants are introduced to life in Australia before they arrive through the Australian Cultural Orientation Program. This program helps participants to develop realistic expectations about their lives in Australia and enhances their settlement experience by assisting them to learn about Australian laws, values, lifestyle and culture.

Once humanitarian entrants arrive in Australia, the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy attempts to assist them achieve self-independence through a six-month program of specialised settlement services. The program provides reception, information about services and assistance with things like accommodation, counselling and basic household goods. At another level, the Settlement Grants Program provides settlement support by funding organisations to deliver projects, targeting refugees and humanitarian entrants from African backgrounds.

5.3.2. DIBP settlement priorities

I asked the DIBP officials, what are the major challenges that Africans entrants experience in their settlement in Australia? The senior official responsible for humanitarian settlement argued that: “employment is a common settlement challenge for all refugees resettled in Australia”. Certainly, the impact of unemployment is severe and harsher on refugees and humanitarian entrants from other countries with no work experience and referees in Australia and the recent literature consistently shows that migrants from refugee backgrounds have higher rates of unemployment than those who have lived in Australia for some years (Reiner 2010 and Tilbury 2007).

When asked what influenced the humanitarian entrants’ employment chances, one official summarised the Department’s views: “factors related to employment, such as language, discrimination, Australian work experience, and interpersonal skill, are crucial barriers, making it extremely difficult for them to find a job. In this context, the Department’s Humanitarian Settlement Services senior officer emphasised: “the Department is taking seriously the recommendation from stakeholders about settlement barriers, most importantly employment, accommodation and discrimination”.

a) Employment

According to the Department, a successful settlement service relies on effective communication and on the participation of all stakeholders (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011d). The participants interviewed from different sections of the Department universally indicated that in their experience, as one put it “employment still remains a challenge among refugee entrants in Australia, though experienced by the rest of the Australian population”. Certainly, the Department recognise the magnitude of the problem among refugee community and how it affects their settlement.

They also recognised the prevalence of the systematic discrimination, direct or indirect, experienced by the majority of humanitarian entrants and refugees in the labour market across Australia (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2008). In responding to the issue of racial and employment discrimination, the DIBP participants mentioned that the Government had created a

Discrimination Commissioner to deal with issues related to discrimination. All participants interviewed acknowledged that freedom from discrimination and stereotyping is significant to integration. However, as mentioned earlier, by referring to all African as refugees, even when they are citizens, they continue to be discriminated against.

b) Other issues of particular concern:

The DIBP officials identified three other factors of particular concern. First, they recognised that, no matter how qualified new entrants were, they were still considered to be unskilled. As such, the majority of African new entrants can only find menial jobs, for example, cleaning jobs, jobs in aged-care and security jobs, which are low-paid and generally unwanted by mainstream citizens. Second, they talked about family gender roles and traditional family structures among African humanitarian entrants. They recognised that the size of the African family contributed to the shortage of affordable, suitable private rental accommodation, and led to long waiting-list periods for public housing which could accommodate larger families. Thirdly, they identified a lack of understanding among refugees about their legal rights and responsibilities in situations where racism, discrimination and criminal matters are involved.

5.4. MARSS OFFICIALS' VIEWS ABOUT AFRICAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

MARSS plays a primary role in the settlement of new arrivals in Australia in all States and Territories. MARSS operates a series of programs for new arrivals: the Settlement Grant Program; the Community Development Program; the Humanitarian Settlement Service, the Program for After School Studies; and the Migrant Settlement Services.

5.4.1 The MARSS Programs

The MARSS programs involve casework, the provision of information, referrals and advocacy services. The Community Development Program (CDP) helps migrants and humanitarian

entrants with a range of services to assist in establishing themselves within the Australian community, providing, for example, language classes, tutoring, computer classes, driving lessons, sports programs, assistance in finding employment and career guidance.

MARSS provides settlement assistance to humanitarian entrants through the Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS): delivering initial settlement support to humanitarian clients upon arriving in Australia; meeting clients at the airport, and providing temporary accommodation until a long term accommodation is found.

5.4.2. MARSS views

In responding to the question about African settlement experience and barriers, MARSS officials, as key service providers identified some of the major integration and adjustment challenges associated with African new entrants, including language; culture; employment; discrimination; accommodation; and family reunion. According to the MARSS Director, they are confident that the programs they offer are helpful to new arrivals. In responding to a follow-up question related to employment, one MARSS official stated that “in dealing with migrants and humanitarian entrants, the organisation is aware that employment is a common challenge and is high across the whole country”. Like officials from DIBP, MARSS respondents recognised that the current group of humanitarian entrants from all countries resettled in Australia have a sound level of English; the only major issue with African entrants is their difficult accent (Refugee Council of Australia 2012).

With reference to culture, a MARSS respondent said: “We have a continuous staff professional training to manage entrants from different cultures who are providing service to refugees from different culture with such challenges”. Furthermore, MARSS confirmed that some of the staff providing services understand the languages of their clients and are from the same culture. In addition to the AMEP course from CIT, MARSS also provide extra English classes to new arrivals aged between 8 and 25. This program was developed to deal with the impact of language as a barrier in the settlement process.

