Keeping track of refugee research in South Australia

2011 MIGRATION UPDATE

SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND BEYOND

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

23 & 24 June 2011

Basil Hetzel Lecture Theatre
Institute Building, ADELAIDE

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2011 MIGRATION UPDATE CONFERENCE

Conference Proceedings

The Don Dunstan Foundation is a non-profit, non-political organisation established in 1999 to further Don Dunstan's social reform legacy by promoting visionary leadership and progressive thinking within government and the private sector. The Foundation promotes social reform by furthering public debate and promoting action on key public policy issues.

The 2011 Migration Update conference is a collaborative initiative of the Don Dunstan Foundation, The University of Adelaide, Flinders University and the University of South Australia. Also supported by the State Government, this conference is designed to provide a comprehensive update to researchers, policy makers, service providers and the broader community about current research in South Australia on current refugee and migration matters. Plenary sessions will include presentations from practitioners, policy makers and researchers.

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Professor Graeme Hugo, The University of Adelaide
Professor Nicholas Procter, University of South Australia
Associate Professor Susanne Schech, Flinders University
Associate Professor Fiona Verity, Flinders University
Claire Bossley, Don Dunstan Foundation
Sharna Pearce, Don Dunstan Foundation

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Level 4, 230 North Terrace
ADELAIDE SA 5000
Phone: 08 8303 3364 • Web: www.dunstan.org.au

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Preface

The first 2011 Migration Update conference, held on 23 & 24 June, was received so favourably as to convince the organising committee that it now warrants an annual status.

There is no other forum in Australia that provides what this conference provides. This includes:

- National and state overviews of evidence relating to current migration matters;
- The combined migration research weight of the 3 major South Australian universities available to all;
- Comment by policy-makers and social service providers on the authenticity of the research and advice on gaps in the overall research profile; and
- Opportunity for networking and collaboration as researchers who have previously worked in isolation meet with others with similar interests.

In this collection of papers you will see macro and micro, depth and/or breadth, and innovative methodologies.

The organising committee, consisting of Associate Professor Fiona Verity and Associate Professor Susanne Schech, both from Flinders University, Professor Nicholas Procter from UniSA, Sharna Pearce from the Don Dunstan Foundation and myself, appreciate the spirit with which all participants approached this conference and are assured that the issue of migration research (as it links to policy and application) will be well served by this conference in the years to come.

We will adjust the program in future years on the basis of suggestions received and will look forward to your participation next year.

Professor Graeme Hugo

2011 Migration Update Conference Organising Committee

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Migration Update: trends & developments in migration in South Australia, Australia and globally

Professor Graeme Hugo
ARC Australian Professorial Fellow & Professor of Geography
Director, National Centre for Social Applications of Geographic Information Systems (GISCA)
The University of Adelaide

Graeme Hugo is the author of over three hundred books, articles in scholarly journals and chapters in books, as well as a large number of conference papers and reports. He held an ARC Federation Fellowship between 2002 and 2007 and is currently Chair of the Advisory Committee on Demography and Liveability of the Commonwealth Department of Sustainable Environment, Water, Population and Communities. Professor Hugo is an acknowledged international expert in the area of geodemographics as well as on Australian and Asian population issues. He has served on a number of Australian government population related committees as well as worked as a consultant to a wide range of international organisations (World Bank, ILO, UNFPA, UN Population Division UNESCAP) and the Indonesian government. He is on scientific committees of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population and the International Geographical Union as is on the Social Science Panel of the Australian Research Council.

INTRODUCTION

International migration has been a major contributor to Australian population growth in the postwar period. Without this international migration, Australia's population would be around 13 million as opposed to almost 23 million at present (McDonald and Kippen 2000). In any consideration of future population growth at national and state levels, international migration must loom large. The present paper analyses recent changes in South Australia's international migration and considers some likely trends in international migration over the next few years.

In the last decade or so there has been a transformation in both the Australian and South Australian international migration situation. At the Australian level the year 2008-09 was a record year for immigration with 206,135 permanent settler arrivals and 542,902 long term arrivals and a net overseas migration of 299,863. In South Australia the change has been even more profound (Hugo 2009) with the release of the first Population Policy developed by a national or state government in Australia (Government of South Australia 2004) and the setting of a number of population targets in the State Strategic Plan (Government of South Australia 2007) including several relating to international migration. The introduction of the South Australian policy has been accompanied by the formation of a new agency, *Immigration SA*, to facilitate immigration to South Australia and the setting up of a population unit within the Department of Trade and Economic Development (DTED).

In addition, *Education SA* and *Multicultural SA* which were already established have expanded their migration related activities. The state has been the strongest lobbyist for developing and expanding the State Specific and Regional Migration Schemes section of the Australian Immigration Program.

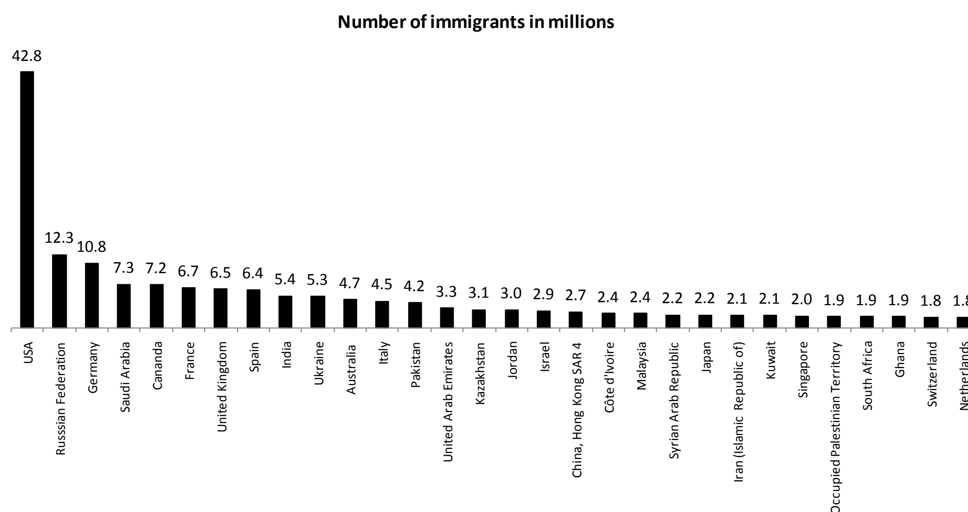
The report begins with some comments on the international context which is of crucial importance when discussing future possible trends in South Australia's international migration. This is followed by a discussion of the role of international migration in recent population growth in South Australia. Then trends in the types, scale and composition of international migration influencing South Australia since 2001. This discussion focuses not only on permanent settlement migration at national and state levels but also on non-permanent migration. One of the important changes in recent years has been an exponential increase in temporary migration which has a complex relationship with permanent movement. In addition there is a focus on the role of the State Specific and Regional Migration initiatives in present and future migration for South Australia. The final part of the paper addresses the future outlook for international migration for South Australia and the national and international influences which are likely to shape future migration.

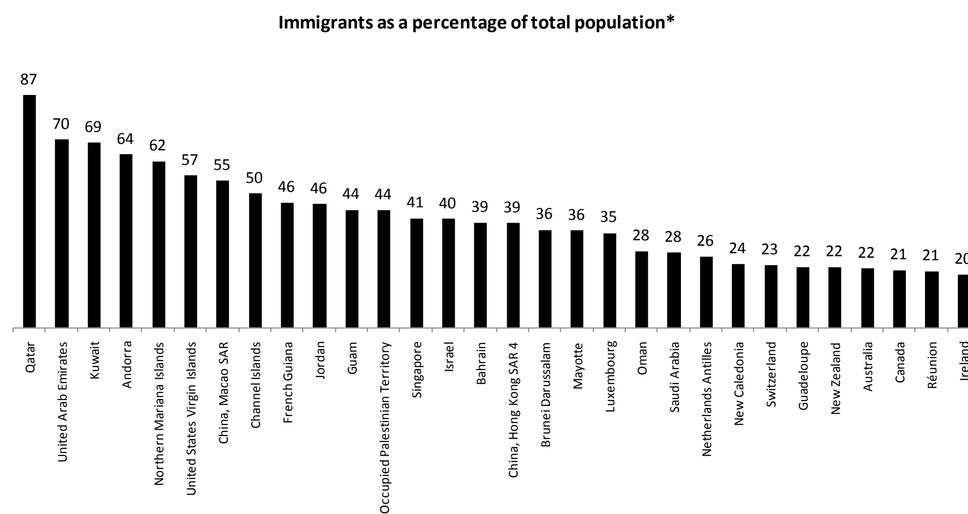
THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

There has been a massive change in global international migration over the last decade or so. The most recent United Nations (2009) figures indicate that in 2010 there were globally 213 million people living outside their country of birth – 3.1 percent of the total population with the numbers growing at 1.8 percent per annum. Of these migrants, 60 percent were living in more developed countries where migrants now make up more than 1 in 10 of the resident population.

Whereas in the early postwar years Australia was one of the few immigration nations (along with the United States, Canada and New Zealand), now all OECD nations along with several Middle Eastern countries and the Asian tiger economies are all major migrant destinations. This is evident in Figure 1 which shows that Australia figures among the world's leading immigration countries from the perspectives of both the number of immigrants and as a percentage of the national population.

Figure 1: *Top Immigration Countries, 2010*
Source: *United Nations 2009*





What are the drivers of the new international migration? The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM 2005) suggested that the main drivers of an increase in movement between countries were widening differences between countries with respect to the three D's:

- Development – widening of gaps in income levels between nations in line with Neo-Classical Migration Theory produce movement from low income to high income countries.

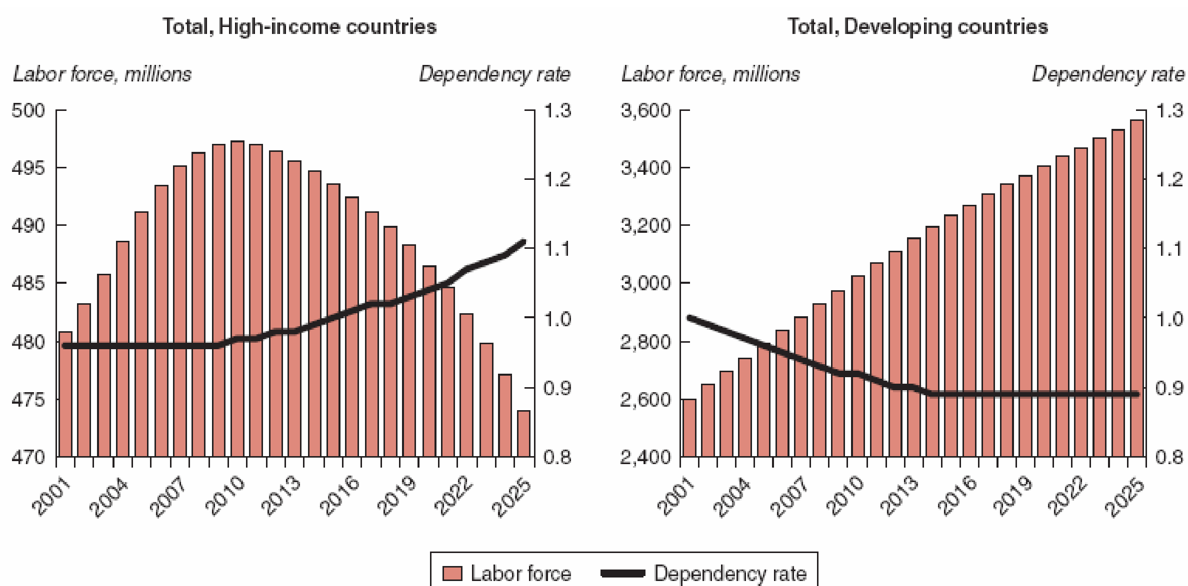
- Demography – the prolonged period of low fertility and population ageing in high income countries has resulted in the numbers of people leaving the workforce outnumbering those entering it.
- Democracy – widening differences between nations in freedom are an important driver of movement.

The demographic driver is of particular significance. A profound demographic transformation is occurring across high income countries such that the chief economist of the OECD (Cotis 2005) has commented:

> Over the next couple of decades nothing will impact OECD economies more profoundly than demographic trends and, chief among them, ageing'.

Figure 2 shows that in 2010 the growth of the working age (15 to 64 years) population in high income countries has ceased and thereafter will decline (World Bank 2006). Figure 2 shows that the numbers of persons in the workforce age groups in high income countries will decline by more than 20 million over the next 15 years.

Figure 2: *Labour Force Age Groups and Dependency Rates in High Income and Developing Countries, 2001-25*
Source: *World Bank 2006*



In addition to the 3D's there are a number of other developments which are important drivers of global international migration:

- The proliferation of social networks.
- The development of an international migration industry.
- The cheapening of travel and massive impact in electronic communication which means that migrants can maintain stronger and more intimate linkages with their origins.
- Globalisation of business, media, information and labour markets.

All of these factors have been strengthening and are projected to increase in significance so that most commentators anticipate increases in global international migration over the next few decades.

POPULATION GROWTH TRENDS

It is important at the outset to establish that Australian population contemporary growth levels are high by global standards. Table 1 compares Australian and South Australian growth rates with global trends. It will be noted that Australian growth rates are more than fifty percent greater than global levels

Table 1: Contemporary Population Growth Rates (% pa)
Source: UNESCAP 2009; Population Reference Bureau 2008 and 2009; ABS 2011

Country/Region	Year	Rate Per Annum
World	2009-10	1.2
LDCs (excl. China)	2009-10	1.7
MDCs	2009-10	0.4
Europe and the New Independent States	2009-10	0.1
North America	2009-10	0.9
ESCAP Region	2008-09	1.0
Indonesia	2008-09	1.1
Australia	2008-09	2.1
Australia	2009-10	1.7

while that of South Australia was similar to world population growth rates. It is significant to note that South Australia's population is currently growing faster than the Asia-Pacific population as a whole and Indonesia and four times faster than Europe's population.

After an extended period of population growth being less than half the national average, the annual population growth rate in South Australia breached the one percent per annum threshold for the first time for more than two decades in 2006-07. Table 2 shows that this was still only two thirds the rate of growth of the national population but that rate is also the highest for two decades. Moreover it has continued to increase so that in 2008-09 the South Australian population grew at 1.2 percent per annum, although it fell to 1.0 percent in the calendar year 2010.

Table 2: South Australia and Australia: Population Growth, 1947-54 to 2010
Source: Australian Census; ABS Regional Population Growth, various issues; ABS 2011

Intercensal Period	Population (Annual Growth)[1]		SA as Percent of Australia's Growth	Population (Average Annual Growth Rate)	
	South Australia	Australia		South Australia	Australia
1947-54	21,574	201,025	10.73	4.29	3.46
1954-61	24,913	217,379	11.46	4.04	3.18
1961-66	24,699	218,244	11.32	2.42	2.00
1966-71	15,745	231,246	6.81	1.85	2.41
1971-76	14,791	193,164	7.66	1.20	1.44
1976-81	8,940	178,035	5.02	0.69	1.24
1981-86	12,756	219,018	5.82	0.95	1.43
1986-91	12,750	253,137	5.04	0.91	1.53
1991-96	5,618	205,490	2.73	0.39	1.16
1996-2001	7,495	220,351	3.40	0.50	1.18
2001-06	11,295	257,650	4.38	0.74	1.29
2006-07	17,906	374,572	4.78	1.14	1.81
2007-08	18,191	426,088	4.27	1.15	2.02
2008-09	20,527	453,196	4.53	1.28	2.11
2009-10	20,070	377,111	5.32	1.24	1.72
2010 (calendar)	15,602	325,469	4.79	0.95	1.47

[1] Average annual growth for intercensal periods
Note: Population totals 1947-54 and 1966-71 based on census counts, 1971-76 to 2008-09 on estimated resident population.

At the end of 2010 South Australia's population stood at 1,650,400, an increase of 15,600 over the previous years. Table 2 shows that this is lower than the highest annual increment in the state's population since the early 1960s which was recorded in 2008-09 but remains high by the standards of recent decades. Table 3 shows that South Australia's share of the national population continues to fall from the peak of 9.44 percent in 1966, and despite recent increases in population growth that proportion has continued to fall.

Table 3: *South Australia and Australia: Population, 1947-2010*
Source: *ABS Regional Population Growth, various issues; ABS 2011*

Census Year	Population (Persons)		SA as Percent of
	South Australia	Australia	Australia
1947	646,073	7,579,358	8.52
1954	797,094	8,986,530	8.87
1961	971,487	10,508,186	9.25
1966	1,094,984	11,599,407	9.44
1971	1,200,114	13,067,265	9.18
1976	1,274,070	14,033,083	9.08
1981	1,318,769	14,923,260	8.84
1986	1,382,550	16,018,350	8.63
1991	1,446,299	17,284,036	8.37
1996	1,474,389	18,311,486	8.05
2001	1,511,728	19,413,240	7.79
2006	1,567,888	20,697,880	7.58
2007	1,585,794	21,072,452	7.53
2008	1,603,985	21,498,540	7.46
2009	1,624,512	21,951,736	7.40
2010	1,644,582	22,328,847	7.37

Note: Population totals 1947-66 are census counts, 1971-2010 figures are estimated resident populations as at 30 June.

It is important to disaggregate this growth and examine the contribution of different demographic processes to this striking change. Figure 3 indicates that the major shift has been in net migration. Although there has been a slight upturn in natural increase it is the steep rise in net migration which has contributed virtually all of the increase in growth. Indeed the spiking of net migration has taken it to a level not seen in South Australia for over four decades. Table 4 provides the ABS estimates of the contribution of the demographic processes to South Australian population growth and it shows the spectacular increasing of net migration gain more than ten times between 2003-04 and 2008-09. It is important to note, however, that the net gain of overseas migrants was even greater rising from 2,765 in 2000-01 to 17,327 in 2008-09. However this was somewhat negated by a continuing pattern of net loss through interstate migration. The pattern of the number of people leaving the state for elsewhere in Australia outnumbering those moving in the other direction has continued for several decades and has not changed in recent years. Indeed there has been an increase in net interstate migration loss such that it is at the highest level since the early 1990s when the state was experiencing the fallout of the State Bank collapse. As is discovered later, this increase is undoubtedly associated with an outflow of immigrants. It is interesting to note in Table 4 the increase in natural increase in recent years due to the increased fertility levels in South Australia as well as in Australia as a whole (Hugo 2009).

Figure 3: South Australia: Total Population Growth Showing the Natural Increase and Net Migration Components, 1947-2010
Source: ABS 1997 and Australian Demographic Statistics, various issues

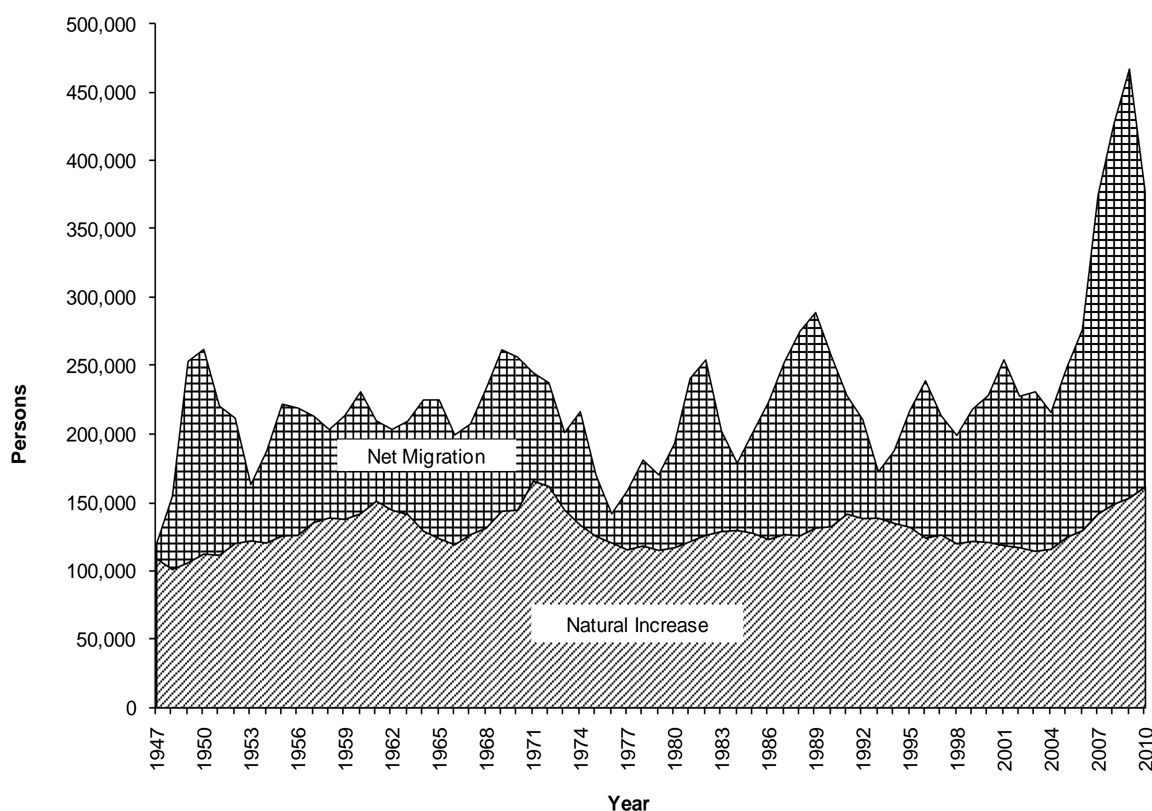


Table 4: South Australia: Components of Population Change, 1996-2010
Source: ABS 2002, 11-12; ABS 2011, 11-12

Year	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Net Overseas Migration	Net Interstate Migration
1996-97	6,951	-1,524	3,104	-4,628
1997-98	6,602	1,194	3,160	-1,966
1998-99	6,751	1,051	2,682	-1,631
1999-2000	6,306	298	3,829	-3,531
2000-01	5,495	347	2,765	-2,418
2001-02	5,772	1,196	2,798	-1,602
2002-03	5,198	2,407	3,904	-1,497
2003-04	5,408	1,108	4,305	-3,197
2004-05	5,879	3,231	7,020	-3,483
2005-06	5,857	7,102	9,813	-2,711
2006-07	6,926	10,980	14,638	-3,658
2007-08	7,366	10,825	15,324	-4,499
2008-09	7,219	13,308	17,984	-4,676
2009-10	7,663	12,407	15,371	-2,964

TRENDS IN PERMANENT IMMIGRATION FLOWS

Thus far we have examined the *net* contribution of international migration to population growth in South Australia and in this section we will investigate in a more detailed way the flows of international migrants to and from the state. Table 5 indicates where newly arriving migrants in Australia indicate they intend to settle (from the data on arrival cards) and it shows that New South Wales and Victoria account for the destinations of two thirds of immigrant settlers arriving in Australia. Hence while the pattern of *internal* migration in Australia is dominated by Queensland because this is where there is the greatest perceived availability of jobs, international migration is strongly focused on Sydney and Melbourne because they are the hubs of most social networks in Australia of newly arrived migrants. It is noticeable that the number of permanent arrivals coming to Australia has increased substantially in recent years. Although South Australia's share of the national intake hasn't changed very much this has meant that the number of settler arrivals who are coming to South Australia has increased substantially.