During the interview with MARSS, family reunion was identified as another crucial issue that significantly affects new entrants who were separated by war. However, MARSS officials indicated that family reunion is not within MARSS remit, although they give assistance to those

who want to propose their family members and relatives by providing volunteer migration lawyers to handle their cases. During the interview, MARSS respondents also acknowledged the cultural dynamics in Australia and recognise the different cultural backgrounds of African humanitarian entrants.

5.5. THE VIEWS OF THE NGOs INVOLVED IN HUMANITARIAN SETTLEMENT

In Australia, there are a number of NGOs directly or indirectly involved in the settlement of refugees, migrants and humanitarian entrants. Here, I focus on two umbrella organisations, the Refugee Council of Australia and the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia. These organisations not only represent refugees, but also are also deeply involved in the affairs of refugees and migrants in Australia.

5.5.1 The Refugee Council of Australia – Its views and contributions

The Refugee Council of Australia (RCA) contributes significantly to the settlement of refugee and humanitarian entrants, particularly in the development of immigration policies. The organisation was not interviewed, but I did scrutinise a lot of their documents, both online and offline. The RCA focuses on providing input into the planning of Australia's Humanitarian Program, and, indeed, recent policy changes announced by the Government pertaining to humanitarian family reunion will have significant implications for the Family Stream of the Migration Program (Refugee Council of Australia 2014a).

In 2009, the RCA raised concerns about the model of the AMEP, especially what they considered none flexibility of the program and the classroom-based approach to learning, which was not responding to the needs of new entrants. The RCA collected inputs from their Community members about the issues that affect communities from refugee backgrounds and produces a discussion paper that concluded that AMEP significantly failed to improve the English of many new arrivals, despite their attending classes for several (Refugee Council of Australia 2014b). Indeed, the RCA, along with others refugee community organisations, believes that students who have not had any formal education, or who did not speak English

when they arrived, gained very little from being placed in an AMEP class with a teacher who could not speak their own language.

The Refugee Council of Australia also identified a number of other concerns.

- The growing negative rhetoric about the refugee humanitarian entrants resettling in Australia, particularly African new arrivals.
- Although Australia's settlement services framework is renowned internationally as an example of best practice in supporting the successful settlement of refugee and humanitarian entrants, there are a range of emerging and ongoing challenges faced by HSS providers and the people with whom they work (Refugee Council of Australia 2014a). Employment remains a major problem for people from refugee backgrounds; failure to get well-paid, fulfilling employment is a significant barrier to the success of settlement in Australia. Employment also assist new arrivals in Australia to build community connections, improve their language skills, recover from past trauma and develop a sense of belonging (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2006 and Refugee Council of Australia 2014a). In this context, Job Services Australia (JSA) was introduced on 1 July 2009 by the Australian Government to replace the existing Job Network employment services (Refugee Council of Australia 2012). Job Network providers are funded to deliver assistance to job seekers and required to be sensitive to the various employment barriers that individuals face, including providing early assistance to the most disadvantaged job seekers. The services are provided to help individuals obtain the skills they need to secure sustainable employment. For many refugee and humanitarian entrants, obtaining employment is not only important in terms of economic wellbeing but it also represents an important step in the settlement journey and in facilitating a sense of belonging and future in Australia.
- Racism and discrimination have a significant impact on refugee communities in Australia. The RCA strongly opposed proposed amendments to the Racial Discrimination Act 2014 because they believed such policies deny protections against racism, racial vilification and discrimination particularly vulnerable migrant communities (Valentine & Sporton 2009a and Refugee Council of Australia 2014a). They emphasise the need for leadership in addressing racism as discussed, especially

in relation to African humanitarian refugee entrants who are particularly subject to such discrimination.

5.5.2 FEECA views and contributions to the settlement of humanitarian entrants

The Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia is an umbrella organisation representing affiliated organisations. In recognising the diversity in the country, FECCA believes that the development of a policy platform for promoting integration should recognise cultural diversity and explore the opportunities generated and the skills offered by people from immigrant and refugee backgrounds. FECCA supports multiculturalism, community harmony, social inclusion and the rejection of all forms of discrimination and racism, which together they see as necessary to enhance integration and the adjustment of new entrants into Australia. As such, FECCA advocates an inclusive approach to developing engagement and consultation with all relevant stakeholders, particularly involving culturally and linguistically diverse communities (Refugee Council of Australia 2010c and Refugee Council of Australia 2014c).

FECCA views employment as a primary factor in the successful social integration of new arrivals and immigrants into broader Australian society and emphasises that it is one of the most effective means of creating social cohesion among communities (Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2012).

After recognising the importance of employment, the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia recommended that the employment support services in rural and regional areas be increased (Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2012). They also suggested that the government should consider employing bilingual and bicultural workers who could outreach to the smaller ethnic communities that often exist in rural and regional areas. In addition, they argued that cultural education and cultural competence training should be provided not just for key service provider workers, but also in schools and communities, with particular emphasis given to tertiary institutions and potential employers who need to understand other cultures.

Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia (2012) research also revealed that in the settlement process culture and social inclusion are crucial for the integration of humanitarian entrants into the host community. Integration is a two-way process which requires

the promotion of understanding and tolerance among the host community, as well as among humanitarian entrants, in order to be successful.

5.6. COMPARING THE VIEWS AND PERSPECTIVES OF SETTLEMENT STAKEHOLDERS

Both the extant literature and these interviews indicate that employment and discrimination, community perceptions, racial and cultural identity, appropriate service and family reunion are crucial aspects of the settlement process. My research indicates that the views of DIDP and MARSS are similar. The differences are minor and are influenced by the nature of services they provide and the people with whom they are dealing. Similarly, the views of the RCA and FECCA, who represent refugees and humanitarian entrants, are alike.

Refugees approach the resettlement process with a set of challenges shaped by their cultures and past experiences of long conflicts in their home countries and life in refugee camps (Taylor & Stanovic 2005). Failure to address the barriers to settlement significantly affects those who have had traumatic experiences and can potentially result in psychological problem. Most of the entrants from refugee background have unrealistic expectations on arrival into their new country. According to Higgins (2009), the successful settlement of refugees in Australia is mostly dependent upon access to economic resources, freedom from any forms of discrimination and acceptance and social inclusion. In terms of settlement, the question is: how do you know and/or determine that the person has settled well? This raises the issue of the measurement of settlement, integration and adjustment. This may involve having a well-paid, sustainable job, permanent accommodation and a good command of English, with an Australian accent! The current policy framework does not meet the needs of new arrivals, creating more uncertainties among entrants. In this context, both the Refugee Council of Australia and Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia reject the idea of resettling and integrating newcomers in country towns where there are no employment prospects or tertiary institutions and, even more importantly, there are no members of their communities to help in their adjustment (Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia 2010 and Refugee Council of Australia 2009).

As such, while this study found that the DIBP officials, and the key service providers it funded, shared views, there were significant differences between the DIBP and the NGOs. If the government takes no account of the issues raised by the NGOs, settlement will remain problematic. In particular, the NGOs acknowledged that being black in Australia is a problem, while both DIBP and MARSS argued that the move towards a multicultural society had reduce these problems by increasing recognition of difference and allowing everyone practice their own religion and culture without fears. The major issue concerns the distinctive racial characteristics of new arrivals from African, which seems to be insufficiently recognised by government.

In this context, all the evidence suggests that employment is very important for better settlement outcomes and that discrimination in the mainstream employment sector needs to be addressed. The crucial question to answer here is, Is the government doing enough to remove the barriers for new arrivals to manage their adjustment process easier? This research suggests that there are still problems here.

In addition, while the government and its agencies believe that all refugees should be treated in the same way, the NGOs involved with refugee settlement understand that refugees are different and that each group has unique experiences depending on the situations they have faced. The settlement of refugees from different cultural and racial backgrounds needs to be assessed differently because of the different language and cultural identities of groups. However, MARSS acknowledged that, due largely to limited resources, the settlement needs of all humanitarian entrants are assessed using a standard form.

5.7. ADDRESSING SETTLEMENT PROBLEMS: AN OVERVIEW

After reviewing humanitarian settlement problems in 2006, the Settlement Service for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants launched a National Framework for Settlement Planning to provide a more strategic and coordinated approach to settlement (Karlsen, Phillips & Koleth 2011 and Refugee Council of Australia 2010c). This was intended to improve the capacity of the service providers, community organisations and other stakeholders to respond to humanitarian needs. However, this research suggests that there is a disconnection between the refugee and

mainstream communities in Australia. As such, inclusion and connection is pivotal to the successful settlement of humanitarian entrants.

Throughout the history of African humanitarian settlement in Australia, they have faced economic and social problems (Allen 2010 and Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011b). This has impacted on their settlement and led to them being stereotyped. The settlement challenges facing new arrivals are broad and tackling them requires a holistic approach. This requires addressing the economic, social and civic aspects of the problem (Higgins 2009 and Hugo 2011). The focus needs to be on social inclusion, increased participation, economic independence and, most important, connection to the extended host community.

Overall, as the Refugee Council of Australia (2009) argues, the success of the settlement experience relies on both the willingness of Australian society to welcome new arrivals and how well the settlement services address the challenges. Unfortunately, the relationship between service providers and the new arrivals is difficult and there is a lack of trust. The key service providers and service planners need to focus upon creating reasonable relationships with their clients. In addition, they need a good understanding of the refugees past experience and the type of assistance they require for their settlement.

Some research on African new arrivals' integration process suggests that services provided by ethnic groups or community groups can be more effective than those provided by key service providers (Odongkara 2005, Millbank, Phillips & Bohm 2006 and Refugee Council of Australia 2010a). These researchers emphasise the need for bilingual workers, group associations and qualified individuals from such communities to assist their fellow refugees. Both DIBP and MARSS recognised that orientation information needs to be provided to new entrants by people from their own community to avoid culture shock and language related issues and to make new entrants feel welcome and have a sense of belonging. However, it seems clear that more needs to be done.