Table 5: Intended State of Residence of Settler Arrivals, 1989-2010
Source: DIAC, Immigration Update, various issues; DIAC, unpublished data

Year	Number of Settler Arrivals		NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	Tas
	Australia	South Australia	%	%	%	%	%
1989-90	121,227	5,898	38.9	26.2	13.1	4.9	0.7
1990-91	121,688	5,963	39.1	26.4	13.3	4.9	0.6
1991-92	107,391	4,796	41.0	25.7	14.1	4.5	0.6
1992-93	76,330	3,534	42.0	25.0	14.3	4.6	0.5
1993-94	69,768	3,201	44.3	22.8	14.7	4.6	0.7
1994-95	87,428	3,782	43.5	22.8	15.1	4.3	0.6
1995-96	99,139	3,842	44.7	22.5	15.4	3.9	0.6
1996-97	85,752	3,336	43.4	21.3	17.1	3.9	0.5
1997-98	77,327	3,069	41.0	21.0	19.5	4.0	0.5
1998-99	84,143	3,320	41.8	20.5	19.0	3.9	0.5
1999-2000	61,703	3,105	42.2	23.2	11.8	5.3	0.7
2000-01	64,592	3,183	39.8	24.3	11.7	4.5	0.8
2001-02	89,000	3,316	39.7	24.0	17.8	3.7	0.7
2002-03	93,914	3,657	38.8	24.6	17.2	3.9	0.9
2003-04	111,590	4,773	36.3	25.1	18.2	4.3	0.8
2004-05	123,424	6,364	36.3	24.8	18.4	5.2	0.8
2005-06	131,593	9,099	33.9	24.5	18.9	6.9	0.7
2006-07	140,148	10,061	31.3	24.8	20.4	7.2	0.7
2007-08	149,365	9,896	29.1	24.9	21.8	6.6	0.7
2008-09	158,021	9,695	29.8	25.0	20.9	6.1	0.8
2009-10	140,610	11,377	30.1	26.1	17.7	8.1	0.9

In examining international migration trends in Australia, however, it is not sufficient to examine only persons who arrive in Australia as permanent settlers. As is shown later in this paper there has been an upturn in temporary migration to South Australia and with it an increasing number of persons who are 'onshore' settlers or persons who arrive in Australia on a temporary resident visa but subsequently apply for, and are successful in gaining, Permanent Resident Status.

How is the gain of settlers in South Australia broken down between 'offshore' and onshore' settler arrivals? Table 6 shows that the proportion of permanent additions to the population who are 'onshore' arrivals in that they were already in Australia as temporary residents before being granted permanent residence. It will be noted that South Australia's share of the nation's onshore migrants was smaller than its share of 'offshore' migrants in recent years, although the numbers in both categories have increased substantially. In recent times its share of onshore migrants has especially increased.

Table 6: *Australia and South Australia: Permanent Additions, 2001-10*
Source: *DIAC, Immigration Update, various issues*

Year	Australia				South Australia				Total
	Onshore		Offshore		Onshore		Offshore		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% of Australian Total	Number	% of Australian Total	
2001-02	32,274	26.6	88,900	73.4	1,147	3.6	3,316	3.7	4,463
2002-03	31,946	25.4	93,914	74.6	1,017	3.2	3,657	3.9	4,674
2003-04	38,402	25.6	111,590	74.4	1,384	3.6	4,773	4.3	6,157
2004-05	43,895	26.2	123,424	73.8	2,433	5.5	6,364	5.2	8,797
2005-06	48,214	26.8	131,593	73.2	2,780	5.8	9,099	6.9	11,879
2006-07	51,759	27.0	140,148	73.0	2,976	5.7	10,061	7.2	13,037
2007-08	56,575	27.5	149,365	72.5	3,111	5.5	9,896	6.6	13,007
2008-09	66,598	29.6	158,021	70.4	3,745	5.6	9,695	6.1	13,440
2009-10	68,311	32.6	140,610	67.3	3,864	5.7	11,377	8.1	15,241

It is important to disaggregate the immigration to South Australia according to the visa category under which they qualified as settlers. There has been a substantial change in Australian immigration policy over recent years with an increasing focus being put on increasing the skill profile of the immigrant intake to maximise its positive impact on the national labour market and economy. At the national level there is a clear pattern of skilled migration more than quadrupling since 1996 while the changes in the other visa categories are small. The proportion of onshore migrants who are in the skilled category (41.3 percent in 2008-09) is lower than for offshore additions (58.7 percent).

Table 7: South Australia: Settler Arrivals, Composition and Growth, 2002-03 to 2004-05 and Recent Additions 2005-06 to 2009-10

Source: DLAC unpublished data; DIAC Immigration Update, various issues

	02/03		06/07		09-10*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
Skilled	1,239	3.7	8,972	9.2	10,742	9.9
Business	93	1.7				
Humanitarian	686	7.2	1,330	9.4	1,098	7.5
Family	1,243	4.4	2,185	4.5	2,831	4.8
Special	21	11.8	545	1.8	570	2.1
Other	375	2.1				
Total	3,657	3.9	13,037	6.8	15,241	7.3

* Permanent Additions including onshore and offshore arrivals.
Percentage is percent of national intake in that category going to South Australia.

The pattern for South Australia is depicted in Table 7. In this table the data from 2006-07 onward differ from those of earlier years. The former include both settler 'offshore' arrivals *and* 'onshore' settlers who are temporary visa holders who are granted permanent residence 'onshore'. For earlier years it only includes offshore arrivals. The data show that there has been increases in all visa categories of immigrants both in numbers and in the proportion of the national intake. There has, in recent years however, been a levelling off after the state has increased its share of the national intake for successive years since 2002. This table is especially interesting, however, because it shows the changing mix of immigration program categories which have made up the increased numbers of immigrants settling in South Australia. Most striking in this respect has been the increased significance of Skilled Migration. In 2002-03 the state received only 3.7 percent of the national intake of skilled migrants but this had increased to 9.2 percent in 2006-07 and 7.7 percent in 2008-09, while the actual number of skilled migrant settlers increased seven times. This expansion was largely a function of the state's active involvement in the State

Specific and Regional Migration Scheme which is discussed below. It needs to be stressed, however, that South Australia has gone from receiving half its proportionate share of skilled migrants in 2002-03 to now receiving more than its share.

It is also interesting to observe in Table 7 that South Australia has taken a substantial share of the national refugee-humanitarian settler intake over the entire period increasing from 7.2 percent in 2002-03 to 9 percent in 2004-05. This stems from a special request made by the Premier of South Australia to DIAC in 2003 for the state to increase the number of refugees settling in South Australia.[1] Refugee-humanitarian settlers are directed upon arrival in Australia to communities where there are support services in place for them so this request was able to be accommodated. This of course places some pressure on support services across the state, especially since there has been settlement of some refugee-humanitarian arrivals outside of the Adelaide area (Hugo 2008a). It will be noted, however, that the numbers of humanitarian migrants have been relatively stable since 2004-05.

Although there was a significant increase in the number of family migrants settling in South Australia from 1,243 in 2002-03 to 2,831 in 2009-10 the proportion of the national intake remained stable at around 4.8 percent. This is a function of the fact that South Australia's migration intake until recently has been quite small. As a result the pool of potential family sponsors remains limited in the state. The level and percentage of family migration can be expected to increase as the number of recent migrants who are potential sponsors increase.

A key factor in the increase in international migration has been the highly active participation of the South Australian government in the State Specific and Regional Migration initiatives (DIAC 2009a). These subcategories are only available for skilled migrants. This set of visa categories introduced progressively over the last decade give particular advantages such as extra points or waiving of particular conditions to potential setters willing to settle outside of the major areas of immigrant settlement. The categories have varying residence requirements but SA as a whole (including the Adelaide metropolitan area) is eligible for virtually all categories. This partly reflects the fact that the state has been among the most enthusiastic supporters of, and strongest lobbyers for, the State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme (Hugo 2005). Table 8 shows the growth of the SSRM program in Australia both in terms of the numbers of immigrants and the proportion they make up of the total non-humanitarian intake. By 2005-06 SSRM immigrants made up almost a quarter of the total non-humanitarian intake, although both the numbers and the proportion had fallen back by 2006-07. It is also evident in the table that South Australia has been a major player in the SSRM scheme from the earliest days of the program.

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[1] Personal communication from State Manager of DIAC.

Table 8: Number of Immigrants with Visas Granted Under the State Regional Specific Migration Mechanisms and Their Proportion of the Total Non Humanitarian Intake, 1997-98 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, various issues; DIAC Immigration Update, various issues

Year	Number	Percent of Total Non Humanitarian Intake	Percent in SA
1997-98	1,753	2.3	34.5
1998-99	2,804	3.3	36.9
1999-2000	3,309	3.6	21.2
2000-01	3,846	3.6	19.5
2001-02	4,136	4.6	17.5
2002-03	7,941	8.5	16.7
2003-04	12,725	11.4	16.6
2004-05	18,697	15.6	26.5
2005-06	27,488	19.2	29.8
2006-07	25,845	17.4	27.7
2007-08	26,162	17.5	26.9
2008-09	33,474	21.2	22.9
2009-10	36,570	26.0	26.0

The reliance of South Australia on the SSRM scheme for its immigrant intake is evident in Figures 4 and 5 which show the settler arrivals (and hence does not include onshore migrants) in each state and territory in 2005-06 and 2008-09 by proportional circles. The circles are subdivided into segments representing the numbers coming under the SSRM or regular migration programs. It will be noticed that only in South Australia are the majority of migrants derived from the SSRM scheme. South Australia has been a leader on lobbying the federal government for an expansion of the initiatives under the program and have actively used the program to attract settlers.

Figure 4: Australia: Settler Arrivals by State According to Whether They are State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme Migrants or Other Migrants, 2005-06

Source: DIAC unpublished data

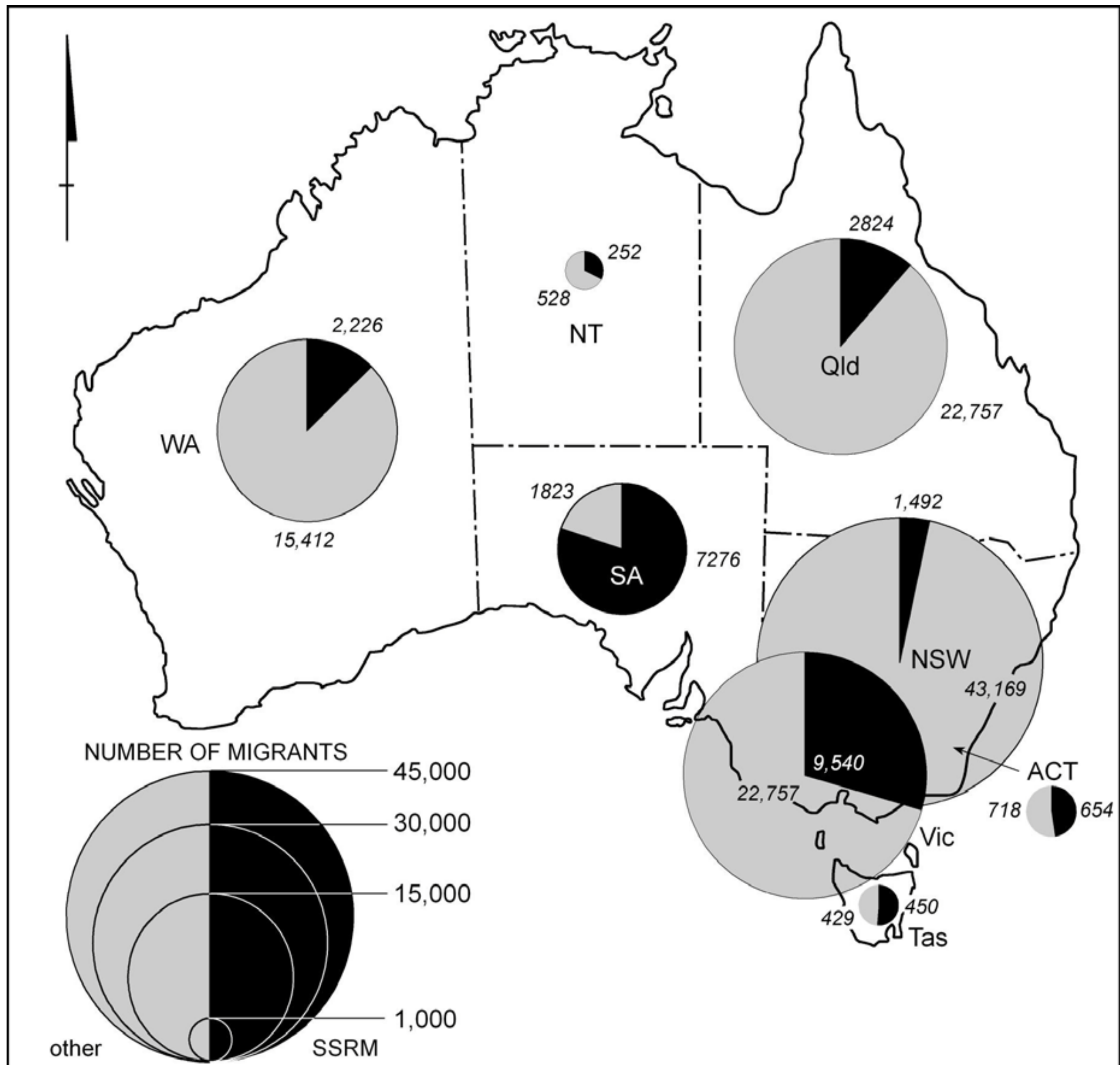
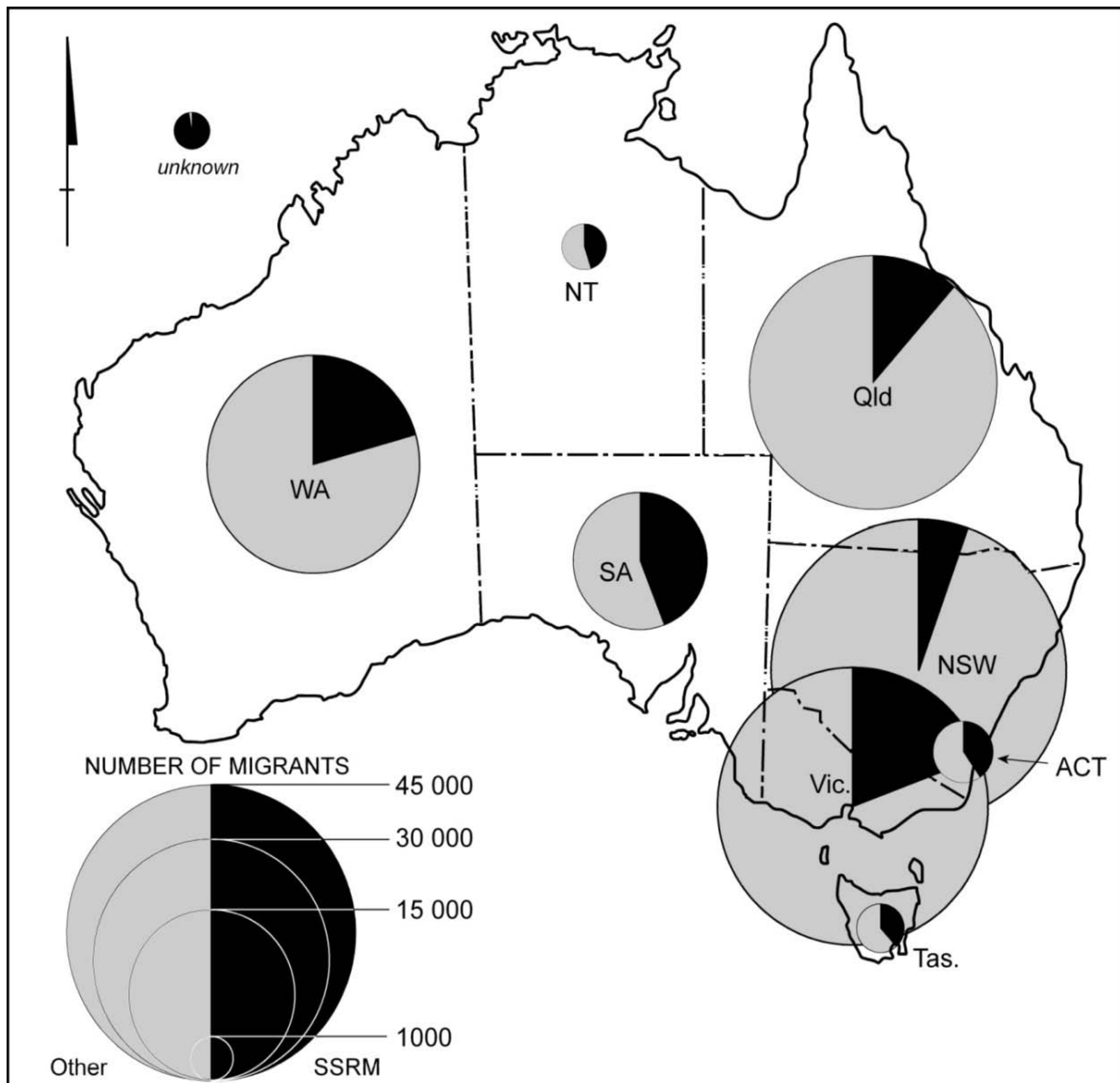


Figure 5: Australia: Settler Arrivals by State According to Whether They are State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme Migrants or Other Migrants, 2008-09
Source: DIAC 2009a and b



It has been favoured in that Adelaide has been eligible to receive all SSRM migrants while most categories have not allowed migrants to settle in a mainland capital city. The original *raison detre* of the SSRM scheme was to attract migrants to 'regional Australia and low population growth areas' (DIAC 2008, 13). The latter was areas experiencing a population growth rate less than half the national average in the last intercensal period. Adelaide qualified under this requirement for 1996-2001 but was marginally above it in 2001-06. Some other states subsequently lobbied for Adelaide's special status to accordingly be withdrawn but the South Australian government has been successful thus far in having it retained. While there has been some fluctuation, South Australia has been able to attract around a fifth of the SSRM intake. It is interesting to note in comparing Figures 4 and 5 that while SSRM settlers were still substantial in 2008-09, their share of total immigration to the state had declined since 2005-06. This indicates that South Australia is building up a significant migrant community which is starting to attract other immigrants to the state.

Table 9: South Australia: Settler Arrivals, Top 10 Countries, 2002-03 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data

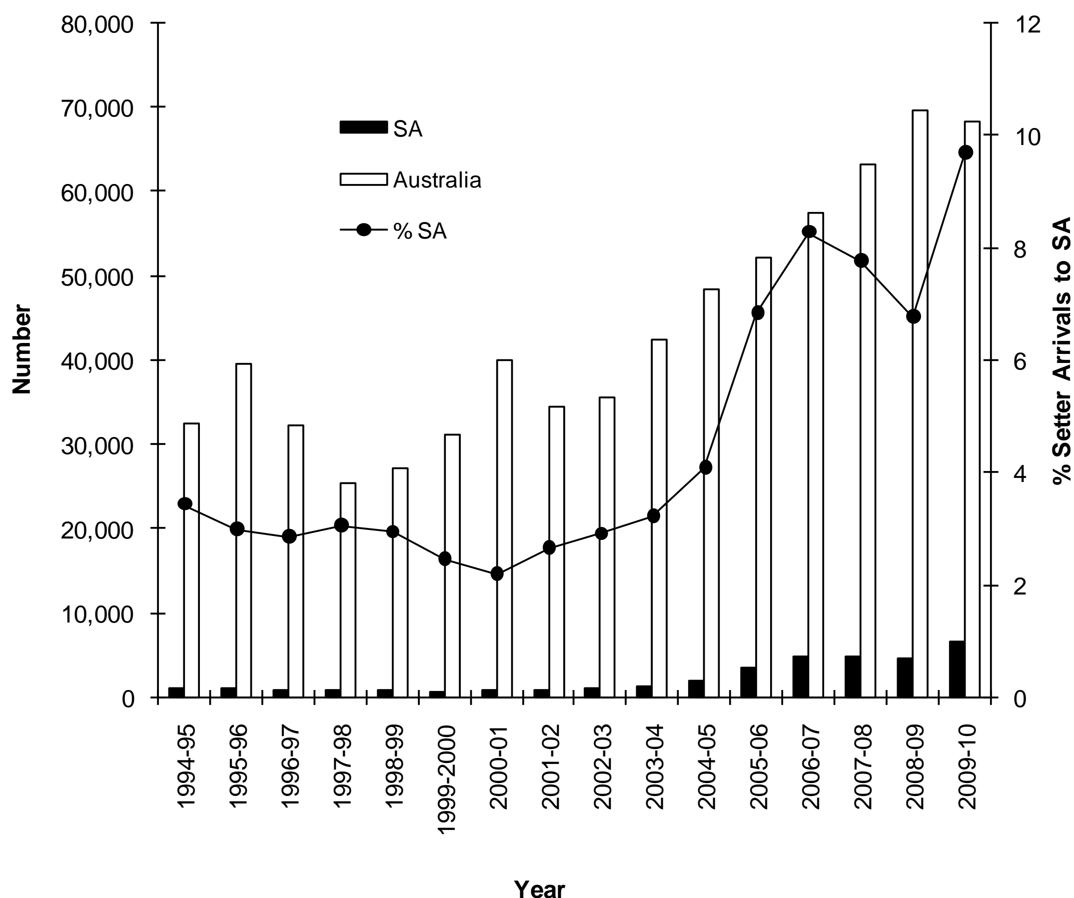
Top 10 Countries in 2009-10	2002-03	2005-06	2008-09	2009-10	Percent Increase 2002-10
India	138	909	1578	1983	1337.0
United Kingdom	785	3009	2291	1897	141.7
China	113	879	905	1292	1043.4
Philippines	134	285	362	519	287.3
Sri Lanka	23	85	145	448	1847.8
South Africa	209	263	329	389	86.1
New Zealand	232	373	479	354	52.6
Bangladesh	1	16	122	354	35300.0
Malaysia	91	154	139	331	263.7
Korea	34	163	194	324	852.9
Other	1897	2963	3151	3486	83.8
Total	3657	9099	9695	11377	211.1

The origins of permanent settlers are shown in Table 9 and it is noticeable that the United Kingdom has been the major country of origin in the expansion of immigration in the last few years. The United Kingdom has long been the traditional main source of immigrants to South Australia (Hugo 1989) and UK immigrants settled disproportionately in South Australia in the postwar economic boom years. The return of the UK to dominance in the state's migrant intake is interesting. It partly reflects the concentration of Immigration SA activity recruiting in the UK but also the strength of linkages between South Australia's substantial UK-born population back to their homeland. The growth of the UK origin migrants does appear to have declined after peaking at 3,009 in 2005-06.