5.8. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I analysed the attitudes of government and others to the settlement of humanitarian entrants from Africa. This chapter suggests that there are some problematic aspects of the attitudes of the government, key service providers and the community towards the settlement of African new arrival, which have a bearing on their settlement and adjustment into mainstream society. Without a policy change by the government, refugee humanitarian entrants in Australia will continue to face problems. A failure to meet the needs of new arrivals resettling in the country has consequences for both the government and new entrants. Obviously, new arrivals need support services in place to help them cope with their settlement and adjustment into their new environment. The DIBP recognises that it is essential that when planning settlement policies and programs the needs of new arrivals, the adjustment barriers they face are taken into account. Indeed, they acknowledge that in the absence of good settlement planning and settlement service delivery that responds to the needs of new arrivals will enter a cycle of ongoing service assistance (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011a).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION: KEY FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis has addressed the issue of the settlement of African humanitarian entrants in Australia. In this chapter, I begin with a section briefly outlining the key finding of the research. Next, I outline a series of possible policy lessons to be learnt from this research and humanitarian settlement in Australia, before outlining its limitations. The second section will then briefly discuss potential areas for future research.

6.2. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The major contribution of this thesis is that it is the first piece of academic work, which explores the views of African humanitarian entrants of the settlement process in Australia. As such, it gives them a voice and it offers a crucial perspective on how the settlement process might be made more effective. More specifically, eight key themes and findings emerge from this thesis on the settlement and integration of African humanitarian entrant in Australia. The findings contribute to the ongoing debate about the settlement and integration of African humanitarian entrants in Australia.

a) A Community organisation driven settlement framework

The majority of the humanitarian entrants I interviewed emphasised that members of their communities and ethnic groups were not involved in their settlement and that there was a gap between the service providers and community. The majority of the extant literature highlights humanitarian entrants' experience of traumatic situations and argues that this requires a holistic approach that involves family member, friends, community members, group associations and volunteers to provide support where key service providers fail (Reiner 2010). A more open model seems needed to increase community involvement in the settlement process. Indeed,

work done by the Refugee Council of Australia (2010b) identified high levels of support for the involvement of community organisations or former humanitarian entrants in settling fellow new arrivals.

Certainly, my research confirms Hugo's (2010) evidence that the majority of the new entrants prefer to be assisted in their settlement by people with whom they share the same language and culture. Indeed, Hugo emphasises that the absence of the volunteers, ethnic group associations and family members from the process results in many new entrants withdrawing from accessing services before the end of the intensive support period. In this vein, both Hugo (2010) and Keel & Drew (2004) emphasise the importance of the inclusion of all stakeholders in the settlement process of new entrants to enhance integration and adjustment.

My interviews certainly suggest that a need-based framework, which responds to changing settlement needs, is necessary to drive service provision. Such an approach would empower the community by using bilingual workers, employed to limit the need for interpreting and to avoid mistrust resulting from cultural differences. This would have the potential to provide culturally sensitive services, underpinned by respect for other people's cultures. In particular, this would help meet the needs of those who have experienced a prolonged stay in refugee camps. Overall, bilingual workers are needed to help the service providers identify major language and cultural barriers to settlement.

In this context, at present volunteers are under-utilised, but, with training, they could provide necessary support to help with the orientation of new arrivals who speak the same language. Community involvement is needed because such volunteers can draw on their own experience, experience that service workers rarely have.

b) The African Community helping itself

One problem here seems to be that the African-Australian community who have been in Australia for some years are perhaps not doing enough to help their own communities on their arrival in Australia. Although, they are an emerging minority group in Australia, they are not following the trend of other communities who have often established small businesses to employ their fellow Africans, giving them work-skills and work-experience in Australia. The

humanitarian entrant's over-reliance on government jobs, if they are employed at all, is costly and disadvantages them.

c) Racism and being black in Australia

Australia also holds firmly to the belief that no one should be disadvantaged on the basis of their country of birth, background, cultural heritage, language, gender or religious belief. However, racism and other related discrimination issues are widespread in Australia, as elsewhere (Adepoju 2010, Jakubowicz 2010 and Hartley & Fozdar 2013). Certainly, the majority of the humanitarian entrants I interviewed and surveyed indicated that they had been discriminated against in one way or another. In particular, racism and discrimination strongly affected employment prospects for these African humanitarian entrants.