Another very striking trend in Table 9 is the rapid increase in the numbers of migrants coming from India and China, doubling between 2004-05 and 2006-07 and together accounting for 25.6 percent of the total intake in 2008-9 compared with 6.8 percent in 2002-03. This reflects a significant shift in the South Australian immigrant intake. In 2002-03 there was only one Asian country in the top five origin countries (India) but in 2008-09 three of the top five were Asian. The growth of the Indian intake is especially striking from 3.7 percent to 16.3 percent between 2002 and 2009. Asian migration to Australia as a whole grew rapidly in the 1990s so that the Asia-born population stock increased from 687,850 in 1991 to 882,918 in 2001 (28.4 percent). However, in South Australia the increase was only 24.1 percent from 32,720 to 40,621. This, however, has changed in recent years. Figure 6 shows how Asian migration to South Australia has increased both numerically and as a percentage of the total Australian intake from Asia. Hence the Asian immigration influence in Australia has been somewhat delayed in South Australia

but is now being felt. The Philippines is the other Asian country whose numbers have increased significantly in recent years and in 2008 (*Advertiser,* July 2008, 1) it was announced that the state had negotiated a Memorandum of Understanding to receive up to 50,000 workers over the next decade. It is interesting that while New Zealand in 2006-07 was the largest single origin of immigrants to Australia as a whole, in South Australia it was only the fifth largest source, making up 3.9 percent of arrivals compared with 17.1 percent of the national intake.

Figure 6: *Australia and South Australia: Settler Arrivals from Asia, 1994-95 to 2009-10*
Source: *DIAC Settler Arrivals, various issues*



While the focus in recent immigration efforts in SA has been on skilled migrants, South Australia has been an important destination for refugee-humanitarian migrants even before the recent increase in the overall intake. As indicated earlier, the state has taken more than its proportionate share of refugee-humanitarian migrants. In 2008-09 South Australia settled 1,013 (or 8.7 percent) of 'offshore' arrivals in this group and 94 (2.9 percent) of 'onshore' arrivals or persons who arrived as Asylum Seekers but were granted resident status. The refugees are dominantly from the Horn of Africa and Afghanistan and are increasing the diversity of the state's population. Hence in 2008-09 there were substantial settler arrivals from Afghanistan (186), Sudan (87), Iran (184), Democratic Republic of Congo (28) and Liberia (102). This group is adding a new element of diversity into the South Australian population.

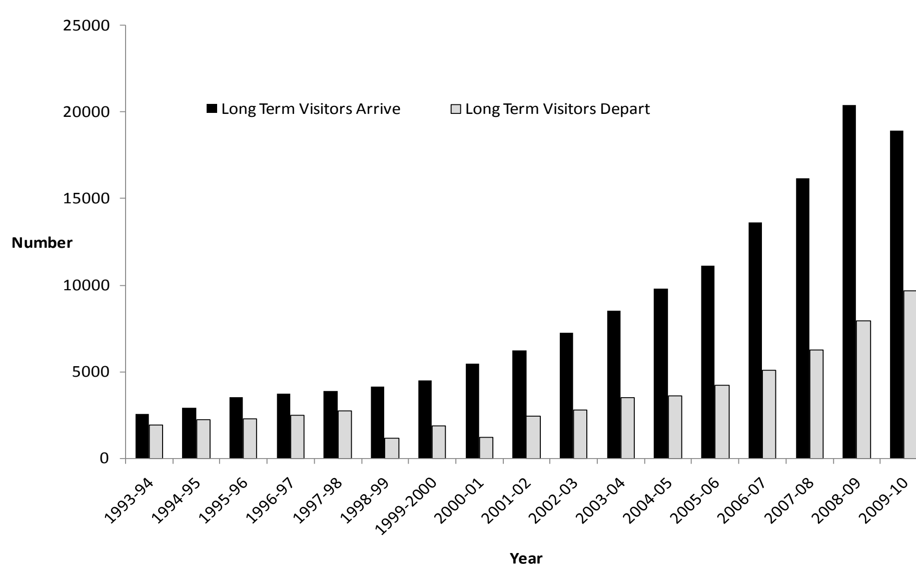
TEMPORARY MIGRATION

One of the most important changes in Australian immigration over the last decade has been the increase in non-permanent migration. This represents a parametric shift from the Australian immigration policy imperative of the half century following World War II which eschewed temporary worker migration in favour of focussing on permanent settlement. Elsewhere it has been shown (Hugo 1999; 2006a) that there has been significant growth since 1995 in the numbers coming to Australia and being granted temporary residence in order to work. There has been particular growth in:

- Temporary business migrants
- Students
- Working holiday makers

The temporary residents who intend to stay in Australia for more than one year are picked up as long term visitor arrivals[2] by DIAC and Figure 7 shows that there has been a steady increase in non-permanent long term migration to South Australia in recent years. Indeed the level of long term migration increased by 693 percent between 1993-94 and 2008-09. What is also evident in Figure 7 is that the number of long term visitors who leave South Australia is less than half the number arriving. Clearly the state's population is gaining not only permanent settler arrivals but also temporary residents who extend their stay in South Australia, many eventually becoming permanent residents. Hence in any consideration of international migration's contribution to South Australian population growth it is crucial to include a consideration of long term temporary, as well as permanent, settler arrivals. It will be noted that in common with Australia as a whole there was a reduction in temporary migration in 2009-10. It is even greater in 2010-11 reflecting the major changes to the student migration regulations.

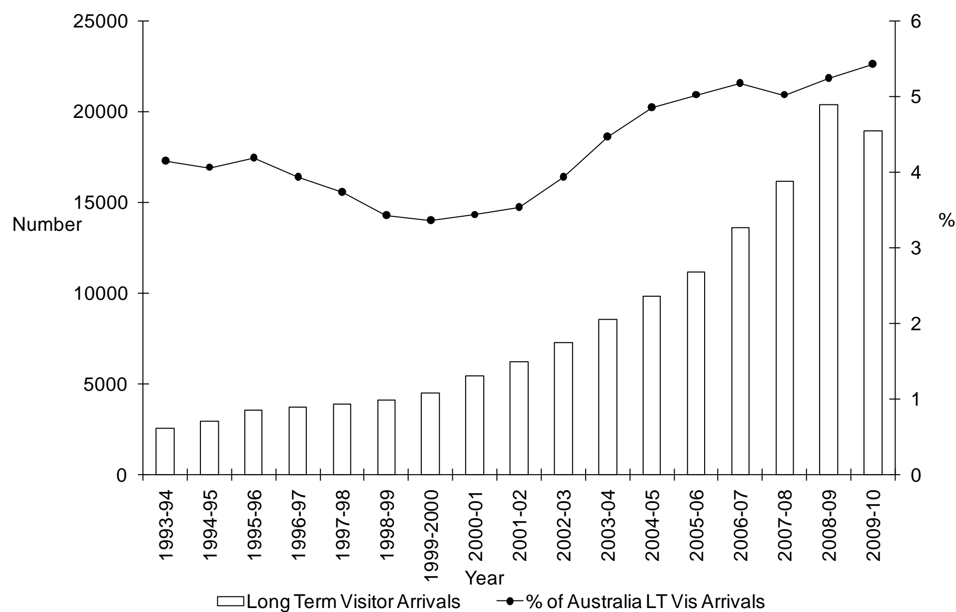
Figure 7: South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals and Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data



[2] i.e. foreigners arriving on temporary residence visas who intend to stay in Australia more than one year but don't intend to settle permanently.

Since the mid 1990s Australia has introduced a number of visa categories whereby foreigners can come to Australia for an extended period to work but on a temporary resident visa. This contrasted with the pre-1996 situation when such migration was discouraged. The crucial point to be made about this migration is that the categories are focused very strongly on skill – even more so than is the case in permanent migration. Moreover, persons arriving under these programs have higher levels of workforce participation than permanent arrivals. It is also important to point out that South Australia has tended to receive less than its proportionate share of long term visitor arrivals in Australia as Figure 8 indicates.

Figure 8: *South Australia: Number of Long Term Visitor Arrivals and Percent of the Australian Long Term Visitor Arrivals, 1993-94 to 2009-10*
Source: *DIAC unpublished data*



In considering temporary migration it is necessary to disaggregate the visitor arrivals according to the visa category under which they entered Australia. Table 10 shows the numbers in the major visa categories who indicated on their arrival cards that they were intending to work/stay in South Australia.

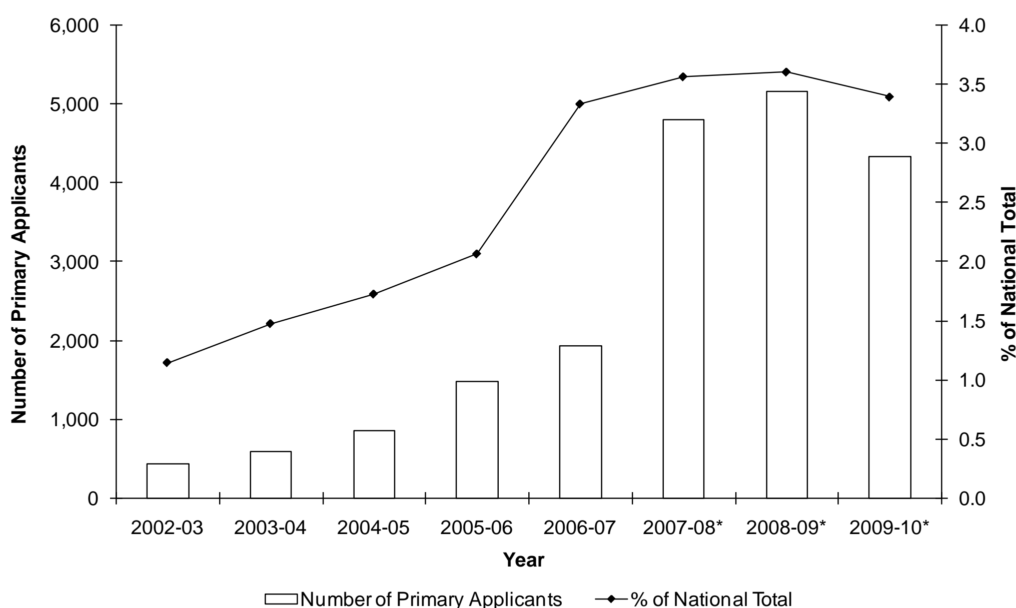
One of the most important temporary residence categories is the 457 long term temporary business visitor group and Figure 9 shows that the numbers of 457s increased substantially in the last 2 years but the state still only gets around 4 percent of the total national intake. The 457 migrants are especially important because unlike the HB1 visa of temporary skilled migrants in the United States, the 457 program is not capped and the numbers arriving is determined by the number of Australian employers who make eligible applications for workers. Workers must be in the top four ASCO categories and employers are required to pay a minimum wage. They can be used to quickly fill skilled labour shortages (Khoo *et al.* 2009). In South Australia, until recently, it was possible to bring in temporary workers under the Regional 457 program which released some of the occupational and wage conditions of the 457 visa. The 457 program has considerable labour market impact and there is a high level of transfer

from temporary to permanent residence. Nationally the numbers of 457s increased exponentially each year until 2007-08 but there was a small decline in 2008-09 due to the onset of the Global Financial Crisis. It may also have been due to a tightening of the requirements for the 457 visa, including the removal of the Regional 457 concessions.

Table 10: *South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals, 2003-07*
Source: *DIAC unpublished data*

	Temporary Residents	Students	Visitors	Total
2002-03	1,439	5,001	477	6,917
2003-04	1,741	6,200	274	8,215
2004-05	2,033	7,006	285	9,384
2005-06	2,544	7,624	263	10,431
2006-07	3,122	9,197	238	12,557

Figure 9: 457 Visa Grants to Primary Applicants Where the Nominated Position Was in South Australia, 2002-03 to 2009-10
Source: Rizvi 2007 and DIMA Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, various issues; DIAC Immigration Update, various issues



Nevertheless, the 457 visa will remain an important part of the way in which migration will meet labour and skill shortages in South Australia.

There has been some controversy around the 457 visa category in South Australia. There have been a number of newspaper stories (e.g. *The Advertiser* February 13, 2006) which suggest that 457 migrants:

- Are being used to replace Australian workers.
- Are being paid less than Australian workers.
- Have conditions below the minimum acceptable to Australian workers.

Each of these three areas contravenes the regulations of the 457 visa which is only available for occupations in the top four ASCO categories and for which a minimum salary is set. Hence if employers are contravening the conditions of the visa in these ways they should be presented.

One of the major elements in the increased international migration into South Australia in recent years has been the increase in student migration. Along with Australia as a whole there has been a rapid increase in overseas student numbers as education export has become a more significant industry. However, Figure 10 shows that not only have numbers increased more than sixfold since 1999, to 33,731 in 2009, but South Australia has increased its share of the national intake from 3.2 percent in 2000 to 5.4 percent in 2006 but it declined to 5.1 percent in 2007 and increased to 5.3 percent in 2009. As with other forms of immigration the state has stepped up activity in attracting students to South Australia with the setting up of a dedicated agency to facilitate this (Education Adelaide). Figure 11 shows that Asia is the dominant origin of students and this is adding to the significant presence of Asian origin people in Adelaide. The main origins are China (33 percent), Malaysia (12 percent), India (10 percent) and Hong Kong (8 percent).

Figure 10: South Australia: Overseas Student Enrolments, 1994-2010
Source: Australian Education International

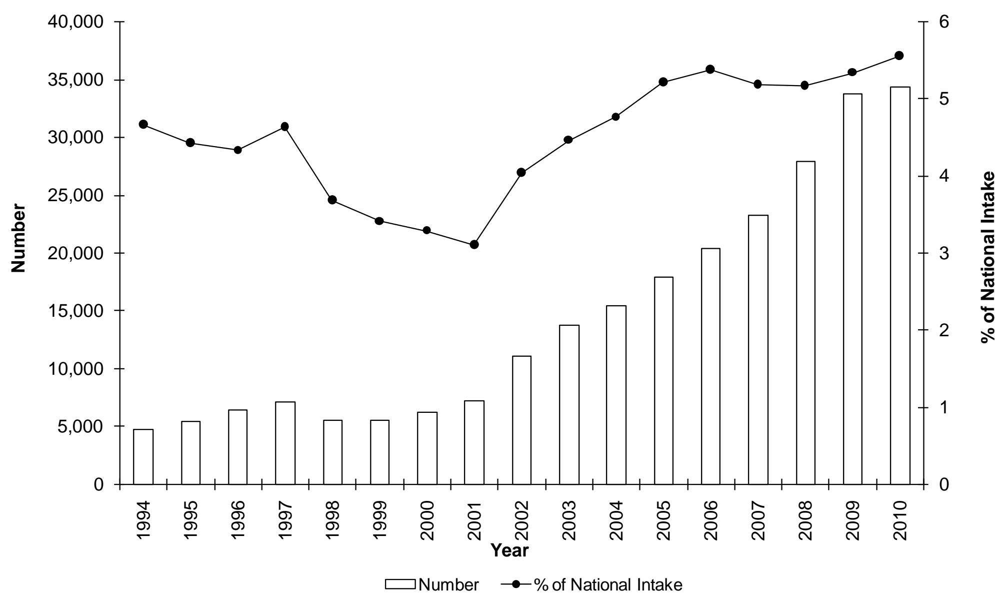
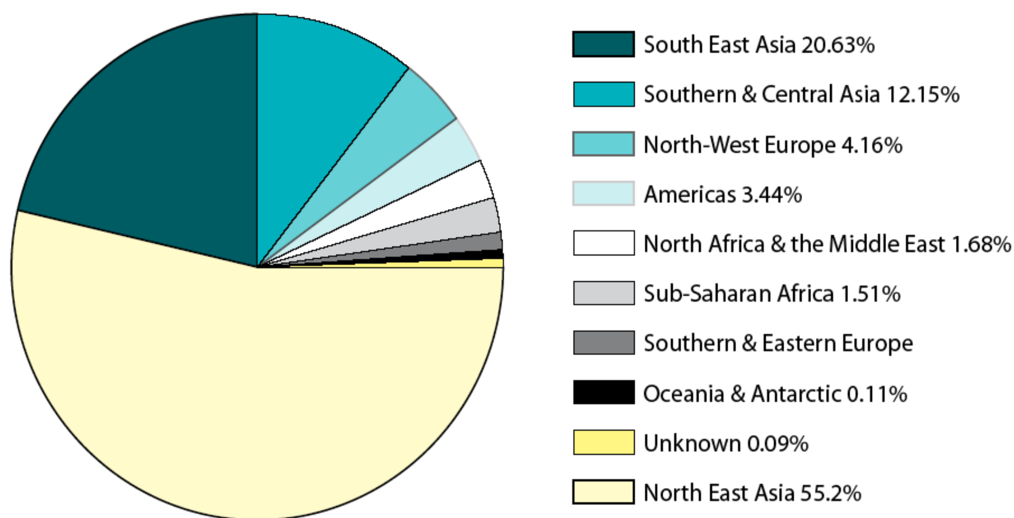


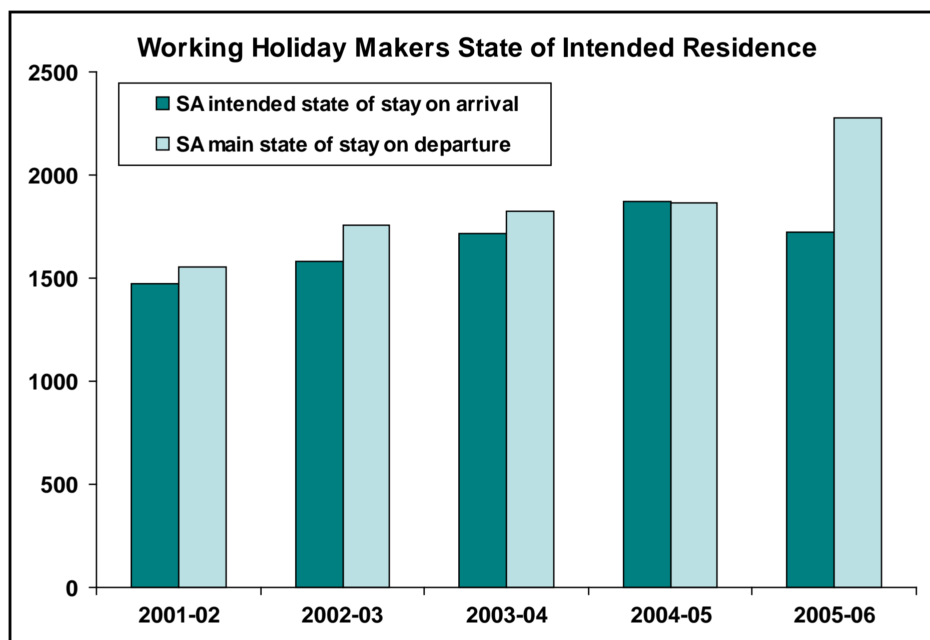
Figure 11: Onshore Overseas Students by Region of Origin, South Australia, YTD June 2006 (Total = 15,295)
Source: Education Adelaide



Students are especially important from the perspective of permanent settlement since they have a high rate of application for permanent residence (Tan, forthcoming). South Australia for several years had an advantage in that students staying in regional areas, which as discussed earlier includes Adelaide, could gain 5 extra points in the assessment for permanent residence. This advantage, however, has been reduced by recent changes to the requirements for permanent residence.

The Working Holiday Maker (WHM) program also has increased in significance in recent years increasing nationally from 76,576 in 2000-01 to 187,696 in 2008-09 (DIAC 2009c). This program allows young people aged 18-30 to come to Australia to work for a period of up to a year. They have been shown to make significant contributions to some labour markets, especially agriculture, tourism and some services (Harding and Webster 2002; Tan *et al.* 2009). They also have a significant rate of change to permanent residence. However, it is difficult to assess the extent to which each state or territory gains from WHM since one of the requirements of the visa is that holders are required to spend no more than 3 months in a single job. Since they are holiday makers they travel from state to state. However, data presented in Figure 12 show that less than 2 percent of WHMs indicate on their arrival cards that they

Figure 12: South Australia: Working Holiday Makers, 2001-02 to 2005-06
Source: Rizvi 2007



intend for South Australia to be their main state while in Australia. A similar proportion indicated this in their departure cards. Moreover, while a national survey of 956 'back packers' found that 35 percent had visited South Australia (*Advertiser*, 11 March 2003), a survey in 2000 of 1,774 WHMs found that only 2 percent had worked in South Australia (Harding and Webster 2002, 25). A more recent survey of 29,178 WHMs found that 3.1 percent had worked in South Australia (Tan *et al.* 2009).

The composition of long term immigrants to South Australia is somewhat different to that of permanent arrivals. Table 11 shows that Asia is much more important accounting for 76.0 percent of all long term visitor migrants over the 2004-09 period. This reflects the significance of students among the long term arrivals.

Table 11: South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals by Birthplace Region, 2004-05 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Birthplace Region	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	Total 2004-10	Percent
Oceania and Antarctica	270	288	305	348	412	359	1982	2.2
Europe	1374	1412	1459	1594	1663	1645	9147	10.2
North Africa and Middle East	228	256	316	508	842	1063	3213	3.6
SE Asia	2276	2349	2866	3350	3713	4003	18557	20.6
NE Asia	3614	4493	5385	5978	6938	7362	33770	37.6
S Asia	1176	1394	2058	3011	5331	3249	16219	18.0
C Asia	20	16	9	4	10	10	69	0.1
N America	394	382	468	471	522	484	2721	3.0
S & C America and Caribbean	56	76	189	216	209	186	932	1.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	381	462	533	624	708	547	3255	3.6
Total	9789	11128	13588	16104	20348	18908	89865	100.0

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

One of the most universal features of migration is its selectivity by age. Except in special circumstances (as for example in retirement migration) immigration propensity is always greatest in the young adult years and declines with age thereafter. This selectivity is enhanced in the Australian case by deliberate policies to select young adults and families into the settler and temporary migrant streams. This is done by some visa categories being excluded to older people (aged 45+) and a significant element of the points assessment test being age. Accordingly, the age structure of recent arrivals (those resident in

Australia less than 5 years at the 2006 census) in South Australia as depicted in Figure 13, shows a concentration in the young adult ages, and to a lesser extent the dependent child ages reflecting inmovement of young families. If on the other hand we examine the age structure of the South Australian overseas born who had been resident in Australia for more than five years, Figure 14 indicates that this is a quite old population with a high proportion in the retirement and near retirement ages. This of course reflects the fact that Australia experienced heavy immigration from overseas in the first half of the postwar period but very low in movement in the second half. The Australian born population (Figure 15) is much younger than the total overseas born partly because it includes the Australian born children of former immigrants.

Figure 13: *South Australia: Age Structure of Overseas-Born Resident in Australia Less Than 5 Years*
Source: *ABS 2006 Census*

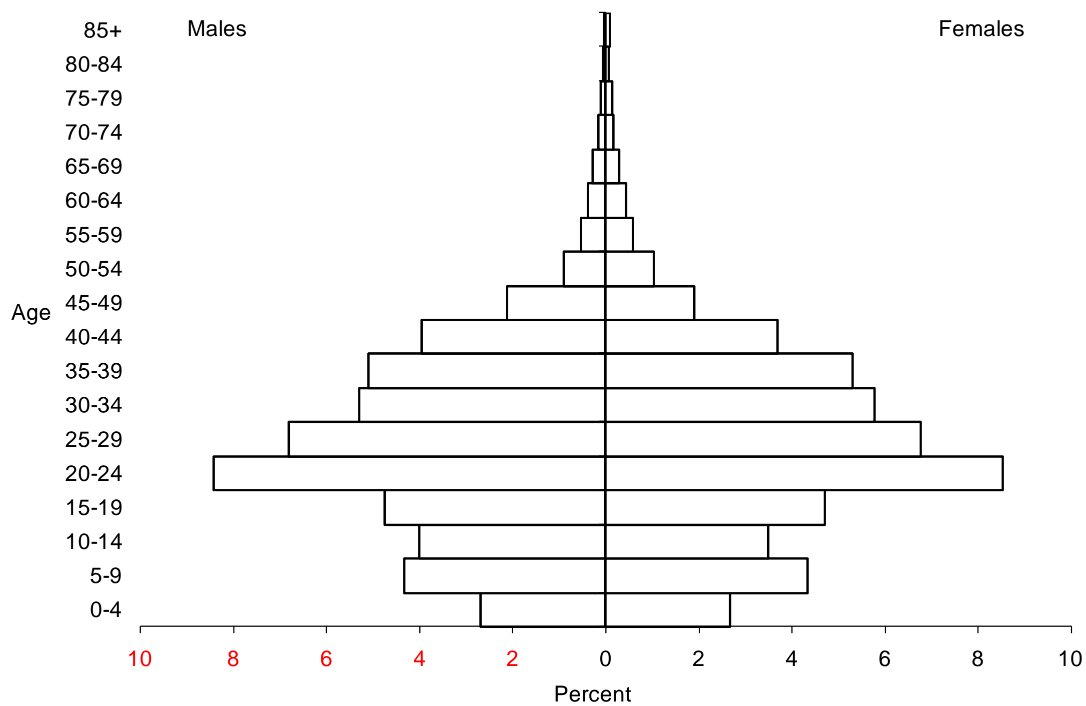


Figure 14: *South Australia: Age Structure of Overseas Born Resident in Australia More Than 5 Years*
Source: *ABS 2006 Census*

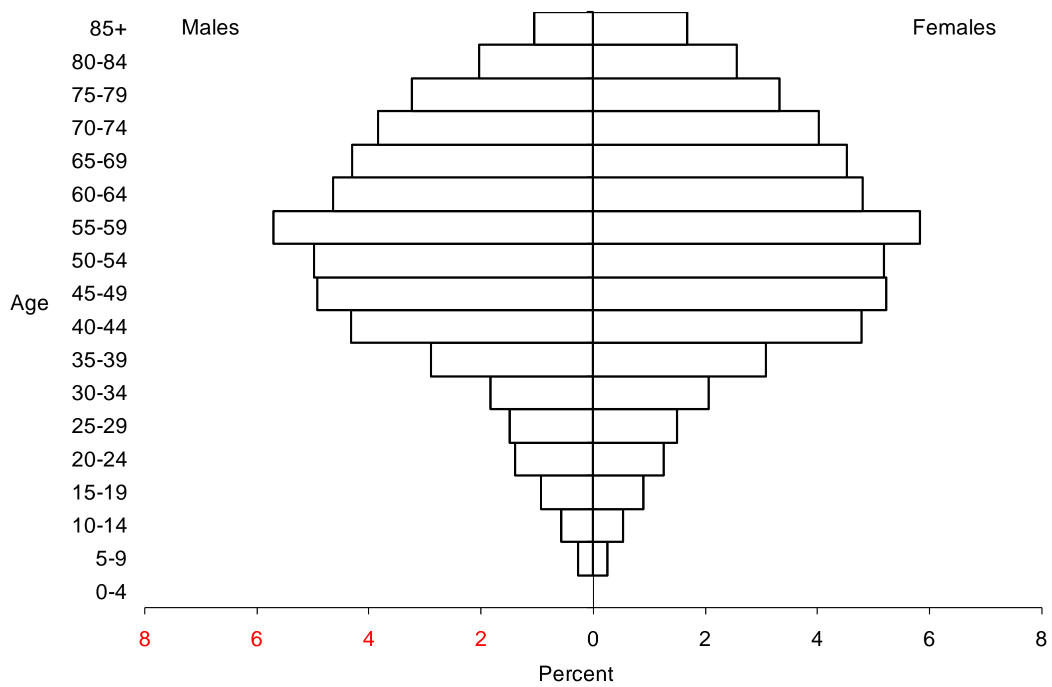
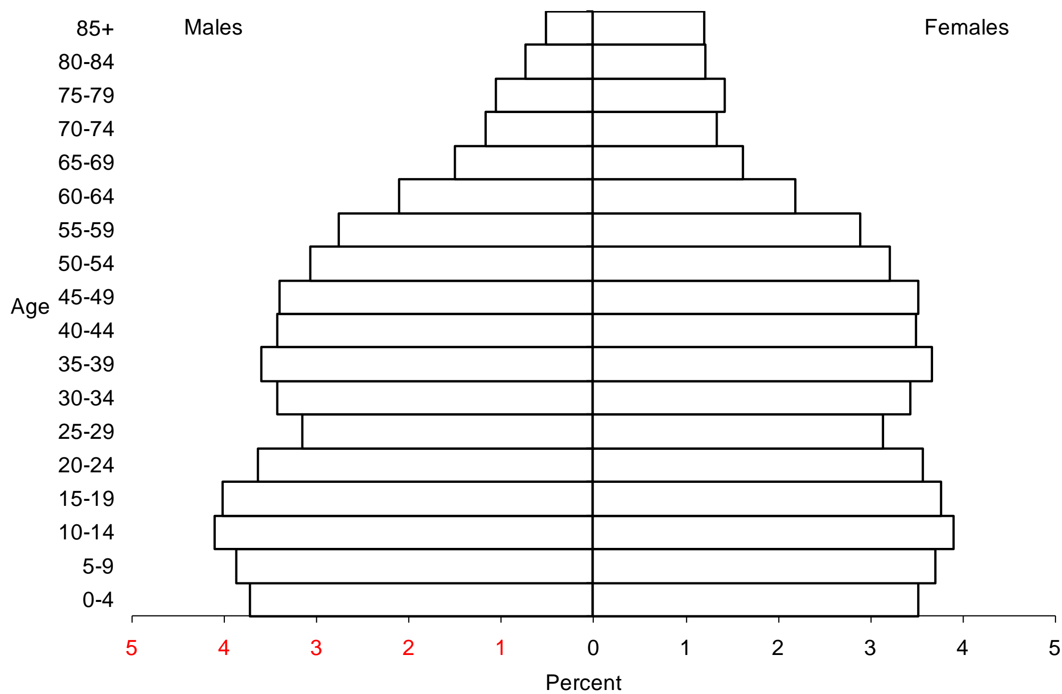


Figure 15: *South Australia: Age Structure of Australian Born Population, 2001*
Source: *ABS 2006 Census*



The youthful nature of the permanent and long term intakes of immigrants into South Australia are evident in Figure 16 and Figure 17 which show the age-sex composition of recent arrivals. The concentration in the 20's age group is especially marked in the long term arrivals due to students dominating this category. The significance of the increasing numbers in this group is evident in Figure 18 which overlays the total South Australian population at the 2001 (shaded) and 2006 censuses. The blank areas indicate the ages in which there was growth between the censuses. It will be noted that almost all net growth occurred in the older age groups as larger baby boomer cohorts replaced smaller numbers. However, a major exception is in the 20's age group where there was significant intercensal growth due to the effects of overseas students.

Figure 16: *South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Permanent Arrivals, 2001-09*
Source: *DIAC unpublished data*

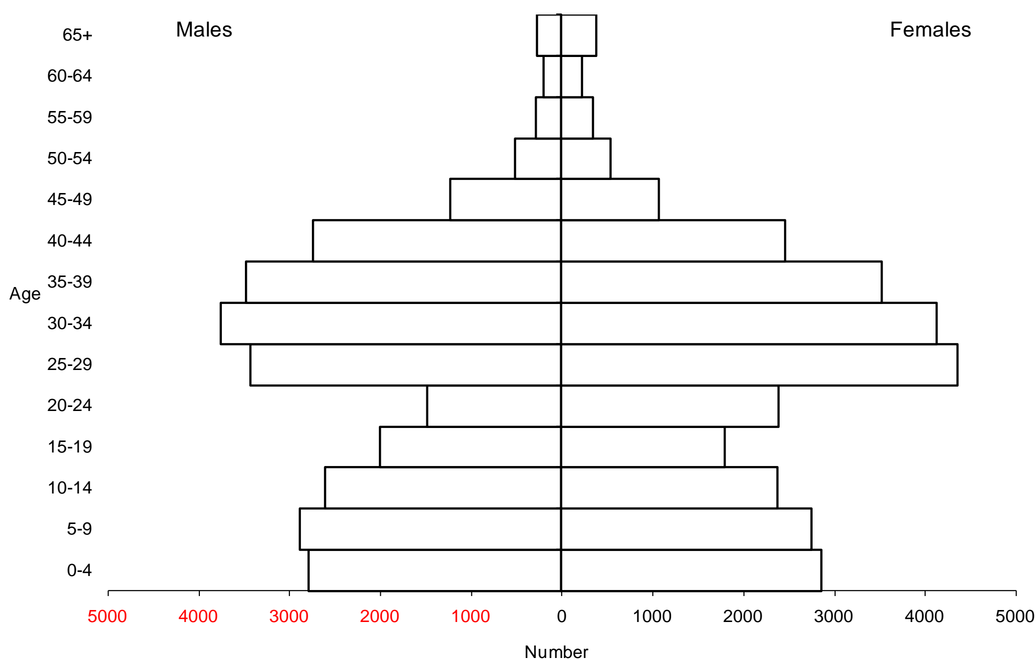


Figure 17: South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Long Term Visitor Arrivals, 2001-09
Source: DIAC unpublished data

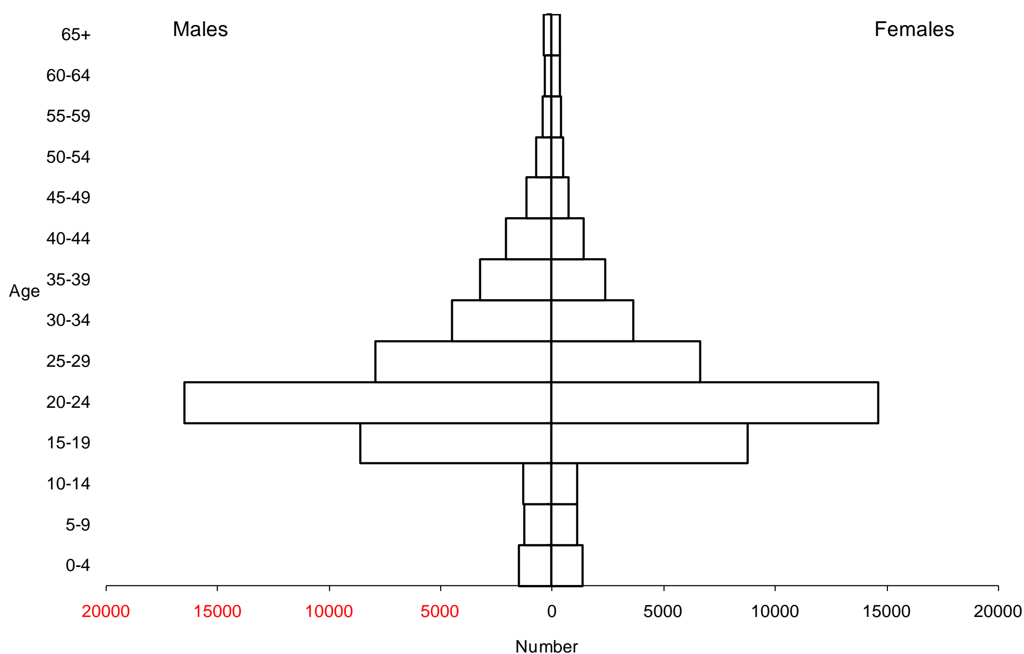
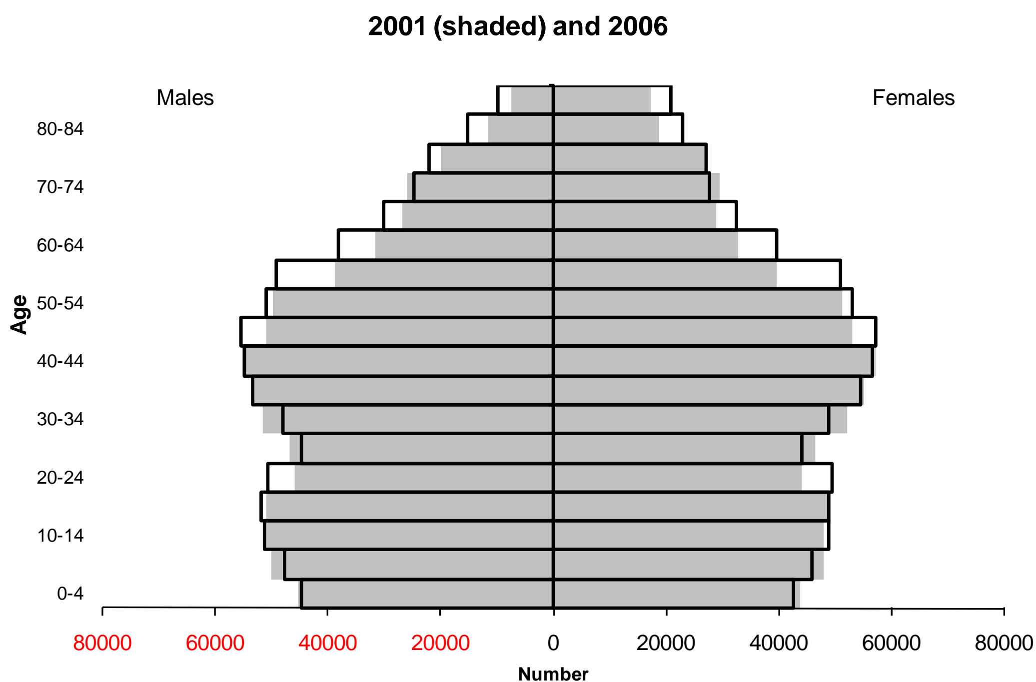


Figure 18: South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of the Population, 2001 and 2006
Source: ABS Censuses



There have also been some significant changes in the ethnic composition of the population due to the effects of emigration. Table 12 indicates the transition which is occurring. The 2001-06 intercensal period was the first one for more than a quarter of a century in which there was an increase in the percentage of the South Australian population born overseas, although it still remains below the national average. The overseas-born population increased almost three times as fast as the Australia-born in 2001-06 but the Europe-born population fell while that from Asia and Africa grew rapidly. Each of the five largest overseas-born groups in Australia in 2001 experienced a *reduction* in their population between 2001-06 – England, Italy, Scotland, Germany and Greece. Except for the UK- and Italy-born they undoubtedly will be passed by Asia-born groups, especially India and China, by the time of the next census.

Table 12: South Australia: Birthplace of Population, 1971, 2001 and 2006
Source: ABS Population Censuses

Region of Birth	Number 1971	Number 2001	Change 1971-2001	Number 2006	Change 2001-06
Australia	884,923	1,099,585	24.3	1,110,297	1.0
Overseas	274,352	296,465	7.8	304,666	2.8
UK-Ireland	146,391	127,274	-13.1	122,076	-4.1
Other Europe	111,801	95,663	-14.4	87,335	-8.7
Oceania	3,607	12,980	259.9	13,537	4.3
Africa	1,741	6,740	287.1	11,755	74.4
Middle East	2,581	5,259	103.8	5,673	7.9
North America	2,602	4,579	76.0	5,299	15.7
South America	294	2,711	822.1	3,032	11.8
Asia	5,335	40,284	655.1	55,095	36.8
Total	1,159,275	1,396,050	20.3	1,414,963	1.4
Percent Overseas-Born	23.7	21.2		21.5	

EMIGRATION

Immigration has been the major element in the revival of population growth in South Australia. Figure 19 shows the dramatic increase of net overseas migration to South Australia both in absolute numerical terms and as a percentage of the national intake. Moreover, it must be recalled that in recent years immigration to Australia has reached unprecedented levels. It does need to be stressed, however, that the last decade has seen a reconfiguration of where migrants settle in Australia (Hugo 2008a). Table 13 shows that over the 1996-2008 period the proportion of national permanent additions to the population by migration which were accounted for by New South Wales declined from 43.7 to 30.1 percent. Queensland gained the largest amounts in its share (gaining 3.9 percentage points) but South Australia increased its share of the national intake from 3.8 to 6.1 percent and Western Australia added 4.7 percent.

Figure 19: South Australia: Net Overseas Migration, 1979-2010
Source: ABS Australian Demographic Statistics, various issues

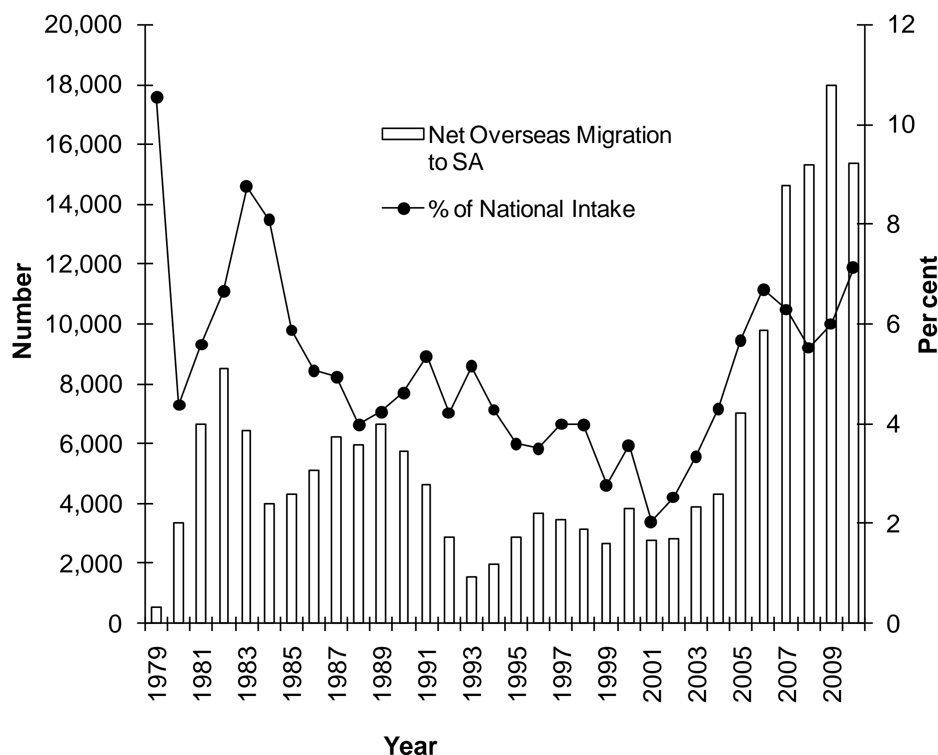


Table 13: Intended State and Territory Destinations of Permanent Additions
Source: ABS 2007; DIAC 2009b

	1996-97	2008-09	
	%	%	000
New South Wales	43.7	30.1	67.9
Victoria	21.7	24.4	54.8
Queensland	15.8	19.7	44.2
South Australia	3.8	6.0	13.4
Western Australia	11.6	16.3	36.6
Other (a)	2.3	3.2	7.3
Australia (b)	100.0	100	224.6

(a) Other includes Tasmania, NT, ACT and other territories.
(b) Total includes those for which state and territory destinations were not known.

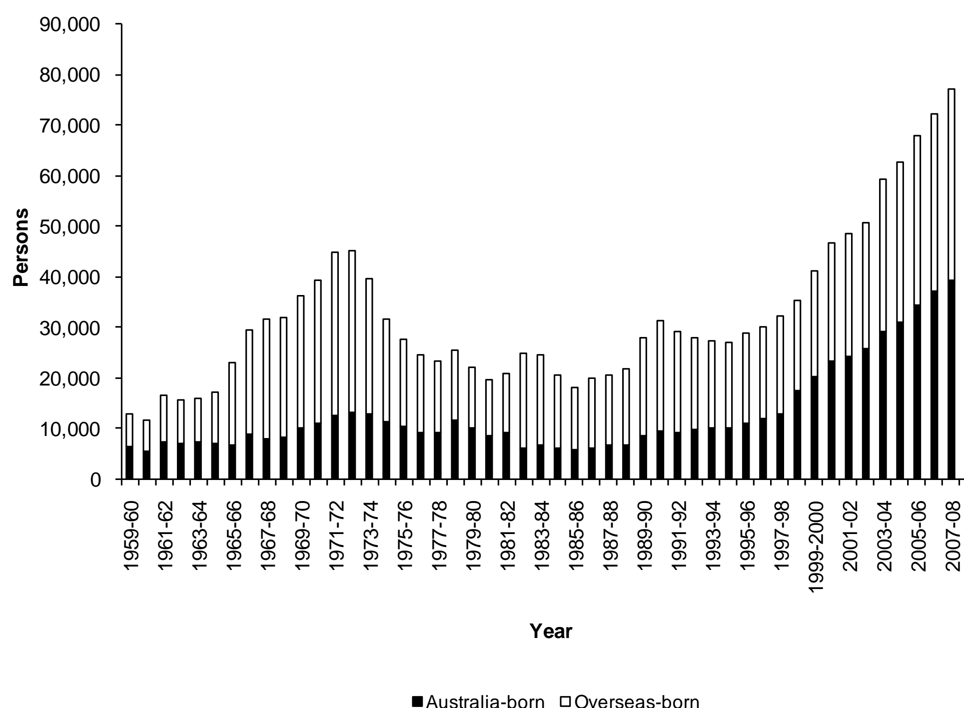
The impact of international migration on population growth in South Australia, however, is dampened by two processes:

- The extent to which the state loses people (both immigrants and natives) to emigration out of Australia.
- The extent to which the state loses people (both immigrants and natives) to outmigration to other states and territories.

The first of these will be considered in this section and the second in the following section.

While Australia is perceived as a quintessential 'immigration country' it also experiences significant emigration. Moreover, Australia is one of the few countries which collects detailed and comprehensive information on people leaving the country as well as those entering. Figure 20 shows that there has been a substantial upturn in permanent movement of Australian residents out of the country. In 2008-09 there were a record number of permanent departures of Australian residents (81,018) of whom 50.9 percent were born in Australia. The numbers of Australia-born leaving permanently has more than doubled from 17,264 in 1997-98 to 41,249 in 2008-09. The number of resident long term departures increased from 79,422 in 1997-98 to 102,066 in 2007-08 but fell to 84,810 in 2008-09. The rate of return migration of former settlers varies considerably among particular birthplace categories (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2003) with especially high rates among those born in New Zealand, United Kingdom, Japan and USA. There are some interesting patterns of difference among Asia-born groups with those from Northeast Asia having relatively high rates of return and those from South Asia quite low rates (Hugo 2008b). The emigration outflow is highly skilled – more so than the immigration intake although the difference is converging.