Ten of the 12 humanitarian entrants I interviewed expressed concern about being referred to as “refugees” throughout their lives in Australia, an issue connected to racial discrimination and not one experienced in the same way by refugee entrants from elsewhere. Discrimination and employment are associated with other factors that limit integration and adjustment and my respondents emphasised that they would have preferred to be assisted by someone who spoke the same language or someone who understand their situation and culture during their period in Australia.

d) The attitude of the host communities towards humanitarian entrants

New arrivals always find it hard to establish relationship with members of the host community, even if they are neighbours, meaning they live in isolation. The majority of new entrants reported that they knew no one in the places in which they were resettled and many have moved once or twice to be nearer their relatives or people from their own cultural groups. For some of my interviewees, this was exacerbated by the fact they were resettled in country towns in New South Wales. Many of these people mentioned that they would be happier if they were living with the people from their cultural group or people with whom they shared a similar culture and language. In this context, a major problem is that mainstream Australian society has little or no appreciation of the position and experiences migrants and refugees. This research thus

serves a purpose in offering an understanding of the settlement challenges experienced by African humanitarian entrants from Africa.

e) Employment Prospects

During the fieldwork, the DIBP and MARSS officials and the humanitarian entrants all saw employment as the most crucial factor that influences the integration and adjustment of the new entrants (Colic Peisker & Tilbury 2006 and Refugee Council of Australia 2010b). In particular, attention needs to be paid to discrimination against, and stereotyping of, African refugees.

f) Australian settlement trends - policies and attitudes towards migrants

The pattern of settlement of migrants and refugees in Australia is consistently changing, but, so far, very little progress has been achieved in terms of integrating people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Australia lacks comprehensive policies to deal with refugees. This research suggests that responsibility for the current state of the sector lies with a range of actors, central government, State and Territory governments, peak bodies representing refugees etc.

In essence, this research argues that the government is not doing enough to provide the resources to help new entrants settle. The current government policy involves providing services to all new arrivals under a 'one size fits all' models, rather than utilising a needs-based framework. The principle of multiculturalism involves allowing different linguistic, religious, racial and ethnic groups to profess, practise and maintain their own linguistic, religious, racial and ethnic heritage. In addition, under the policy of multiculturalism, individuals and institutions should respect and make provision for the culture, language and religion of all citizens. However, in many instances, African humanitarian entrants are challenged by policies and settlement models that are full of restrictions. In particular, they are provided with only six months intensive support. In that time they are expected to learn the language, norms and values of Australia, which is difficult given they come from cultures which are very different from the Australian one; an issue which is magnified if they have limited, or no, English.

g) The effect of the settlement location

Location is also an important aspect of the settlement process for new entrants from African who are easily identified. Resettling refugees in big cities, remote towns or isolated suburbs disadvantages new arrivals and makes it difficult for them to access services. Resettling new entrants in location with no prospects of employment and tertiary education almost inevitably leads to secondary migration. Moving from one State or Territory is so stressful and accommodation is one of the major problem and finding employment quickly.

6.3. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

Like most research, this thesis has some obvious limitations, although those limitations clearly open avenues for future research.

- First, and most obviously, my sample size is limited and I cannot make generalisations about the experiences of all African humanitarian refugees based on this sample. Rather, my findings are indicative, but nonetheless important. My data allowed me to examine different parts of the picture, covering the views of a sample of humanitarian entrants, together with officials from DIBP and MARSS. In addition, I examined the views of the main NGOs in the area through a thorough study of their publications. The limited sample reflected the time and resource constraints with which I was faced.
- Second, this study is based on the humanitarian reports of their experiences both within the camps and particularly since, they arrived in Australia. It would have been better if I could have included a temporal element in my research design, allowing me to track their experiences in Australia over time. Again, time and resource constraints prevented this approach.
- Third, the focus of the study was the ACT, which may not be typical.
- Fourth, both the DIBP and MARSS interviews were group interviews, which were not recorded. Both organisations only agreed to joint interviews and refused my requests to record them. However, I felt it was still worth conducting these interviews as it gave me a clear view of how the regarded and dealt with the issue of African humanitarian entrants. In addition, I took extensive notes and recorded small, but important, parts of them verbatim in my notebook.

6.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE FINDINGS

The main objective of this study was to collect data to present to the settlement agency and service providers about African humanitarian entrants' settlement in Australia in order to improve the prospects of integration and adjustment.

- There is a clear need to increase enhancement support mechanisms in order to help humanitarian entrants to settle within the current time frame. The government need to explore a number of options for settlement planning, particularly increasing the number of places for family reunion.
- Two-way language and culture orientation is essential. Prior to new arrivals reaching Australia, key service provider workers need to be more effectively educated about the humanitarian entrant's language and culture. This will give service providers a basic understanding and awareness of the people they are dealing with and thus encourage integration and adjustment. In the same way, on arrival, and despite some basic orientation before departure, humanitarian entrants require intensive culture orientation to avoid culture shock in settling.
- Community-based settlement service with bilingual workers fluent in the refugee languages would help. There is a clear demand from the African-Australian community that they be involved in the settlement services for new entrants in Australia, thus utilising their experience. This will reduce culture shock and language and reception problems.
- However, to achieve the best integration outcome the whole society and institutions have to be actively involved, and not merely take a passive role in the process. Community education about migrants should be at the centre of planning to encourage the host community to take some responsibility to contribute to the potential adjustment of the new arrivals.
- A new approach to strategic settlement and adjustment framework should be developed which encompasses the inclusion of community-based groups and appropriate support services and focuses upon good reception to lay the foundation for a sustainable settlement outcome. This will also improve the administration of the monitoring of the

services to support clients in their endeavours to move from dependence to an independent life in Australia.