Figure 20: *Permanent Departures of Residents from Australia, 1959-60 to 2008-09*
Source: *DIMIA, Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics; DIAC Immigration Update, various issues*

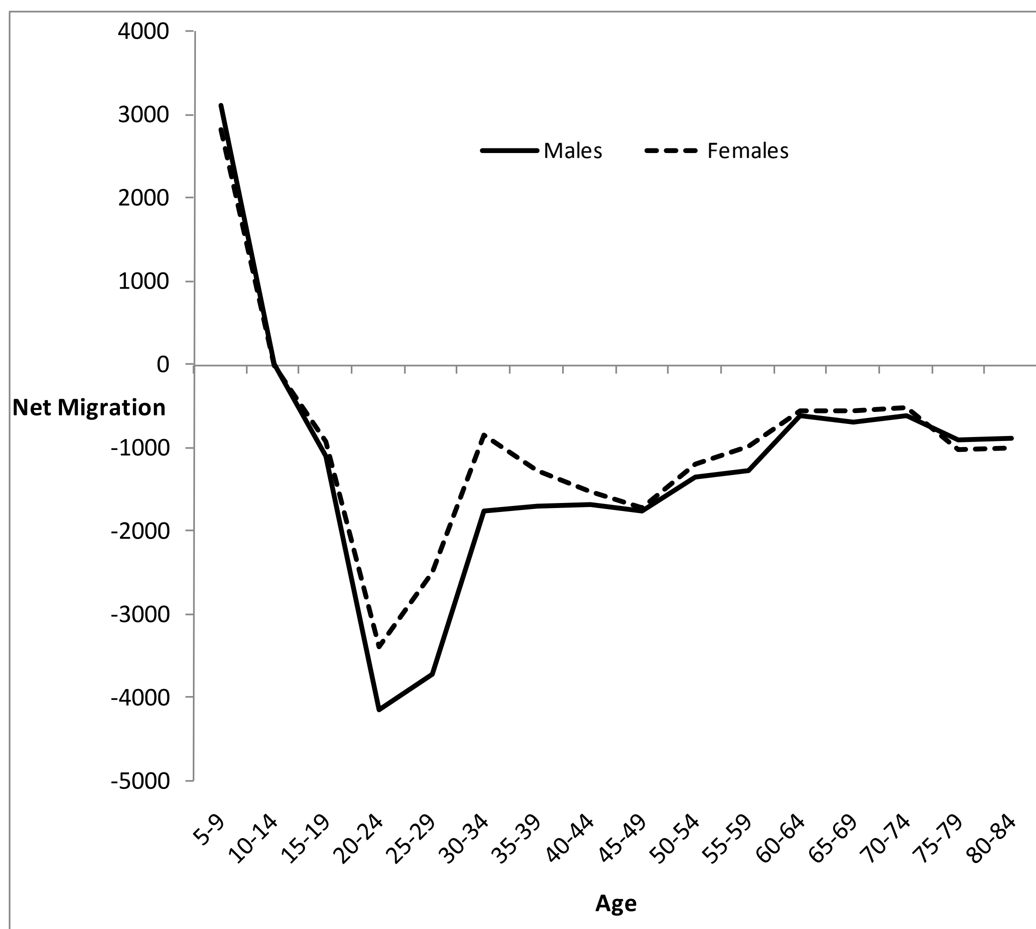


In South Australia then, there are two aspects of emigration which are of interest to population projection:

- The extent to which native South Australians move overseas on a long term or permanent basis.
- The extent to which immigrant settlers return to their home country or remigrate to a third country.

Both of these areas are also of concern to South Australian policy makers. The loss of Australia-born people through emigration and to other states and territories has been of particular concern to the South Australian government. The fact that the state experiences a significant outmigration of young adults which is *not* compensated for by immigration of Australians of the same age is demonstrated in Figure 21. This depicts the net migration gain or loss in particular age cohorts of Australia-born persons between the 2001 and 2006 population censuses.

Figure 21: South Australia: Australia-Born Age-Sex Specific Net Migration Estimates, 2001-06
Source: ABS, 2001 and 2006 Censuses



It will be noted that there are net losses in most age groups but there are very substantial losses in the young adult ages. This reflects both the loss of young people to other states and territories but an important part has been the increasing flows of young South Australians overseas (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001, 2003; Hugo 2006b).

The steady increase in emigration from South Australia is depicted in Figure 22. It will be noted, however, that this increase was much smaller than the rapid increase in permanent arrivals which has occurred in recent years. It is important to examine how this permanent outflow is broken down between the Australia-born and the remigration of former settlers. Table 14 shows that the emigration from South Australia is dominated by the Australia-born, more so than is the case for Australia. This reflects the low levels of immigrant settlement in South Australia until recent years. This has meant that the number of potential return migrants and remigrants has been small since we know that the heaviest settler loss occurs in the initial years of settlement (Hugo 1994). However, it will be noted that the emigration of overseas-born from the state has increased in 2008-09, perhaps reflecting the recent upswing in the number of settlers in the state. An important point to bear in mind is that many of the young South Australians who move overseas in fact initially move to Sydney and Melbourne before emigrating in a pattern described as 'escalator migration' (Hugo 2008c). Hence they show up as interstate migrants for South Australia rather than emigrants. Hence Figure 22 probably understates the actual degree of emigration from the state and hence the size of the South Australian global diaspora. This diaspora of South Australians has considerable potential not only for encouraging return migration but also for furthering the state's economic interests (Hugo *et al.* 2001). Hence the emigration must not be seen as a purely negative phenomenon from the perspective of state development.

Figure 22: *South Australia: Settler Arrivals and Permanent Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10*
Source: *DLAC unpublished data*

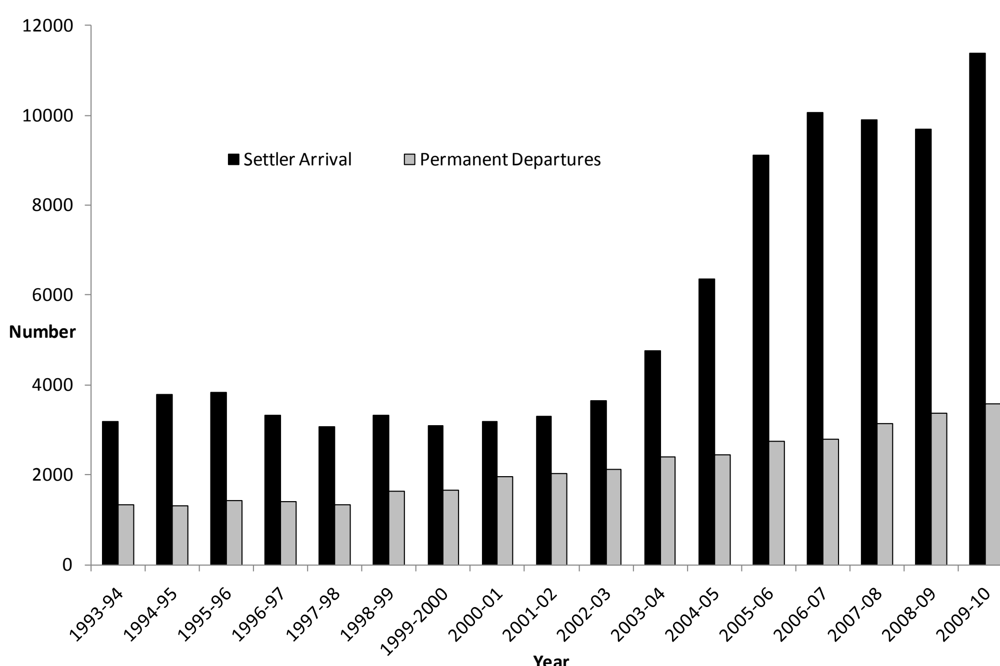
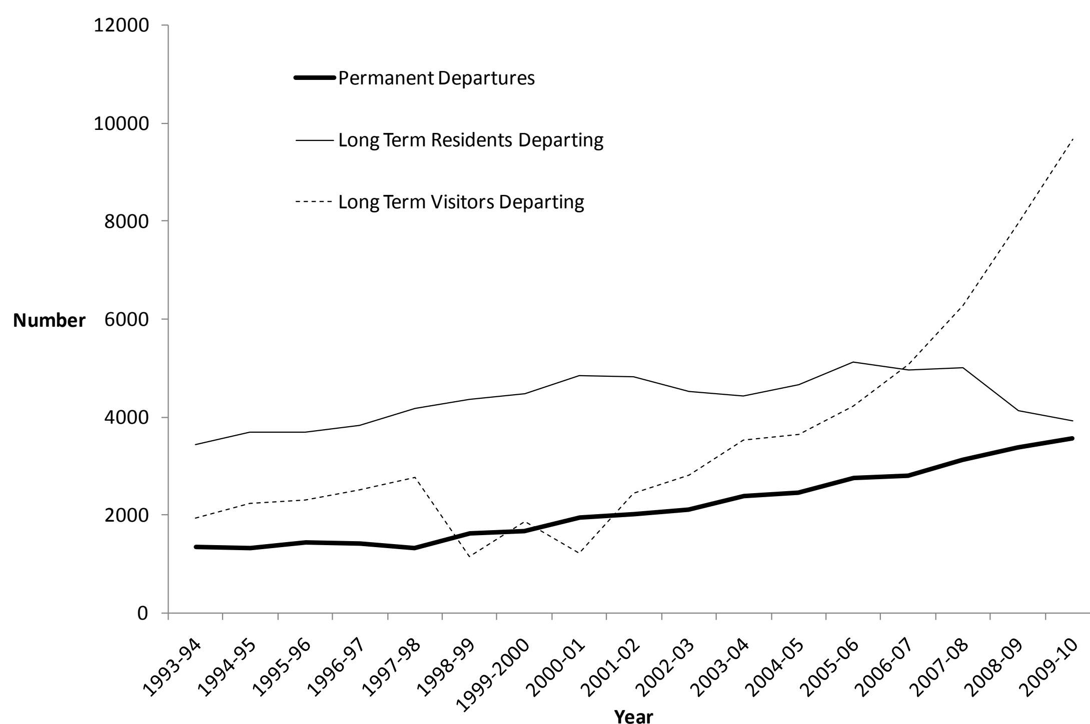


Table 14: South Australia: Permanent Departures, Australia and Overseas-born, 1993-94 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Year	Australia-born	Overseas-born	Total	% Australia-born
1993-94	504	836	1340	37.6
1994-95	554	774	1328	41.7
1995-96	621	823	1444	43.0
1996-97	629	783	1412	44.5
1997-98	645	694	1339	48.2
1998-99	944	692	1636	57.7
1999-2000	991	675	1666	59.5
2000-01	1164	797	1961	59.4
2001-02	1212	820	2032	59.6
2002-03	1283	841	2124	60.4
2003-04	1457	946	2403	60.6
2004-05	1507	948	2455	61.4
2005-06	1639	1124	2763	59.3
2006-07	1721	1080	2801	61.4
2007-08	1865	1275	3140	59.4
2008-09	2038	1340	3378	60.3
2009-10	2063	1511	3574	57.7

Figure 23: South Australia: Permanent and Long Term Departures from South Australia, 1993-94 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data



As in the case of considering immigration it is necessary to examine not only permanent movement but also long term (i.e. an absence of more than 1 year) movement. Figure 23 depicts trends in long term outmovement and compares them to permanent departures. It will be noticed that the level of long term movement is significantly higher than that of permanent emigration. The long term outmovement is broken down into that of residents and visitors. It will be noted that there is a substantial upswing in visitor departures as would be expected with the large increase of temporary immigrants, especially students. There is a steady increase in the long term movement of Australian residents but it is apparent that this is largely counterbalanced by returning South Australians who have spent more than a year living and/or working overseas. This is evident in Figure 24 which compares the numbers of South Australian residents departing with the numbers returning. Only in the years 1998-2001 did those leaving significantly outnumber those returning. In many ways this pattern of temporary departure and eventual return is one which should be encouraged. South Australians who have the experience of living and working in other countries return with enhanced skills and experience and the international networks and linkages which can be of value to South Australian economic development.

Figure 24: *South Australia: Long Term Resident Arrivals and Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10*
Source: *DIAC unpublished data*

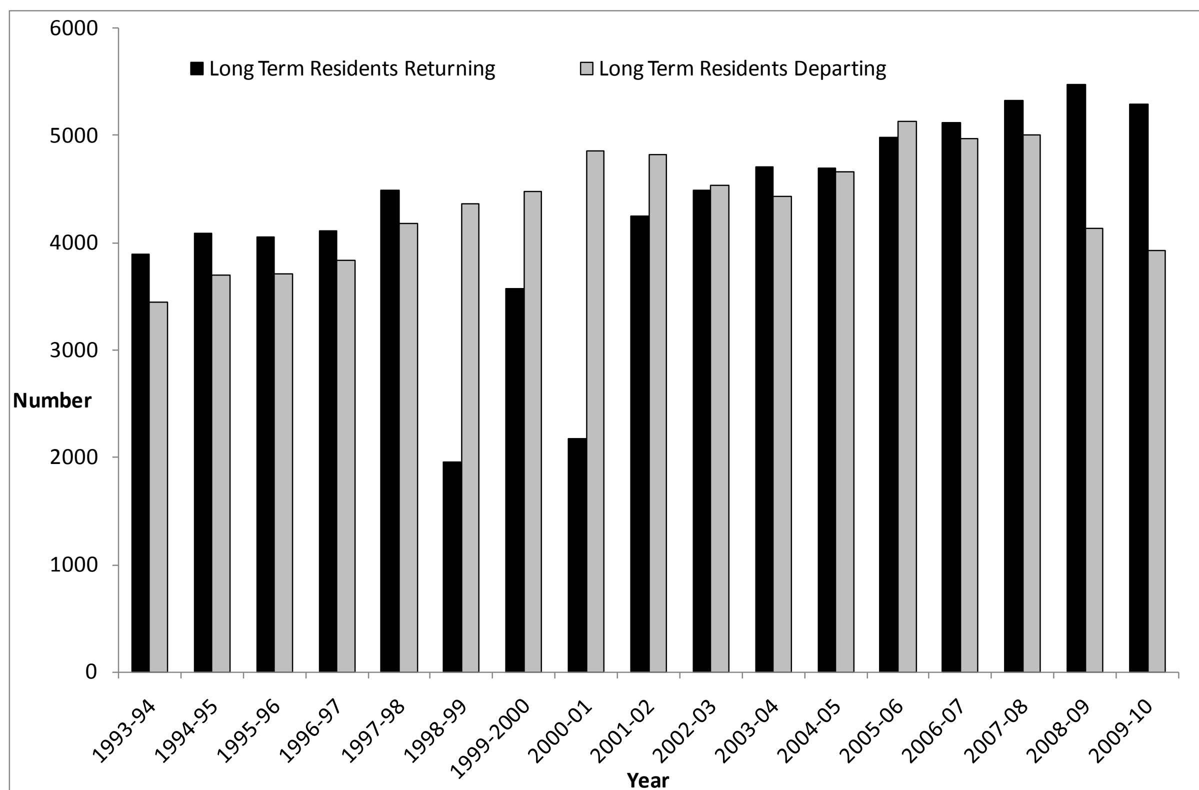
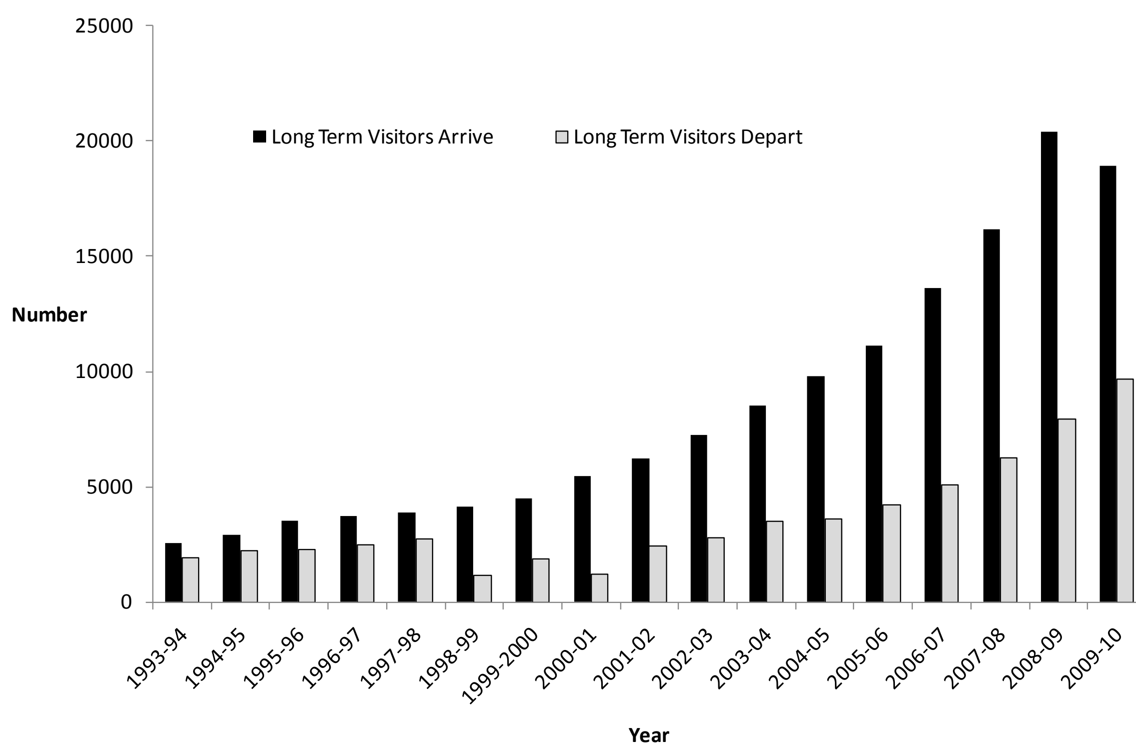


Figure 25 compares the number of visitor long term arrivals and departures. A quite different pattern is in evidence here. Although there is an increase in the numbers departing, it will be noted that there is a substantial discrepancy between arrivals and departures. This reflects two things:

- The increasing numbers of temporary migrants each year so the numbers of potential returnees is lower.
- The increasing tendency discussed earlier for non-permanent immigrants to change their residential status to become permanent residents or citizens.

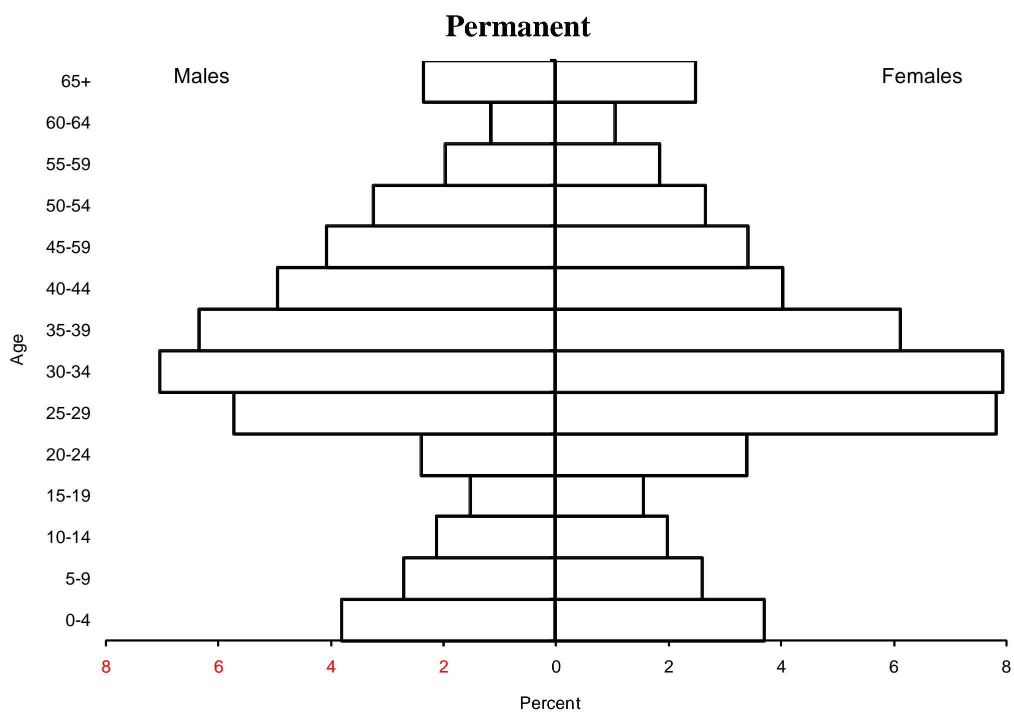
Figure 25: South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals and Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data



The net gain of long term arrivals over departures, however, may not necessarily accrue to South Australia since some of the temporary residents may leave South Australia and move to another state. It is to this important issue that we turn to in the next section.

As is the case with immigration, the emigration from South Australia is selective. Figure 26 shows the age-sex structure of permanent and long term departures from South Australia. This indicates that both permanent and long term outflows are quite young, although they are slightly older than the corresponding inflows. Table 15 shows the occupations of permanent and long term departures from the state and it is evident that they are strongly concentrated in high skill occupations. In fact, their skill level is slightly higher on average than their incoming counterparts.