- It is crucial to provide assistance on discrimination and employment related issues to Africans since employment is not so much a problem in itself, but, rather, is the result of discrimination, exclusion and racism.

6.5. FUTURE RESEARCH

More research in the area of migrants and refugee settlement in Australia is crucial both to ensure the settlement process is more effective and to assist those who are experiencing difficulties in their settlement and integration into the Australian mainstream society. Certainly, the settlement of humanitarian entrants from Africa in Australia deserves further investigations, using larger samples and, if possible, incorporating a longitudinal dimension in the research design.

More specifically, further research is needed on:

- The effect of employment on the settlement process and the effect of racial discrimination in the settlement of new arrivals, particularly Africans, in Australia.
- In addition, it is clear that the host community perception of refugee new arrivals is very important and that it is shaped by media coverage. More work is needed here.
- Of course, Australia is not alone in accepting African humanitarian entrants and a comparison between the Australian settlement service models and models in other countries, which focus in part on the different outcomes from the different models, would help policy makers.
- In addition, an Australian study that compared the experience of African humanitarian entrants with those from the Middle East and Asia would also be interesting and useful in policy terms.

APPENDICES

Appendix - A



UNIVERSITY OF
CANBERRA

AUSTRALIA'S CAPITAL UNIVERSITY

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
APPROVED - Project number 12-42

12/04/12

Mr. Cletius Puteho
Applied Science
University of Canberra
BRUCE ACT 2617

Dear Cletius,

The Committee for Ethics in Human Research has considered your application to conduct research with human subjects for the project entitled **Critical assessment of the Australian settlement process: Case study of the African Refugee Humanitarian New Entrants**.

Approval is granted until 30/06/12 the anticipated completion date stated in the application.

The following general conditions apply to your approval.

These requirements are determined by University policy and the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2007).

Monitoring:	You, in conjunction with your supervisor, must assist the Committee to monitor the conduct of approved research by completing and promptly returning project review forms, which will be sent to you at the end of your project and, in the case of extended research, at least annually during the approval period.
Discontinuation of research:	You, in conjunction with your supervisor, must inform the Committee, giving reasons, if the research is not conducted or is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
Extension of approval:	If your project will not be complete by the expiry date stated above, you must apply in writing for extension of approval. Application should be made before current approval expires; should specify a new completion date; should include reasons for your request.
Retention and storage of data:	University policy states that all research data must be stored securely, on University premises, for a minimum of five years. You and your supervisor must ensure that all records are transferred to the University when the project is complete.
Contact details and notification of changes:	All email contact should use the UC email address. You should advise the Committee of any change of address during or soon after the approval period including, if appropriate, email address(es).

Please add the Contact Complaints form (attached) for distribution with your project.

Yours sincerely
Human Research Ethics Committee

Chanel Slater
Ethics & Compliance Officer
Research Services Office
T (02) 6201 5870 F (02) 6201 5466
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Tertiary Number 2001001 - 001-241

Appendix - B



Australian Government
Department of Immigration and Citizenship

Professor Roger Wettenhall
Professor Emeritus of Public Administration and
Adjunct Professor
ANZSOG Institute for Government
UNIVERSITY of CANBERRA ACT 2601

Dear Professor Wettenhall

Thank you for your letter of 24 April 2012, on behalf of Mr Puteho C Puteho, requesting the opportunity to interview officers of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (the Department).

I note with interest that Mr Puteho is researching the settlement reception of newly-arrived African humanitarian entrants.

The Department would be pleased to assist Mr Puteho with his research.

There are a number of departmental areas that may be relevant to Mr Puteho's research. For this reason, I would be grateful if Mr Puteho could provide a list of topics, or questions, that he would like to discuss with the Department. This would enable us to ensure the appropriate officers are available to assist Mr Puteho in his research. This list can be sent to Mr Nathan Holt, an officer in Humanitarian Branch, by either:

Mail: Nathan Holt
Humanitarian Branch
Department of Immigration and Citizenship
PO Box 25
BELCONNEN ACT 2616; or
Email: nathan.holt@immi.gov.au

We would encourage Mr Puteho to make use of the Department's website at www.immi.gov.au as this has links to previously conducted research that he may find of interest.

people our business

6 Chan Street Belconnen ACT 2617
PO Box 25 BELCONNEN ACT 2616 • Telephone: 02 6264 1111 • Fax: 02 6225 6970 • www.immi.gov.au

Appendix - C

Invitation to participate in the survey for the study undertaken with the University Of Canberra (UC)

Dear Participant

I am Puteho Cletius Puteho a full time student at the University of Canberra studying Professional Doctorate in Public Administration (DPA) by research. I am currently undertaking a research on the Assessment of the Australian Settlement Process; A case study of African Humanitarian Refugee New Entrants in Australia. This research requires survey from humanitarian new arrivals from Africa who have been in Australia between six months and five years. The research has been approved by the University of Canberra Committee for Human Ethics. Be assured that the survey data collected in this research will not be used for any purpose other than this research. Your participation is totally voluntary. The survey is not long; it is intended for few minutes to be completed.