Figure 26: *South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Permanent and Long Term Residents Departing, 1993-94 to 2008-09*
Source: *DIAC unpublished data*



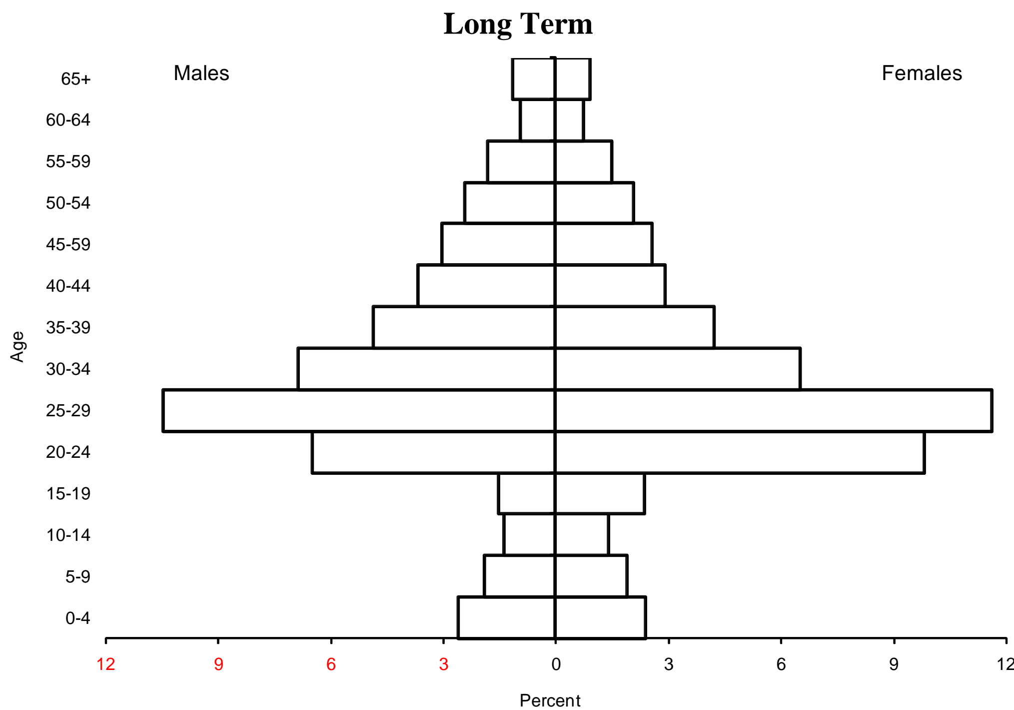


Table 15: South Australia: Occupational Groups of Permanent and Long Term Residents Departing, 1997-98 to 2008-09
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Occupation	Resident Permanent Departure	Long Term Resident Departure	Percent Resident Permanent Departure	Percent Long Term Resident Departure
Managers and Administrators	2,513	4,260	16.1	11.8
Professionals	7,295	19,034	46.6	52.6
Associate Professionals	1,479	3,090	9.4	8.5
Tradespersons	1,010	2,008	6.5	5.6
Advanced Clerical	543	1,007	3.5	2.8
Intermediate Clerical Sales Service	1,914	4,854	12.2	13.4
Intermediate Plant and Transport	237	520	1.5	1.4
Elementary Clerical Sales Service	414	960	2.6	2.7
Labourers	246	425	1.6	1.2
	15,651	36,158	100.0	100.0

CONCLUSION

It is likely that the net overseas migration over the next decade or so will be around 180,000 and that South Australia will receive 6 to 7 percent of that net gain. This of course depends on many factors including the economic future of the state and the impact of the mining industry. The state will face considerable challenges in facilitating the adjustment of around 15,000 new migrants each year together with large numbers of temporary immigrants. It is crucial that there is appropriate planning to ensure that migrants are given equal access to services as non-migrants. The increasing diversity of the migrant intake means that this adjustment task is likely to increase in difficulty. There is a need for as much resources to go into facilitating this adjustment as goes into the successful campaign to attract immigrants to come to South Australia.

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MIGRATION IN PRACTICE

Kevin Liston - Team Leader, Refugee Services – Families SA
Valuing the Role of Humanitarian Entrants in Settlement

Introduction

Australia has a world-leading record in relation to the settlement of refugees. However, there are still many issues. Even after five or more years, too many people still cannot shop for themselves, cannot carry on a conversation in English, are isolated from their neighbours or are unemployed or under-employed. This paper explores the potential for improving the settlement prospects of humanitarian entrants by putting greater focus and affirmation on the role and efforts of the new arrivals themselves.

The dominant paradigm of settlement at present is based on service provision and is framed in terms of meeting needs, dealing with problems, shortcomings and the negative effects of the refugee experience. We need to re-frame this in development terms — personal development for the individuals concerned, creating individual economic careers/futures, enabling them to participate and contribute to their full potential in the life of this country – and community development for the groups involved.

Australia's current settlement services are the best in the world. Even so, they are designed in the main to bring people to a survival level in this country. There is an enormous gap between that level and equitable participation which must be acknowledged. The skills and personal attributes that people coming under the Humanitarian program bring with them should not be overlooked as they often are.

1. The Stakeholders

Functions and roles or agencies and organisations

For the purpose of devising an effective method, it is best to think of stakeholders in terms of their functions or roles in the overall process, the kind of stakes or investments they have in the process, rather than on their points of origin (government, non-government, etc). In relation to humanitarian entrants to SA, there are four main groups of stakeholders to be considered. Each group has its own role with its own importance and influence on the success of settlement. Distinguishing functions rather than just organisations or agencies is important as many organisations perform more than one function, e.g. the education department both sets policy and provides education. Some NGOs provide services and advocate on behalf of settlers. In considering a settlement system, it is important and very useful to distinguish functions rather than just organisations or agencies as many organisations perform a range of functions. DECS both sets policy and provides education. Some NGOs provide services and also advocate on behalf of settlers (as voices of the community). Stakeholders are grouped here in terms of the functions they perform.

There are four broad groups.

1. Settlers. They make settlement happen; they are its primary agents and beneficiaries. They are more than just service recipients or consumers, they are first and foremost people creating new lives for themselves, their families and communities. Former refugees, here in search of new lives and opportunities, they come as individuals and families, with or without children. For the most part, they know very few of the people who have come before them, even those of their own culture groups. The task ahead is very challenging, traumatic and often terrifying. Settlement includes learning how to live in Australia, developing relevant skills, including English, establishing an Australian identity and lifestyle and forming communities. The communities formed in this way have major relevance to the settlement task.

2. Policy Makers and Program Managers. These are the people who set the conditions under which people come here. They decide on the policies, programs and services that form the regulatory framework for settlement. Governments generally fill this role as legislators, policy makers and funding providers. Occasionally non-government agencies, through funding, can have an influence.

3. Service Providers. The name is self-explanatory; they provide the services. As well as NGOs and private businesses, many government agencies fulfil this function, e.g. Schools, Housing SA, Families SA.

4. The Australian Public. Ultimately, public opinion determines the acceptability of the humanitarian program. The absence (or silence) of public opinion on refugee issues usually allows governments to conduct the program more effectively. Advocacy is to be regarded as an expression by people of their views, whether a minority group or a widely held view. This voice is most obvious in relation to asylum seekers. Likewise, the attitudes of people in a particular locality may affect settlement opportunities. The media serves as a voice for public opinion. These are the people with whom new arrivals want to settle and integrate and who are changed by the settlement of former refugees (and migrants). They are also the people to whom, ultimately, the whole process is accountable. Supportive public opinion is essential for the maintenance of the Humanitarian Program.

A good settlement system is one that delivers positive outcomes for all four groups of stakeholders. These outcomes are the markers or indicators of success in relation to their particular functions or roles. As such, the indicators will be different for each group so when analysing the indicators of successful settlement it is necessary to recognise which stakeholders are in question.

2. The Refugee - Settlement Process

The majority of refugees come from traditional societies, poor countries, places where the patterns of everyday life have remained the same for hundreds of years, where belonging to a particular culture is self-defining, and gives a person identity, role and social position or status. Being part of a strong cohesive social and cultural environment was their strength until that environment turned against them. For reasons that vary across the globe but are summarised in the Refugee Convention as race, religion, nationality, social group or political opinion, they found themselves excluded, marginalised and powerless.

They leave everything they have known and travel to other countries, distant in every way – geographically, socially, politically, economically and culturally. They really do move from one world to another. The transitions that refugees have to make are enormous - covering the whole gamut of human living. Additionally they have to do it through the refugee experience. The transition from a traditional culture to a multicultural society is just one aspect of the total movement.

The refugee-settlement process is complex, multifaceted and multidimensional. To get a full picture of the process, an analysis in terms of the major transitions that refugees have to go through is very helpful. It begins long before people arrive in Australia

Transitions

There are many transitions that refugee-settlers have to go through, including

1. The refugee experience
2. Language
3. Cultures
4. Geographical
5. Economic
6. Identity, Family and Lifestyle

This paper focuses on two, the refugee experience and the cultural transition.

A. TRANSITIONING THROUGH THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

They are dispossessed, persecuted, traumatised, have had their most basic rights and expectations, as human beings ignored, trampled upon and removed. They have been exiled from their own countries, marginalised by those who should be leading them. They have seen family members, lovers, friends and neighbours taken away, imprisoned, tortured and executed. Their property has been stolen without any hope of justice or restitution. Every kind of security has been destroyed and they ended up in some refugee camp or third world shanty-town slum where their best chance of having a future lay in becoming a number on a United Nations database.

The refugee experience can be understood in terms of a series of major events

Persecution and marginalisation

Dispossession and dislocation - Flight

The refugee camp – temporary protection

Resettlement – emergence of a solution

Settlement

Refugees are victims throughout the process until the final stages when opportunities for new lives appear. Even after resettlement when they are no longer technically refugees, they are often unwittingly made to feel like victims who should be grateful for anything they receive.

1. Persecution and marginalisation

There are many reasons why people are targeted for persecution. It may be as simple as belonging to a particular ethnic or tribal group, or practicing a religion that is not favoured by the dominant people in the country or the area. Unfortunately, ethnic cleansing is rife in the world today. Persecution may vary from almost covert discrimination and exclusion to blatant denial of basic rights, harassment and imprisonment. In the extreme it involves torture and execution. People are denied opportunities for participation in the social, economic and political life of the region or country. The process is one of deliberate destruction of personal identity, relevance, status and sense of self-worth. The physical persecution is always accompanied by an insidious campaign of psychological and mental destruction. The intention is to make people feel that they are deviant, disloyal, dishonestly undermining 'good authority and social harmony', that their place is on the very margins, if not totally outside, the dominant society and culture.

2. Dispossession and dislocation - flight

Persecution leads to dispossession and dislocation when people are forced out of their homes, their property is confiscated or simply stolen. They are forced to move – either to relocate within their own country or to move across the border to another country. In either case, the lucky ones can find relatives of friends to shelter them but the great majority have to depend on the help of those neighbouring countries and international aid agencies such a UNHCR. Their reduction to zero relevance is complete with no legal claim to any status. The loss of identity is probably the most cruel element in all of this.

3. The refugee camp – temporary protection

Refugee camps are intended to provide temporary protection - and they do up to a point. They form a respite from the flight from the homeland and a place to live without the overt persecution previously experienced. However, life in a refugee camp is harsh, tedious, mind-numbing and spirit-destroying. It fosters dependency and 'hand-out' attitudes. People live on handouts from UNHCR or other authorities. There is little protection for the weak and vulnerable such as women or children on their own or single-parent women.

4. Resettlement – emergence of a solution

It takes a great deal of work, resourcefulness, perseverance and ingenuity to be successful in achieving the holy grail of resettlement in a third country. Amidst the constant clamouring competition for recognition in a camp, only 5% at most can usually expect to gain a place in the humanitarian programs of Australia, the USA, Canada or other countries. There are endless rounds of applications, interviews, checking for results, efforts at supporting and strengthening the applications, reviews and more submissions.

Success, when it comes, is usually after many years of refugee camp life during which time the destructive combination of dependence and handouts further wears down the spirit and psychological energy of the victims.

Then suddenly people find themselves faced with leaving the reality of leaving the relative security and familiarity of the camp. Even the mode of travel is most likely to be a very new experience. These introduce a new level of insecurity, threats to identity and personal challenges for would-be settlers.

5. Settlement

While settlement initially appears to those chosen to come to Australia and similar countries as paradise achieved, it is soon obvious to all that this is not going to be easy. Successful settlement is gained through hard work, commitment and determination. For most people, there is the realisation, very soon after arrival, that this place is quite different to anything they had ever experienced. The culture, geography, language, economy, socio-political structures are all alien to them. They are faced with monumental challenges that would daunt the most talented of adventurers while trying to recover from the refugee experience, rebuild their tortured psyches, and restore 'normality' to their personal and family lives.

B. THE CULTURAL TRANSITION

There is another side to the refugee experience for those who come to Australia and other 'western' countries. Once we get beyond the basic necessities of life-shelter, food, security, etc. culture provides us with the context of our lives, the relationships, meaning and value, shared stories and histories etc.

Culture is one of the critical issues of our times for everyone. We need to examine culture to understand how the world is evolving and developing. Cultures are the great overarching paradigms by which we make sense of our world and understand it. Understanding culture is central to understanding the refugee-settlement experience as the cultural transition is a key part of the experience of most refugees.

While there are many definitions of culture, the following is among the most comprehensive and useful. Culture is the set of attitudes, mindsets, meanings, beliefs, values and aspirations, practices and behaviours of a particular group of people. These may be inherent and implied or overt and expressed.

The culture of a group or society is what gives it identity, meaning, context, value, direction and purpose and distinguishes it from other groups or societies. It includes attitudes, world views, spiritualities, religious orientations, and aspirations.

Attitudes and identity are reflected and expressed in music, songs, dances, art and craftwork, through religious festivals, buildings and statues. These are symbols and expressions, the carriers and transmitters of culture, full of meaning and significance, including, often, spiritual or emotional significance. Identity and selfhood may be recognised and reinforced in familiar food and drink

Cultural pluralism or Multiculturalism

Over the last few hundred years there has been a growing recognition that every general culture has within it a variety of sub-cultures. The culture of ordinary people gradually came to be regarded as having a validity of its own. Folk music, produced by working class and country people was seen as genuinely expressing a real way of life. The notion of cultural pluralism emerged from this recognition that different sections of a particular social or ethnic population lived in quite different "worlds", with different values and identity markers.

Cultural pluralism is the term used in many countries to describe the emergence of different sets of personal and social values, patterns of behaviour and lifestyles, different perspectives on the meaning of life, etc. within a broader culture group. In Australia, multiculturalism is the preferred term

The policy of multiculturalism operates on two levels. On one level it promotes a basic set of principles and values, including respect for the rule of law, due process, democratic procedures, equality of opportunity for all, protection for the weak and vulnerable, etc. These are the principles and values that find expression in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other related Declarations. It is the denial of these values that cause people to become refugees and it is precisely these values that refugees are seeking when they come to this country. This could be called foundational culture as it provides the foundations for cohesive functioning society.

On the second level, multiculturalism encourages people to express their identity with particular cultural expressions such as music, dance, language, religion, celebration of traditional festivals, in the way they conduct weddings, funerals, etc.

There are clear and conspicuous differences between culture, which is more a feature of developed, 'western' societies, and the traditional or classical cultures which are more characteristic of the countries that humanitarian entrants come from.

Note: In this presentation I use the terms "traditional" and "modern". I use them as descriptors only. I do not imply any intrinsic superiority or inferiority or any value difference. The value of any culture lies in how it contributes to the development of the quality of the life of the people who live it. The fact that a culture is classed as traditional does not mean that it is not developed and sophisticated. The relatively unsophisticated culture of people in developing countries exemplifies traditional culture but so also does traditional Europe.

The following sections show how modern culture differs from traditional or classic culture. In practice, people live somewhere on a spectrum between the two 'pure' positions of either traditional or modern culture. Few people's lives are totally described by either position. The point is that a shift of dominance from traditional to modern culture is taking place all over the world. As a result of this, the characteristics of modern culture are more descriptive of the attitudes, values and outlooks of people in Australia in the 21st century than the characteristics of traditional culture. These characteristics are also more relevant to an adequate understanding of how people orient their living in these times.

I use the term modern to refer to the characteristics of culture that have emerged in modern times. This usage is not related to the philosophical streams called modernism and post-modernism.

Modern Culture

Over the last three or four hundred years in Europe and other 'western' countries a different pattern of living and culture has evolved, fuelled by scientific discoveries and technical inventions, the enlightenment, the democratisation of political power, awareness of historical and evolutionary reality, mass mobility and communications, economic development, the liberation of thought and expression, popular education, improved health, personal independence, etc.

It began with the Renaissance and grew through the reformation, the Enlightenment, the popular political revolutions (From the French revolution of 1789 and many others in the 1800s through to the early 20th century), the emergence of modern scientific method and the industrial revolution. This is often called modern or empirical culture.

This is not just another culture in the same mould as the traditional cultures that it is replacing. It is in fact quite different, as a culture, in structure, in its internal organisation, its foundations and in the way it develops.

It is constructed from experience, built up step by step (incrementally), tested, tried, selected, discarded or used, etc. It develops, changes and evolves. It includes a variety of worldviews, religions, ethics, perspectives, etc.

In modern culture a scientific view is dominant. It recognises the evolutionary nature of the universe and all of life. Time, space and matter began with the Big Bang. Various environments and life forms evolved and continue to do so over the whole period of the existence of the universe. We look for an empirical origin for the events of nature, the practical tangible, physical, chemical, biological causes of everything from hurricanes to illnesses.

The exercise of power is based on the assent of the people, given freely. Power is distributed, e.g. separation of powers of the legislature, the administration and the judiciary in a modern system of government. That is the aspiration and goal even if it is not always realised).

Authority comes from having the support of the people and has to be earned and is based on credibility and assent. Once that popular support is removed, power and authority disappear with it.

Religion in modern culture is generally a private, personal matter. We tend not to talk about it in public or with strangers.

The focus of modern family interest and concern is the nuclear family. This is reinforced by inheritance and property ownership practices. There is seldom an extended family "safety net" for less-able members. The state is generally expected to step in such cases.

People find a basis for ethical behaviour independent of religion. The emergence of the human rights and civil rights movements exemplify ways in which people have taken charge of determining what is right and wrong and have set standards through discussion and mutual agreement. Modern society is highly individualised. People more and more make up their own minds about ethical or moral behaviours. Those who formerly had a role in guiding the "conscience" of the community now struggle for relevance.

Modern education tends to be experience related. Scientific method is often regarded as the basic model for education which itself is intended to open up social and economic mobility and allow for changes of role throughout life. A good education is related to the individual's talents, abilities and determination to learn. Contemporary culture is characterised by increased social mobility. People's roles change, often quite dramatically throughout their lives.

One lives and works through progressive development, moving from one achievement to another. Set-backs are part of the total effort and every achievement is tentative and vulnerable to breakdown. We have to work constantly even to hold our ground. This openness and access is further facilitated by the internet.

Communities are more and more based on shared interests and opportunities.

Modern society requires that we adopt different roles, wear different hats, in the various aspects of our lives. As we move from one group or community to another we reveal different aspects of our personalities, use different skills, behave in different ways and relate to others differently. This does not mean that we cannot maintain personal integrity, but that we have to do so in a variety of circumstances, which necessitates the wearing of different 'hats'.

The individual human life is increasingly seen as being the ultimate value in life. This is presented in a variety of ways from the pursuit of pleasure and personal enjoyment as the only worth-while goal to heroic efforts to become quality human beings with integrity and credibility.

Traditional culture

In traditional societies culture determines the way of life of a community, social group, nation, etc. It is largely ideological. One grows into it by acquiring and assimilating the traditions and stories, the skills and tasks, ideas and virtues that are familiar in a good home through a good education. Community and national leaders exemplify it. It is essentially normative, a model to be imitated with ideal characters to be emulated and with eternal truths and universal laws. One's role in the society and culture tends to be the same or within a set framework throughout life. Class structures are quite fixed. "Blue bloods" or Brahmins are born to rule; others are destined to serve.

Traditionally, culture is seen as a given with universal values and interpretations or meanings of reality. It is fixed, handed down and to be passed on. There is one universal true worldview, philosophy and set of values to be understood, appreciated and lived out. The truth exists independently of all efforts to know it and is immutable.

The origins of traditional cultures are usually vague, surrounded by myths and sagas that highlight the uniqueness of the group or tribe. Their histories usually provide a self-justification of the group's attitude and values.

Power tends to be held by an oligarchy, a small group of people. A few people wielded power, sometimes even one as in an absolute monarchy. It is based on tradition, inheritance, force, violence, fear and intimidation. It rules by coercion rather than by the freely given assent of those governed. Power is centralised. Authority is from "above" God-given or handed on through the generations (monarchic dynasties) or passed on from one generation to another by ritual and tradition, e.g. The authority of the Pope in the catholic church.

In traditional cosmologies the world is basically a static universe. We are all familiar with the idea of 'heaven' being up there somewhere beyond the sky, a flat earth and an underworld - whether the Hades of ancient European mythology or the Hell of traditional Christianity. Once the world was created and life established "at the beginning" it remained pretty much the same after that.

'Religious' explanations prevail. Thunder and lightning could be attributed to gods at war or other celestial activity. Storms, drought and illnesses are often regarded as some sort of divine punishment while bountiful harvests and good rains are seen as divine favours. These explanations sometimes contain superstitious elements and lead to the use of terms such as 'Acts of God' in legal documents. Traditional religion is public and social. Everyone subscribes to the same beliefs, practices, moralities and behaviours – or so it is thought.

The extended family is usually the significant social and cultural unit. Relationships, responsibilities and roles are determined and lived within a wide, social and community context. Children are often reared by the extended family or even the village rather than just by the biological parents.

Public standards of morality tend to be set in a religious context or have a religious base or rationale. Many religious people especially fundamentalists who live in a very traditional or ideological world would claim that without religion, there can be no morality.

In such societies, where morality and behavioural norms are public and regarded as community values, the arbiter of standards and the judge of what is acceptable is the community or society, usually represented as customs or tradition.

Local and blood relationships are the key binding elements in traditional societies. Attachment to place is defining. One's world is made up of the people in the neighbourhood, locality or region. In The village is a social, economic, religious, cultural and sporting unit. Life is an integrated whole - you are the same person and have a similar identity in all aspects of your life. This corresponds to belonging to one community which provides the whole of one's lived environment. The group, society or the community is ultimately of greatest importance. This is often packaged in a notion of God as identified with community values, norms and behaviours so that there can be no questioning of the proclaimed "Truth".

Wisdom or knowledge is handed down. Children and young people learn "at the feet of their elders" or they receive a thorough education by going to a good school where the classics of their particular culture are taught and they learn the history, values, mores and desired behaviours of their own culture group. Initiation ceremonies and rites of passage are important are often done behind closed doors or away from the village. Education is geared to the roles that people will play in their lives which are in turn determined by the social class they are born into. So, there is one education for the nobility, the sons of the chiefs, and another for the working class or ordinary people. One aspires to an ideal perfection which, almost by definition is exclusive, elitist, superior and self-righteous. Nationalist rhetoric, songs and politics pander to this. National anthems are based on it. "We are the greatest people in the world" is the general theme. The use by the Nazis of the anthem "Deutchland Uber Alle" ("Germany Over All") exemplifies it.

Traditional to modern culture

The contrasting of these two kinds of culture enables us to see more clearly the enormous transition that people migrating from one to the other have to make. People with a European or 'western background have had hundreds of years to adjust to changing outlooks and environments but most of those who come as refugees have to do so in a very short timeframe

3. Focus on the main players – the Entrants

In planning for settlement, the roles of policy makers, funders and service providers usually dominate the discussions. This is exemplified in the recent Multicultural SA project - Coordination of Settlement Services for Humanitarian entrants in SA. It placed the service perspective at the front and centre of the project. The issues listed clearly showed that they were responses to questions along the lines of, 'What can government or service providers do for you?' There was no discussion in the draft project report (Feb 2011) on the role that these people and their communities might play in the process of settlement. Certainly we need to acknowledge the role of services as supportive and secondary and structure them accordingly. But, there are other perspectives.

A shift in the conceptual framework generally operating in this area could provide significant dividends for everyone. Entrants, former refugees, are the principal agents of settlement as they achieve their own settlement by and large. Therefore we need to put the focus on them as being at the centre of the work.

People in any situation have to find their places in society and work out for themselves how they are to be productive and live fulfilling lives. Settlement services of themselves will never achieve the outcomes that entrants need in order to live productive and fulfilling lives. Many, especially those who have been through the refugee experience, need help from others but the help has to be seen as a support. Settlement services are supports to the settlers. They (the services) cannot do the job for them.