The purpose of this survey is to gather more information and opinion regarding settlement of humanitarian new arrivals in Australia from Africa. This will help in improving the settlement services of new arrivals from Africa who experience barriers in their settlement.

I therefore invite you to participate in the survey sent to you. To participate please take time to complete the survey attached to this invitation and send it back to me once completed at the earliest convenient.

Thank you for participating in this research.

Your Sincerely

Puteho C. Puteho

Doctoral candidate

Faculty of Business, Government and Law

University of Canberra

Tel: 62015573

Email: Cletius.Puteho@uni.canberra.edu.au

Appendix - D

Information Sheet for Potential Research Participants: (Interview).

Title:

Critical Assessment of the Australian settlement process: Case study of African Refugee Humanitarian New Entrants

Research Overview

Humanitarian new arrivals from Africa are unique and bring with them a range of issues including culture and identity. New arrivals from Africa in Australia are known to have problems in integrating into the Australian society. The Australian government accepts a number of refugees around the world every year including those from Africa. This research will assess the settlement service and approaches generating the best practice and guidelines to enable effective and efficient settlement suitable for people with integration difficulties.

Benefits

The Australian Government invests billions of dollars each year in settling refugees from different countries for the purpose of improving service delivery and making sure that refugees make their contribution to the economy. The aim is to achieve settlement outcome in 6 months of arrival.

This research is projected to identify barriers and challenges that enable new arrivals to cope with integration strategies designed to assist new arrivals to settle. The research will consider the settlement of new arrivals from refugee perspective. The research will serve as a source base to recommend better integration outcomes.

The research will evaluate the current strategy and identify significant issues that are helpful in the integration process. Information on special humanitarian service strategies and barriers will be helpful in outlining settlement needs, and suggest alternative settlement strategies. The research will generate better knowledge and understanding of the settlement process and provides for the development of guidelines to assist service providers in assessing whether the current settlement approach meet the needs of new arrivals.

Aim

The main aims of this research are to:

- Contribute and add to service providers to meet the needs of new arrivals using best approach to serve them better,
- Assess the current Australian settlement services against the significant issues facing humanitarian new arrivals from Africa,
- Identify and analyses the underlying administrative problems in the adjustment processes of African humanitarian entrants from refugee background, and
- Investigate why new arrivals mostly those from Africa experience hardships, barriers and settlement challenges in their endeavor to rebuild their lives in Australia.

Participant Role

I request you to undertake a survey questionnaire which will take few minutes to complete. Your participation is purely voluntary and you can decide not to answer a question or not to participate. The survey questionnaire will involve questions that explore your experience in relation to settlement, your knowledge of refugee experience, your settlement challenges and the services provided to new arrivals enabling them to cope with integration into the new society. I am interested in your experience and your views regarding how settlement could be improved.

Data Storage

Once I have written up the transcript of your interview, I will send it to you for verification. The information will be analysed using software NVIVO. The survey and any name identifiers will be removed. The storage will be on a password protected area of the University of Canberra network and only the researchers will have access to the data which will be stored for five years prior to being destroyed. Any publications that arise from this research will have no names or other identifiers within them.

This research has been considered and approved by the University of Canberra Ethics Committee (Authorisation number 21-42).

If you wish to discuss this research or gain further information please contact either:

Professor Roger Wettenhall

Professor Emeritus in Public Administration visiting Professor, ANZSOG Institute for Governance, University of Canberra.

Phone: 6201 2071

Email: Roger.wettenhall@canberra.edu.au

Or

Professor Deborah Blackman

Professor of Management

Faculty of Business, Government & Law.

University of Canberra

Phone: 62015076

Email: Deborah.blackman@canberra.edu.au

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet relating to the Assessment of the Australian settlement process: Case study of African Refugee Humanitarian New Entrants research and understand my rights and responsibilities in relation to my participation.

Signed

Name

Date

I agree to be audio recorded.

Signed

Name

Date

CONTACTS FOR INFORMATION ON THE PROJECT AND INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE

This study has been reviewed and approved by my supervisors and has been authorised by the Committee for Ethics in Human Research:

Research title: **Assessment of the Australian settlement process: Case study of African Refugee Humanitarian New Entrants**

Principal Researcher: Puteho Cletius Puteho

1. As a participant or potential participant in this research, you will have received written information about the research project. If you have questions or problems that are not answered in the information you have been given, you should consult the principal researcher or the research supervisor. For this project, the appropriate person is:

Name: Professor Roger Wettenhall

Professor Emeritus in Public Administration visiting Professor, ANZSOG

Institute for Governance, University of Canberra.

email: Roger.Wettenhall@canberra.edu.au

Phone: 02 6201 2071

Or

Professor: Deborah Blackman
Contact details: Professor Deborah Blackman
Professor of Management
Faculty of Business, Government & Law University of Canberra
email: Deborah.Blackman@canberra.edu.au
Phone: 62015076

2. If you wish to discuss with an independent person a complaint relating to
 - Research or researcher
 - Your rights as a participant, or
 - University policy on research involving human participants, you should contact the Secretary of the University Research Committee

Telephone (02) 6201 5870

University of Canberra

Appendix - E

Survey questionnaires target group

1. In which country were you born?

.....
.....