Each ethnic or cultural group of humanitarian entrants has its own particular profile but all of them suffer from marginalization and social exclusion. This is not because they have been shunted to the sidelines from the centre but because, as new arrivals in this country with the histories that brought them here; that is where they start.

Building on strengths

It is a basic tenet of community development that a community is built and upheld on its strengths. We can build on the strengths of the people who come here. It would be useful to spend some time analysing the experience of settlers and so identify those aspects that contribute most to success and integration.

Stronger communities ensure support for their own weaker members (and families) and provide a culture of acceptable behaviour for young people. Successful communities are a key medium for the transitions that people have to make in order to settle in Australia. All relevant groups consistently indicate a high

level of interest in this approach, a strong desire to participate and confirmation that it would fit with their hopes and expectations regarding settlement in Australia

The people who come to Australia through the refugee program are people of remarkable and outstanding endurance, adaptability and resilience. They have come through horrific and life-changing experiences from widely different cultures and societies. They have the potential to make enormous contributions to the life of this country; they just need a chance to do so.

Benefits of focusing on entrants

There are many benefits to be gained from putting more focus on the entrants, including -

- Community goodwill, energy and resources will be leveraged into provision of beneficial, positive and healthy support for families and young people.
- More people participate actively in the social, economic and cultural life of South Australia.
- Employment outcomes will result from increased ability of community members to access relevant information and develop self-confidence in relation to seeking and keeping employment.
- Many long term costs to governments will be avoided.
- Dependence on public services will be reduced as people become more self-reliant and better able to manage their lives.
- Incidences of family, parent and child abuse (domestic violence) will reduce as people learn effectively how to manage themselves and their relationships in the Australian environment.
- Young people will be exposed to and involved in more community activities, reducing the incidence of youth problems, as communities develop more effective internal structures.
- Increased access to mainstream services
- Community members will be facilitated to access resources in the wider community.
- Current tentative moves into small business will be enhanced as personal, social and financial confidence grows.

I will now focus on two aspects that are central to facilitating new arrivals in creating their own futures –

1. Developing the narrative of the group and
2. Developing community capacities.

4. Promoting the narrative of the entrants

The story of Australia is largely the story of people who made their way in a new country in the face of great odds. While institutions and services have always provided a context, the achievements are those of individuals, families and relatively small groups.

The stories of settlement are often not told until long after the people concerned have established themselves and indeed are accepted as part of the fabric of Australian society. However, putting these stories together early in their time in Australia can have a real constitutive function as people reflect on their achievements, own them and deliberately seek to strengthen their footholds in this country, creating a narrative and identity that people can genuinely own.

The story of the group is not just the telling of a history. It is identification and recognition. The story told well becomes the accepted narrative of the group. People hear it and recognise their own achievements, they see how far they have come and what obstacles they have surmounted. Elements of settlement that need more focus include the stories of recent arrivals and the roles of their communities.

While the focus is on policy makers, program managers and service providers the identifiers for settlers are problems, barriers and other negative characteristics. The positive achievements of humanitarian entrants need to be acknowledged. They have come through experiences that could have destroyed them but did not. Of the ten million or so 'recognised' refugees in the world, they are among the tiny minority to have made it to a resettlement country. That is itself is worth noting.

Most humanitarian settlers get their first jobs either through their own networks and contacts or by fronting up at businesses and asking for work. So, it would make sense to pump some resources into helping them develop these networks. Most have more than one language on arrival. How did they learn those second or third languages? It was usually not in a classroom situation but through social, community and economic (shopping) activities. When disaster strikes – someone dies suddenly - they turn to their friends and social networks for immediate support. When good times or special occasions are to be celebrated, they do so with their own cultural and ethnic groups. Many people set up informal financial self-help or mutual-help groups to enable and encourage the establishment of a home or financial base or to deal with other money problems. In large measure, people construct their sense of place in a new country through conversations with others who have come through similar experiences. They restore their sense of purpose and self-worth through empathy and mutual encouragement. These are the stories that need to be told. This is the achievement of settlement.

Diversity of narratives

While there are many common themes running through the stories of every group of humanitarian arrivals, each group also has its own unique experiences. Bhutanese and Sudanese both suffered persecution but the form of that suffering was very different in those two countries. Burundians and Afghans all have to adjust to the Australian cultural environment but their home cultures were very different so the journeys they have to make are different. Within national groups there are also many differences.

The stories that need to be told and the narratives that need to be recognised are central to successful settlement for the people involved. They aspire to living full satisfying productive lives in this country. Australia's social inclusion agenda applies to them as much as it does to anyone else. However, they cannot do so unless they have an opportunity to see themselves as they are – people who have faced the worst that life can offer and have, not only survived, but also stand strong again. The stories need to be told and reflected back to the people involved

Labelling

A negative example of the effect of narrative lies in the common usage of the term 'refugee' for permanent residents of Australia. They are no longer refugees. Inflicting a negative branding on them slows their progress towards integration. Refugee is a labelling word that implies helpless victims. There are many reasons why this is wrong, including:

- It creates a pathological paradigm, a deficit model.
- They are not going back to former lifestyles, homes, environments, communities
- They are now involved in creating new lives, homes, communities, etc for themselves

While they do need help and appropriate services, they do not need to be branded.

Another effect of labelling lies in general references to various groups in terms of their origins rather than their current situations, e.g. the Burundian community rather than the Burundian Australian community or the Bhutanese community rather than the Bhutanese Australian community. The people involved are working their way through various transitions that will lead to them being Australians – with histories that reach back into other countries and cultures like most others living in this country. By referring to them in terms of their origins, we are highlighting the differences without recognising the commonalities.

5. Developing Community Capacities

The needs of recently arrived settlers are complex and varied. Each community has its own particular profile but all of them are marginalized and socially excluded. Social inclusion is a basic need for these people so that they can become fully active and participating members of SA society.

While there are services addressing many of the needs of recently arrived refugees, there is a very little support for the development of community structures, i.e. the networks and internal organizational and operational systems and resources that would enable them to act independently and become self-reliant within acceptable time-frames. The leverage that strong community resources and capacities exert on the whole community reinforces and magnifies the efforts of all external services and reduces reliance on them. This builds confidence and facilitates access to the mainstream. Information is disseminated more effectively throughout the community, behaviours are modified and positively directed (especially important for young people), the weaker members (single parents and skill-poor families) are assisted informally and people are prepared for disaster when it strikes.

Strong organized communities can play a significant role in helping people reach their goals and fulfil the hopes that all of them have for better lives in this country and a richer society overall. Getting organised is central to getting things done, so humanitarian entrants need to be organised to create sustainable communities. Strong communities make for strong families and individuals.

Features of successful communities

Humanitarian entrant groups are in a unique position in terms of developing community structures and capacities. Members arrive from a number of countries and, often, from many places within those countries. Generally, outside of the extended family, they seldom know each other before arrival. The process of building community starts from a low base. While they have the important characteristic of nationality in common, there are usually significant differences of ethnicity, culture, religion, and life experiences within these groups. The persecution and refugee experiences may also vary widely.

Many refugee arrivals find that the personal and social challenges they face in the settlement process are more confronting and threatening in terms of personal value, identity and self-concept than their previous experiences. The earlier events, fearful and traumatic as they were, including death, persecution, torture, loss of home, possessions, status and relevance, etc. occurred in a context and world that was understood and, to some extent at least, familiar. Following arrival, they are in a strange new world with no familiar signposts or intuitive connection with their neighbours, the surrounding culture or the lifestyle of the local community. From this position of true anonymity, they begin to rebuild their lives and form new communities.

Building Community

The process is painstakingly slow and always has numerous twists, turns and setbacks. Initially it is the spontaneous and informal coming together of people who identify common ground among themselves. The stronger help the weaker and the sense of common struggle and purpose brings people together. Significant occasions are celebrated by mutual agreement and group support. A great deal of work is done in these situations by many community members.

As the group grows, the spontaneous assistance and interactions have to become more organised. The evolution to the level of effective organisation is always a difficult one and follows different paths in each community. However it is possible to identify certain features that characterise every community once it is organised, once it has achieved a secure level of self-development, confidence, independence and maturity.

The following nine features are found to be present in all well-established communities. This is confirmed by discussions with various communities, stakeholders and from experience of working with former refugees over many years.

1. Leaders
2. Vision and plan
3. Organisation
4. A place base
5. Worker(s) for the community
6. Community activities
7. Community funds
8. Fluency in English across the community
9. Education and Training for
    - A. Leaders
    - B. Community worker(s)
    - C. Community members

Working directly with organisations within new communities yields dividends in terms of increased efficiency of effort, empowerment and skilling of community members, reach to the more vulnerable and needy and return on funding.

6. Recommendations

This paper recommends –

1. An analysis of the refugee-settlement process in terms of the functions or roles of the various stakeholders involved.

2. A recognition of the role that humanitarian entrants play in their own settlement.

3. Recognise the power of naming in relation to creating an identity, status and role for sections of society, in particular:

    A. Use of the term 'refugee' for permanent residents of Australia.

    B. Refering to various groups in terms of their origins rather than their current situations,

4. Develop indicators of successful settlement that reflect the differing functions and roles major stakeholder groups.

5. Further integration of settlement and support services post initial on-arrival services (IHSS), to facilitate full and effective participation in Australian life, particularly in relation to -

    Education
    Health,
    Employment (Job Network)
    Community capacity building.

There are possibilities for much greater collaboration between agencies, government departments and organisations than are currently being used.

7. Conclusion

The people who come to South Australia through the refugee program are people of remarkable and outstanding endurance, adaptability and resilience. They have come through horrific and life-changing experiences from widely different cultures and societies. They have the potential to make enormous contributions to the life of this state; they just need a chance to do so.

Alice Clark - Quality Use of Medicines and Pharmacy Research Centre, Sansom Institute, UniSA

Excuse me, do any of you ladies speak English? Perspectives of refugee women living in South Australia – barriers to accessing primary health care and achieving the Quality Use of Medicines.

Authors

Alice Clark[1], Andrew Gilbert[1], Deepa Rao[1], Lorraine Kerr[2].

Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War, over 700,000 refugees and people in humanitarian need have been resettled in Australia. In 2007–08 a total of 13,014 visas were granted to refugees. In the offshore visa component, grants to people from Africa comprised 30.48 per cent; to people from the Middle East and South West Asia comprised 35.25 per cent; to people from the Asia/Pacific region comprised 33.67 per cent (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2008).

Global, national, state and local organisations are concerned about the health needs of disadvantaged people, including refugees, who are more likely to experience poor health and least likely to access health services. Many refugees experience chronic and complex health conditions further complicated by experiences of mental illness, torture and trauma. The World Health Organisation (WHO) cites barriers to accessing to health services as an important factor of inequity (Muecke, 2010). WHO advocates for reform to address the needs of those for whom "service availability and social protection does too little to offset the health consequences of social stratification" (Muecke, 2010). The 2008 Australian Government's Towards a National Primary Health Care Strategy Discussion Paper outlined a framework for the future of primary health care delivery, looking at ways to improve health outcomes for all Australians. Recognising the additional barriers that refugees face in regard to their health, the Victorian Refugee Health Network (2008) and the Refugee Primary Health Care Research Centre (2008) were two of the many organisations that made submissions to the Government in response to the discussion paper arguing for the urgent and specific inclusion of refugee health needs in the final version of the Strategy. One objective of the final Strategy, released in 2009, is to ensure that health care services are accessible, timely and culturally appropriate.

General patient access to primary health care is not routinely measured (Reed et al, 2008). A study looking at access to General Medical Practitioners (GPs) for a random sample of South Australians showed that 39% of people were able to see a GP on the same day as their request for an appointment, 33% were able to visit the GP within one or two working days but that 20% waited more than two working days. Respondents with lower levels of household income however, were more likely to report longer waits for appointments. A second Australian study of the general population found that the main reasons given by respondents for not being able to access health care when it was required were that waiting times were too long and that there were no appointments available (Commonwealth of Australia, 2009).

Poor access to services is seen as a result of multi-factoral issues at structural, service and community levels (Proctor, 2004). For people from different cultures, the invisibility of migrant needs, service utilisation patterns and low levels of staff cultural competence can lead to services being less accessible to some community members (Proctor, 2004). Other negative influences on refugee access to health care services include a lack of English speaking and reading skills, unfamiliarity with the western appointment system, low literacy and numeracy skills in the first language and a lack of education. Low levels of literacy contribute to poor health literacy which is a term used to describe the ability to read, understand and use health information. Low health literacy also reduces the success of treatment and increases the risk of medical error. Unemployment and poverty can also affect health services access. People on low incomes can also experience poor housing, poor nutrition, depression and poor hygiene (Klein, 2004). When accessible GPs are not available locally, travelling and the cost of travelling can further disadvantage people on a low income.

A core requirement of Australia's National Medicines Policy (NMP) is the Quality Use of Medicines (QUM). QUM means selecting management options wisely; choosing suitable medicines if a medicine is considered necessary; and using medicines safely and effectively. The definition of QUM applies equally to decisions about medicine use by individuals and decisions that affect the health of the population (DoHA, 2009). In QUM the term medicine incorporates prescription, non-prescription and complementary medicines and this is important in exploring the medicines use of refugees. In some Asian and African countries approximately 80% of the population depend on traditional medicines for their health care and herbal medicines are the most common form. In Australia, these come under the heading of complementary medicines and are the preferred treatment of many refugees. Within different cultures there are diverse understandings of traditional and Western medicines and it is unclear what QUM means or how it can be achieved for individual refugees and the population of refugees living in Australia. Access to medicines is central to both the NMP and achieving QUM. The Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia and the National Prescribing Service recognise that achieving QUM in the non-English speaking background community is an under-researched area and implemented a project called "Multicultural Community Quality Use of Medicines" in 2009 to gather information on this topic. QUM will not be achieved if refugees face barriers to accessing primary care.

The availability and use of interpreter services is also crucial for refugees to access and receive appropriate health care services. Evidence suggests that the use of interpreters improves both the quality and safety of health care (Phillips, 2010). The appropriate use of interpreters forms part of the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners Standards for General Practice. The Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship provides a fee-free interpreter service to both GPs and pharmacists. The South Australian Interpreting and Translating Centre is the state organisation available for providing on site and telephone services. Despite professional standards and the free Telephone Interpreting Service (TIS) available to GPs, the TIS is underused and often not well understood by GPs. Some of the reasons for the underuse of interpreter services by GPs include faith in 'in house' bilingual staff, beliefs about the

preference of patients for family members to interpret and a lack of practice systems to contact interpreters (Phillips, 2010). A lack of time for GPs to organise interpreters during consultations is also a common reason given for not accessing interpreter services.

In Australia, in conjunction with the NMP, pharmacists, pharmacy practice and the provision of medicines are aspects of achieving QUM. Pharmacists have the potential to play an increased role in health care and the provision of patient- centred care services in the community. The Pharmaceutical Society of Australia released a Position Statement (2004) on the health care of refugees, recognising that their health needs are significantly different to the general population and confirming that pharmacists have an important contribution to make in increasing access to medicines, providing medicines information and delivering culturally appropriate services. Of approximately 5,000 approved community pharmacies in Australia however, only 1,200 have registered for TIS (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009). As well, the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme (PBS) does not cover medicines commonly needed to treat conditions found in refugee populations such as those for malaria or intestinal parasites.
Accessible and culturally appropriate health services are required to meet WHO standards, the objectives of the Australian health reforms and their implementation, profession-specific policies, the Australian NMP and to achieve QUM but little is known about the needs of refugees from their perspective (McKeary and Newbold, 2010). The aim of this research was to investigate the barriers and enablers experienced by refugees living in a Local Government Area (LGA) of South Australia to accessible, culturally appropriate primary health care services and achieving QUM.

Methods

This research was exploratory and utilised participatory methods during its planning and implementation. Stakeholders providing health and support services to refugees and Local Government staff were consulted during the planning of the research and in developing the discussion topics used during the focus groups. Focus groups are were identified as the most appropriate method to gain in-depth understanding of the women's issues, utilising group work techniques to draw out information from participants and encourage discussion amongst group members. Focus groups are commonly used in social research to collect information and facilitate group discussion as tools of data collection. A large amount of information can be gathered in a short space of time using this method which is also intended to be beneficial to participants as they gain new knowledge. Through mutual stimulation, a group environment encourages discussion, increases motivation to address critical issues, enables the group leader to direct the discussions towards focal points and allows significant points of view to be expressed. Communication between participants is part of the data collected – group processes allow participants to "explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily accessible in a one to one interview" (Kitzinger, 1995). Broad discussion topics allow participants to "explore the issues that are important to them, in their own vocabulary" (Kitzinger, 1995). Listening exercises" such as focus groups, are also useful to help plan "user-driven research" and produce useful and practical outcomes for those involved (Lomas et al, 2003).

During the planning stages of the research informal discussions between the researchers and staff from stakeholder organisations led to consensus about the suitability of the focus group method for refugee participants with the provision that language, gender and power issues were addressed effectively.

Data Analysis

Researchers preserved participant confidentiality and anonymity by removing any identifying information from the raw data. All group discussions were audio-recorded and data was transcribed verbatim and analysed thematically to highlight any common themes within and between groups and any differences.

Inclusion Criteria

Refugee participants were selected for inclusion in the research if they identified as refugees, were eighteen or more years old and were residing in the selected Local Government Area.

Recruiting

Stakeholder organisation staff played an instrumental role in providing access to refugees and assisting to recruit study participants. It is not ethical during a short research project for researchers who do not already have established, personal links to the potential participants to invite them to participate, as they will not have ongoing, regular contact with them and have not established a trust relationship with them. Therefore, staff from stakeholder organisations were vital in assisting researchers to inform their client groups of the research and inviting people to participate.

Ethics

During the planning stages of the research, attention was paid to the need for interpreters. When using focus groups, a shared, common language amongst participants in each group is required for group discussions to produce accurate data. Some of the potential participants in this study were considered by stakeholder organisation staff to be confident and competent in speaking English to participate without an interpreter. Other women who could not speak English were invited to attend groups according to their common language with suitable, accredited interpreters. Country of birth, religion and gender were also considered in grouping people together. These issues were discussed in detail with stakeholder organisation staff before participants were invited, to ensure that no potential issues or potential conflicts were overlooked. When interpreters were used the researchers met with them prior to each group being conducted so that the consent process, the aims of the research and discussion topics could be clearly articulated by the interpreters to the groups.

As well as paying attention to language, gender and power, during the planning stages of the research much consideration was given to developing the group discussion topics in conjunction with stakeholder organisation staff. The focus of the discussions was on present issues directly related to experiences of health services and medicines whilst living in Australia for this reason. If the researchers or interpreters

had became aware that any participants were becoming distressed or upset during the focus groups, they planned to bring the discussion to an immediate close if this was appropriate and/or assist the participant to leave the group setting. If any participants had become distressed they were to be referred to a local, culturally appropriate counselling service and also encouraged to discuss their concerns with their health professional. Participants were also to be given contact information for the Executive Officer of the University of South Australia Human Research Ethics Committee.

While researchers can assure confidentiality and anonymity of the content of focus group discussions through removing identifying material from raw data prior to its analysis it is more difficult to exact confidentiality and anonymity between participants and outside of the group. This issue was discussed with interpreters before the focus groups were held and agreement was gained from them to replicate this discussion with participants during their involvement in data collection. During the focus groups, the researchers and interpreters discussed with participants the importance of keeping the content of the discussions confidential and anonymous between group members and outside of the groups. The researcher or interpreter explained to participants that confidentiality and anonymity would be respected by them, but that they could not control what information participants took outside the group. Participants were encouraged to only offer information that was not too personal to be revealed in the group environment. The purpose and aims of the research and the consent process, including confidentiality and anonymity were explained to participants in everyday language. Great care was taken to ensure that both were understood by participants and that they were comfortable about their participation and the discussion topics. All women provided verbal consent but an option for participants not to sign the consent form was provided.

Results

Four focus groups were conducted during 2010 with 36 refugee participants, three accredited interpreters and one community interpreter. Refugee participants' countries of origin included Africa, Burma, Afghanistan and Bhutan. Group 1 participants were from Sudan, Burundi and Congo and could speak sufficient English to participate without an interpreter. Group 2 women were from Burma and spoke either Chin or Matu. An accredited Matu interpreter and a Chin community interpreter attended this group, as there was no accredited Chin interpreter. Group 3 participants were from Afghanistan and spoke Dari and an accredited interpreter attended this group. Group 4 participants were from Bhutan and spoke Nepali and an accredited interpreter attended this group.

Group 1 – the African group

Ten participants talked about how long they have lived in Australia.

Table 1: Length of time Group 1 participants have resided in Australia

Time	No. of women
8 years	1
6 years	1
4 years	1
2.5 years	1
2 years	3
1.5 years	1
1 year	1
5 months	1
Total	**10**

Five participants joined the group after the introductory session and the consent process was explained to them after the session. There was a total of 15 participants at this session and many children and babies.

Five participants provided information about how many children they have.

Table 2: Group 1 participants' number of children

Children	No. of women
8	2
7	1
4	1
2	1
Total	**5**

The 'family doctor'

The first issue raised by participants was the use of the term 'family doctor' as they were not sure what it meant. One participant said that often they are asked for the name of their family doctor, especially when filling in forms for their children at school, such as consent to go on camps and excursions. Participants also experienced being asked this question when trying to make an appointment at a clinic where there is more than one GP. One participant said, "it's good to have a family doctor all the time if I need to see him you get what you want" and another participant said that going to your family doctor "it is different than just going to a clinic". When talking about the family doctor, one participant said that if she is asked which doctor she would like to see she says "any doctor" to make sure she gets an appointment. The researcher explained that this could refer to the usual doctor you see and participants indicated that they understood this.

In talking about local GP services the majority of participants travelled for long distances from their homes and outside of the LGA to see a GP, participant quotes included:

> Don't know the service here in [LGA] sometimes too difficult
>
> I travel to [another LGA] because feel comfortable
>
> [travelling so far to see a doctor] it's a big problem
>
> I go to the clinic in [another LGA]
>
> If I call my doctor in this area I don't know what's going on

Some participants talked about not being able to understand why you could see some GPs for free and others you had to pay. One participant stated that "it's cheaper to see the doctor if you are not working" and that you "pay at some and not others".

Some participants said that when they take their sick children to the doctor, often they are told to give their child paracetamol and to come back in a couple of days if the child does not get better. Participants were fearful that this could result in their child dying, one participant said, "maybe lose my child".

Two participants talked about their experience of being very sick with malaria and the symptoms of malaria including high fevers. One participant said that the GP did not give her any medicines for her malaria. The other said that the GP she and her husband saw "lived in our country" and knew that her husband's symptoms might be malaria, their GP gave the woman's husband paracetamol.