2. What work are you doing for life?

.....
.....

3. How old were you when you became a refugee?

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.....

4. For how long did you stay in the refugee camp?

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.....

5. When did you arrive in Australia?

.....
.....

6. Which visa category did you come with in Australia

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.....

7. For how long have you been in the refugee camp?

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.....

8. Prior coming to Australia did you receive cultural and language orientation?

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.....

9. Where do you always go for help when you need to know something in town?

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.....

10. How did you find the reception on your arrival in Australia?

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.....

11. How are you finding the Australia culture compared to your culture?

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.....

12. What do you enjoy most living in Australia?

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13. What do you least enjoy about living in Australia?

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14. How are you coping with integration in Australia?

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15. How do you find getting employment in Australia?

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16. What are the major barriers that you are experiencing in Australia?

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17. How are you experiencing the impact of language in your settlement?

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18. What do you think can be the solution to the problem for those who are experiencing settlement barriers?

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.....

19. Do you use Migrant and Refugee Settlement Services? If yes, how helpful are their programs? If no, why not using the services?

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.....

20. How do you always feel being black among different cultural society?

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.....

21. Is the issue of culture and identity a problem issue in your integration and settlement process?

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.....

22. What advice would you give to anyone planning to settle in Australia?

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.....

23. If you were to advice DIAC or Service providers with regard to settlement of African Humanitarian refugees, what would be your advice as best suitable for new arrivals?

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.....

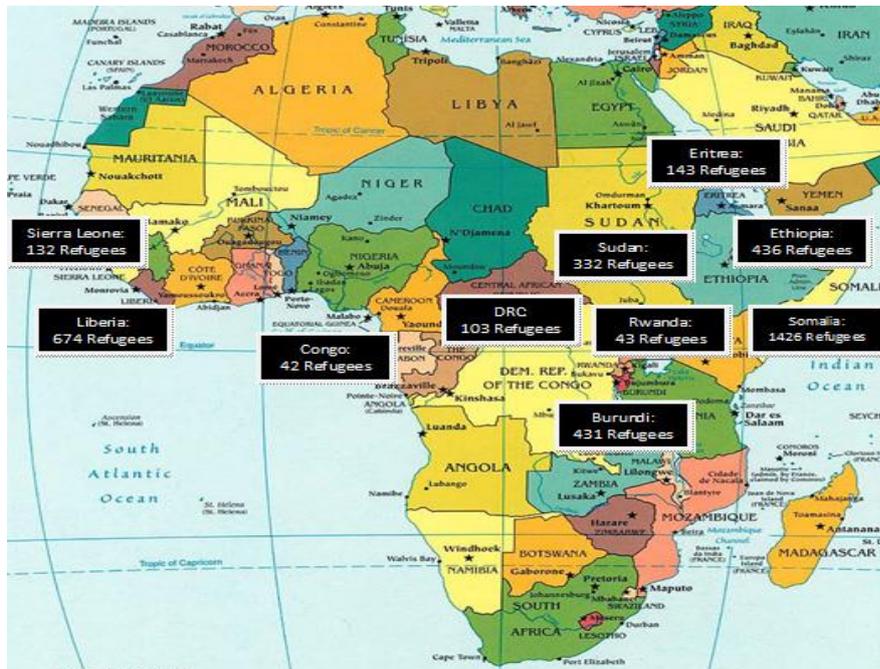
I thank you

Appendix - F: (a and b)

(a)



(b)



Appendix - G

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Migrant – a migrant is a person or someone who choose to move to another county for a range of reasons aiming to improve his future life, for economic prospects, and can return to his home country any time.

A **refugee** - is a person who is outside his or her country of origin or outside the country of his former habitual residence, and unable or unwilling to return to his country due to a reasonable fear of being persecuted and the persecution feared must be based on at least one of five grounds: war, ethnic strife, imminent insecurity and treat of persecution because of being a membership of a particular social group, religion, tribe or differing political opinion. Such a person should meet the definition of a refugee as enshrined in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

Internally Displaced Persons, (IDPs), are “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, to another area in particular as a result of war or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict.

Humanitarian Entrants-humanitarian entrant refers to the people from refugee background or those under Special Humanitarian Program resettled in the new country within the period of receiving service provision under the key settlement program provided by DIAC. The programs settlement program is mostly organised by UNHCR through government offshore program.

Settlement–is basically defined by a number of researchers including Taylor & Stanovic (2005) and Campbell (2007) as a process by refugee or humanitarian newly arrived persons progressively make step by step process to adapt into the new environment, community, culture, values and norms of the receiving country.

Culture – by definition culture is a system of shared beliefs, values, customs and behaviours practiced by a composed member of a given society/community and involves how they understand their social paradigm, passing from generation to another through cultural means and observations.

Integration - is understood as a process whereby new entrants into the country of settlement adapt to the new environment, life style of the host community without losing their cultural identity and willingly to accept the culture and values of the host society (Campbell 2007).

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