Another participant described a time when she was "very scared because I can't see anyone" when she was waiting to see a GP for over an hour with her sick child. There was also one participant who said that their child was very sick with fever and vomiting and the GP did not come for three hours so she called an ambulance and even that "take so long". The women agreed that their children are taught how to call an ambulance at school if something is wrong and understood that if you do not belong to the ambulance fund you have to pay a bill. A woman experiencing a migraine said that she was lucky that a friend was able to help her go to the GP because her kids were at school, her husband was at work and she was not in the ambulance fund.

A participant with diabetes and high blood pressure said that she sometimes feels dizzy and if she doesn't feel good and rings the GP she is told that "we don't have any space" and that it would be ok to get to the GP if you had someone to drive you or you were in the ambulance fund. This participant has walked to see the GP and was told this is very dangerous when she is dizzy and that "maybe you die on the road".

Participants talked about buying medicines in the pharmacy and participant comments included:

> If you don't have any people who talk English maybe it is not too good
>
> You have to have to take someone with you [to understand about your medicine]

No women had heard of an interpreter service in the pharmacy or experienced it's use. They explained that they take their children with them to translate what is being said to them and said that the person working there will try to explain to them and help them. One participant commented that the other customers are very friendly too.

Group 2 - from Burma speaking Chin and Matu

Eight participants attended this session and spoke about how long they have been in Australia.

Table 3: Length of time Group 2 participants have resided in Australia

Time	No. of women
15 years	1
4 years	1
3 years	1
2 years	2
1.5 years	2
1 year	1
Total	**8**

All participants talked about how many children they have.

Table 4: Number of children per participant

Children	No. of women
9	1
2	2
1	4
4	1
Total	**8**

Eight participants provided some demographic information. Two women arrived after the introductions and the consent process was explained to them after the session, but they did not provide demographic information. There was a total of ten participants and a few young children present.

One participant said that her case worker helped her to find out where to go to the doctor and that "they [the case worker] help you". Another participant said that the case worker made a GP appointment for her and gave her the address of the GP but did not accompany her to the GP consultation. The women agreed that when they are at the hospital, the "hospital always call the interpreter service" but that this does not happen in the GP clinic – "some clinic doesn't call the interpreter". One participant explained that for the first six months they have a case worker but that after that the case worker "can't help them" so they don't have anyone to help them and that they have to take their husband or child with them to the doctor. It is a time when it's hard to organise anything "then there's no-one". Participants said that people that do not have children ask other new arrivals for help. All participants said that they had not heard of the "I need an interpreter" cards. One participant then said that they can only use these at Centrelink but that they are needed at the bank. Participant quotes describing the use of interpreters include:

> They just go to the clinic, they ask you, they tell you there's no interpreter and you're sent home with no help
>
> I ask for an interpreter and I get one
>
> When we go to the hospital we can't communicate with the doctor so we just go home

Participants said that when they go to the pharmacy to buy medicines, it is the girl at the counter, "the person you pay" who explains, or they "just give you the medicine". Participants had not experienced the use of an interpreter in the pharmacy. Participants understood that there are some doctors you have to pay and don't use them. They also explained that they do not have any trouble paying for their medicines.

One participant told her story about using the ambulance service and receiving a bill. She thought that she had current membership in the fund at the time but did not have anyone to provide assistance to her to telephone the ambulance people to sort out this situation and she said that they "couldn't understand me" and added that "you have to phone [the ambulance] sometimes you can't find a doctor [can't get an appointment when needed]".

Feedback from two interpreters

The interpreter from ITC knew some of the women, but had never been to the stakeholder agency despite having a brother and other friends living in the LGA, whom he visits. The researcher offered to put him in touch with the agency, he thought that many more people would use the services if they knew about them and that most people attend church, but not very many access the supports. He said that Church and community leaders are important people to give information and if they tell people it is a good idea to access the services people would be much more likely to go.

> It was very good for the women to be able to talk, and talk in their own language, it does not happen very often, they mostly just have to listen
>
> It was very good and there was good participation by the group

Group 3 – from Afghanistan, speaking Dari

Three participants talked about how long they have lived in Australia

Table 5 – Length of time Group 3 participants have lived in Australia

Time in Australia	No. of women
3 years	1
2.5 years	2
Total	**3**

Four participants talked about how many children they have

Table 6 – Number of participants' children

Children	No. of women
5	1
4	2
3	1
Total	**4**

One participant arrived after the introductions and consent was explained after the session. This participant did not provide demographic information or wish to sign consent forms but gave verbal consent.

One participant said that she had seen a local doctor and an interpreter was used. Another participant, with diabetes, said that she does not understand why some doctors charge you for an appointment and others do not and that she cannot afford to pay anything, as a result she has not been to the doctor for four months. This participant said that she has a health care card. Other participants agreed that the cost of seeing the GP is the main barrier.

A third participant who said that she has diabetes explained that her sugar levels are high since being in Australia, she has depression and only sometimes sees the doctor regarding her depression. One participant said that she travels to the city to see her doctor, that it takes a long time to get there and back and two participants said that when they have been to the city to see a doctor interpreters are used. One of these participants said that "when see doctor close to my place here, sometimes yes, sometimes no interpreter. People talked about experiencing language problems "everywhere they go" not just in the GP clinic and about feeling very frustrated when this happens.

One participant said that in the pharmacy "we just put our prescriptions there, bring the medicines home and the children read the label". Others talked about needing their children to translate and interpret for them and quotes include:

> My daughter without her I can't do anything, shopping, money
>
> [if children refuse] no other way we don't know what to do
>
> Sometimes children have to be forced to help

The interpreter said that the women did not know what I was talking about when I asked them about the "I need an interpreter card", and that the only one they have is the one Centrelink gave them and they use it there. One participant said that "its too much bother, we just can't do it all, there are so many problems".

One participant said that "if there's any way of solving language problems it's really good". Another participant said that it is good to sit together and talk about problems.

Information supplied by interpreter

The interpreter said that two of the participants said they had been to the city 'to hospital', but 'they can't remember they have appointments and the social worker rings them the day before to remind them'. Also that many of the women are here without their husbands and that the men who are here are not interested in coming to groups, many of them work, speak and practice their English, make friends, and get on better (than the women). He said that many of the participants lived in rural areas in Afghanistan and had never been to a town or city, have had little or no education and could not read and write in their own language or English and that "these people find it very difficult".

Group 4 – from Bhutan speaking Nepali

The first comments made by participants were that "if you understand with interpreter that will be good" and "it is good to practice English". After the consent process was explained to the women, they were asked to sign a consent form. There was much excitement and laughter in the group at this time. One of the women explained that "when we left our country we were forced to sign the paper and I remember those days but it is not that way now". Another participant said "back there we don't understand what we were signing but we are happy today".

All participants talked about how long they have lived in Australia, how many children they have and two participants said that their husband's mother was also living with them in Australia.

Table 7 – Participants length of stay in Australia, number of children and relatives living with them in Australia

Time in Australia	No. of Children	Relatives
1 year 4 months	6	Mother-in- law
2 years	2	
1 year	3	Mother-in-law
13 months	1	
6 months	2	

Two women did not wish to sign consent forms. There were no children or babies present at this session.

One participant said that since she has been in Australia she has not faced any problems in seeing a GP, while another she said that "I have to go quite often to GP". Other participant quotes included

> I ring the doctor and make an appointment and sometimes nowadays my husband rings
>
> My volunteer took me to the GP first and then after I can go myself – it's near to my place
>
> Don't go to the GP frequently but if needed know where to go

Participants were asked if interpreters are used in the GP clinic and they agreed that interpreters are used but complained that they are often late. The women said that they ask for an interpreter when they are booking their appointments. It was agreed by participants that interpreters are used in the hospital, but only when they request them.

One participant explained, "I am not allowed to change my GP so I can see someone nearer home" and that she had been asking at the GP clinic to change GPs for six months. She also wanted to send her health records to the new GP. The woman was asked if she had talked to the agency staff about this and she said that she did not want to talk to them about this problem and that she "don't want to make trouble with the doctor" either. She said that she talked to her teacher in class (unsure what class the woman participates in) and he also told her that this situation is wrong and that she should be free to see the GP of her choice.

One participant was asking if she could get more paracetamol without a prescription. It was explained that you do not need a prescription to buy paracetamol and this is available in the supermarket and the pharmacy. The woman was talking about having to buy all the medicines prescribed at one time and that she did not want to do this. The difference between paracetamol and prescribed pain killers was explained to her, as well as the importance of following the instructions for this medicine, including the maximum dose per day. The woman said that she gives this medicine to others so some advice was provided about the need to be cautious about doing this. There was further confusion amongst participants about needing a new prescription and repeat prescriptions.

One participant said that she had experienced talking with the pharmacist "the person in the white dress". She also said that she has asthma, and asked if there was a cure. This participant said that she does not go to the doctor for monitoring of her asthma.

When the participants were asked if there were any questions at the end of the session, one participant said that "I understand the importance of using an interpreter" and could I please help them with information about getting a job. Another participant said "thank you for providing us with new information". The participants asked if they could listen to the voice recording at the end and there was much laughter at hearing their own voices.

Feedback from interpreter

The interpreter explained that he had lived in a in a Nepalese refugee camp for 15 years before coming to Australia and that he had received his education there, as had the majority of their community. He said that older people/parents often never learn English and rely solely on their children for interpreting and translating. The interpreter has worked in all hospitals in Adelaide and an eye specialist in Salisbury, but only in one GP clinic in Salisbury

Commonalities between groups

Groups 2 and 3

The biggest single barrier for these participants when requiring health care was not being to speak or understand the English language sufficiently to make a GP appointment.

Groups 1, 2 and 3

Participants agreed that they had experienced many occasions where an interpreter was not organised for them and that often interpreting was conducted by their children. One participant said that she had attended a GP appointment but left without receiving any attention because she could not make herself understood to the clinic staff or the GP and she could not understand them. Many participants could not understand why some appointments cost them money and others did not.

All Groups

The majority of participants across groups, including the community interpreter and one accredited interpreter had not heard of the "I need an interpreter" card. A small number of participants said that Centrelink gave them the card but thought it was only for use at Centrelink. Language was consistently cited as a barrier to activities, not only in accessing health care, including when shopping, banking and looking for work. A number of participants across all groups had experienced dissatisfaction with the health services they have received especially when their children are sick being told to "give Panadol and come back if the child gets worse" and then worrying that their child might die. Participants talked about travelling long distances to access GPs that speak their language or a GP that was "good".

No participants had experienced the use of an interpreter in the pharmacy setting when purchasing prescription or over-the-counter medicines. Participants talked about not receiving any medicines information or only basic instructions such as when to take the medicine and how much to take. Reasons given for this included the inability to speak, understand or read English. The majority of participants said that when they were given any information it was the "girl behind the counter taking money" who tried to talk with them rather than the pharmacist, "the one in a white dress" at the back of the pharmacy. Some participants were confused about the difference between prescription and non-prescription medicines or how the prescription system works.

During the introductions, women were asked if they would like to say their name, where they live, how long they have lived in Australia and whether or not they have children and how many. The women took this opportunity to speak in English, encouraged and supported by each other. To say my name is …, I live in …, I have been here for … years and I have … children. Participants laughed and talked in their own language during this process.

Discussion

Language and use of interpreters

The most common difficulties for refugees related to health care are language and communication (Neale, 2007). Language difficulties and the need for interpreter services are consistently noted in the literature as key systemic barriers to health care and one of the most significant access barriers (Harper and McCourt, 2002). In the GP clinic it is unclear who is responsible for initiating interpreter services and there is a lack of practice systems to support staff in this area. Only a small number of participants in the current study reported initiating interpreters. In the pharmacy setting little is known about initiating interpreter services, how they are used and barriers faced by pharmacy staff and pharmacists. Further research is required to better understand the reasons why health care practitioners do not uniformly register for and use services such as those provided by the Australian Government, through TIS. To be successfully implemented, health reform processes require specific attention to aligning more closely with the needs of refugees (Jowsey et al, 2011).

Use of existing resources

The use of existing services and resources is one of the principles of QUM. There are many resources available to assist non-English speaking people and health practitioners and their staff to communicate more effectively both in writing and verbally. Pam Garrett from the Simpson Centre for Health Services Research at the University of New South Wales has proposed an evidence-based model for interpreter service policy accompanied by a number of suggestions for future policy directions aimed at ensuring patient safety. The Victorian Government, Centre for Culture, Ethnicity and Health produced a Language Services Series in 2010 called "Developing a Comprehensive Language Services Response".

The Response describes language services, assessing the need for an interpreter, arranging an interpreter and working with interpreters and is a comprehensive, practical tool that could be used by GP clinic and pharmacy staff. Consumer Medicines Information (CMI) is available for all medicines dispensed in pharmacies, but are not always automatically provided to patients by GPs or pharmacists. CMIs are available in some languages other than English but not in any of the languages spoken by participants. The Interpreting and Translating Centre (ITC) in South Australia provides both translating services and telephone/face to face interpreting services in all languages spoken by participants except Chin, and that is why a community interpreter was employed during the study. There is no facility available to pharmacists to translate medicines labels into different languages. "Point to your language" signs in various languages can help to identify what language people speak. "I need an interpreter" cards and translating and interpreting services are all freely available. It appears that there is not a shared understanding, knowledge or routine application of resources like these to improve access to health care, culturally appropriate services, health literacy or medicines use.

Education, literacy and health literacy

English language acquisition is crucial for the successful settlement and community participation of refugees in Australia. The New South Wales Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS) attributes barriers to learning English as literacy in the first language of refugees and limited or no education (2008). Physical and mental health problems, negatively impacted on by torture and trauma are also barriers to learning English. In the current study, participants from Nepalese camps experienced the least difficulty in accessing GPs and using interpreters. These camps were once put forward as a United Nations best practice model because of the inclusion of education and health services, generally providing a good standard of living. Refugees from Nepal camps have been arriving in Australia during the last three years and typically lived in the camps for approximately 15 years. Other participants in the current study who could speak English and some of those who could not continue to grapple with the complexities of being told that they cannot see a doctor when needed and then did not seem to have the capacity to deal with this situation. Refugees need increased supports to access education, learn English and how the appointment system works, to initiate interpreter services and improve their health literacy. STARRTS recommend an expansion to the number of hours available for clients to access the program as one strategy to increase participation in the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) (2008). If GPs, their staff, pharmacists and their staff are also educated and supported to recognise and respond to refugee patients, it is more likely, with the two approaches combined, that access to health services would improve.

Location and Affordability

Appropriate and accessible local services are needed by refugees to reduce the time and costs of travelling to GP clinics that suit their needs, enabling them to attend clinics that bulk-bill if cost is a barrier and accessing medicines information in the pharmacy. Refugees and refugee support agencies require information about local services including which ones will assist them with interpreters, those that bulk-bill and an increased understanding of health care cards and their use and the ambulance fund to ensure that refugees are not going without health services and medicines.

Limitations

Using interpreters approximately doubled the length of time estimated to cover all of the discussion topics. Explaining the consent process thoroughly, took longer than anticipated. Not all women provided information about how long they have lived in Australia or how many children they have but this did not appear to influence their experiences of access to health care service, use of medicines or their capacity to speak English. Discussion of basic access barriers and medicines use, dominated the conversations, even with Groups 1 and 4, speaking in English with no interpreter and those with better education. Further research is required to better understand the cultural appropriateness of services that are received.

Conclusion

Refugees are not a homogeneous group however, they have specific physical and mental health needs and face barriers to accessing appropriate, timely primary health care, negatively impacted on by a lack of English speaking skills and/or education. A core requirement of Australia's NMP is access to medicines. The quality use of medicines is central to the NMP and the access barriers described by participants in this study prevent the achievement of the quality use of medicines. As well as being provided with the most appropriate treatment, to achieve QUM patients must be provided with the knowledge and skills to use their medicines safely and effectively, through good communication with health practitioners and their staff.

The QUM Building Blocks have been shown to be useful in planning interventions and implementing policy in the health arena. Suggested solutions to some of the issues raised by participants in this study have the potential to inform further research and an implementation project. Better understanding is required of the issues from the perspective of GP clinic and pharmacy staff, including GPs and pharmacists, receptionists, practice managers, practice nurses and pharmacy assistants. These broad recommendations, organised using the QUM Building Blocks, could then be used as a basis for bringing about change to increase refugee access to health care and achieve the quality use of medicines.

1. **Policy development and implementation**(policy and protocols that support QUM)
    - GP and pharmacy organisations to review their national policies and procedures for working with non-English speaking patients and the use of interpreters through consulting their stakeholder groups
    - GP and pharmacy organisations to develop and implement standards and accreditation for working with non-English speaking patients
    - National training designed and delivered to GP clinic and pharmacy staff to recognise and respond appropriately to non-English speaking patients
    - Individual GP clinics and pharmacies to implement national policies and procedures for use of interpreters
    - Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme to include medicines needed by refugees.

2. **Facilitation and Coordination** of QUM initiatives (ways to advance and coordinate activities within their organisation or practice and with other health professionals and organisations)
    - National, State and local mechanisms to facilitate, coordinate and promote the use of interpreters in GP clinics and pharmacies
    - Appropriate remuneration and incentive for GP clinics and pharmacies to access interpreters and utilise translated medicines information and labels
    - All GP clinics and pharmacies register with TIS

3. **Provision of objective information** and assurance of ethical promotion of medicines; (access to information that supports best practice)
    - CMI translated into prevalent refugee languages including but not limited to Chin, Matu, Dari and Nepali
    - Pharmacists to meet their responsibility to distribute CMI
    - Capacity for pharmacists to print translated medicines labels
    - GP and pharmacy organisations to produce resource for each LGA to identify where GP clinics and pharmacies are located, contact details and maps regarding those GP clinics that bulk-bill and all locations registered for TIS

4. **Education and training**; (access to education and training that supports best practice)

    For the community – raise awareness about the use of interpreters in all settings.

    For consumers - Design and deliver health literacy course for new arrivals to include:
    - Childhood illness
    - Managing pain and fever
    - Difference between prescription and non-prescription medicines
    - Importance of not sharing medicines, especially prescription

- Explanation of bulk billing, Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, ambulance service and cover, generic medicines, over the counter medicines
- List of GP clinics in each LGA indicating those that bulk bill and those registered for TIS
- appointment system
- I need an interpreter card, asking for an interpreter and settings where you can ask for an interpreter
- Use of existing resources, including "point to your language" signs
- Information about TIS and ITC

For health practitioners and practice/pharmacy staff – design and deliver training to identify and respond appropriately to non-English speaking patients, Include training for undergraduate GPs and pharmacists

For refugee support and health agencies – how to access interpreter service and pass on information to clients/patients

5. **Provision of services and appropriate interventions** (the ability to access or provide services and interventions that support QUM)

- ITC to train and employ a Chin interpreter
- Routinely provide verbal/translated medicines information to all patients using TIS when needed

6. **Strategic research, evaluation and routine data collection**.(routine evaluation of practices to ensure QUM is being achieved)

- Work closely with GP and pharmacy organisations and those that provide support and health services to refugees to gain a better understanding of their needs and those of refugees to access health services and the quality use of medicines
- ITC and TIS to collect data about where they provide services and provide to GP and pharmacy organisations and the public
- GP and pharmacy organisations to establish and maintain a National database of practices and pharmacies use of TIS
- Develop and test a set of indicators to measure improvement in the use of interpreting and translating services in the GP clinic and pharmacy
- Re-measure the indicators of a set period of time

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Appendix A - Discussion topics for refugee focus groups

Introduction and explanation of anonymity and confidentiality, focus of the discussion and consent process will be given by researchers/interpreters.

Participant introductions – would people like to tell the group their name and something about themselves such as:

- What country you have come from
- What family members you have here with you
- How long you have been in Australia
- Where you are living now

While you have been in Australia and thinking about living in LGA, can you think of a time when you/your child/family member have not felt well, have been sick or have had an illness? Prompts:

- What happened
- What made you get sick, why did you get sick
- What did you do, what happened
- What did this mean for the rest of the family

Can you talk about a time when you have been to a doctor, health service or the hospital, or have been to a pharmacy? Prompts:

- What made you seek out help
- How did you find out about it/know about where to go
- Where was it in relation to where you are living, was it easy/hard to get there
- How did you get there
- Did you need to pay for it, could you afford it
- Did you see a male or female and what did this mean for you
- What happened when you were there, what was it like for you
- What was good about it
- What was not so good about it

Can you talk about any medicines you have used while you have been in Australia? Prompts:

- What was the medicine for
- Where did you get the medicine from
- If it was a traditional/complementary medicine did you know what it was for, how to take it, how did you know
- If it was western medicine, did the person who gave it to you explain what it was for, how to take it, side-effects
- Did it make you better
- What were the best things about getting the medicine and taking it
- What were the things that were not so good about getting the medicine and taking it

BROADER CONTEXTS OF SKILLED MIGRATION IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Dr Kelly Parker - Research Associate, National Centre for Social Applications of GIS
Australian Abroad: the forgotten migrants

Introduction

Emigration of Australians is an area of Australia's migration situation that receives little attention relative to immigration issues. Australian emigration and diaspora deserve more notice as the number of Australians emigrating and living overseas is increasing and Australian's who leave the country on a long term or permanent basis are often of working age and have highly skilled characteristics. Australian emigrants should be viewed as a valuable human resource for Australia; they foster international networks that are important to Australia, they contribute to Australia's global reputation and they continue to identify with Australia as their home country. The diaspora also want to continue to engage with Australia from afar and perhaps return to live with their enhanced set of skills and international experiences at some point in the future.

The number of Australia-born permanent departures have been increasing every year since the early 1990's with 42,570 in the year 2009-10. In the same year there were also approximately 81,500 Australia resident long-term departures[3]. Around half of these permanent and long-term departures were employed in skilled occupations (DIAC 2010). The number of long-term departures of Australian residents have been generally rising over time with a decrease in the number of departures over the past two years. Australian long-term and permanent departures are most often going to other high income, English speaking countries, namely the UK, the US or New Zealand (Hugo, Rudd et al. 2001 p.102; Hugo, Rudd et al. 2003; DIAC 2007; DIAC 2007). In 2009-10 the top three destinations of Australia-born permanent emigrants were the New Zealand (17.6 percent), the UK (17 percent) and the US (9.1 percent) (DIAC 2010).

This increasing number of long-term and permanent departures from Australia results in a growing number of Australians living overseas. There are an estimated 1 million Australians living overseas (Southern Cross Group 2002; Hugo, Rudd et al. 2003; Hugo 2005; Advance 2006; Fullilove 2008 p.106). This means that relative to Australia's total national population, more than four percent of Australians are living outside of Australia (Hugo, Rudd et al. 2003; Fullilove and Flutter 2004; Hugo 2006; Fullilove 2008).

This paper looks at the experiences of Australians living in one of the most popular countries of destination for highly skilled Australians, the United States of America (US). Data from a survey of 1,581

[3] Long-term movements are intended or actual movements at least 12 months in duration, but not permanent..

Australians living in the US undertaken in 2006 will be explored, with some focus on emigrants from South Australia (n = 109). Reasons for moving from Australia to the US, plans for future residence, visits to Australia, and long distance ties and connections kept with Australia will be examined. The paper will also examine survey respondent's opinion on how their experiences as migrants may be of benefit to Australia. When appropriate, comparisons will be made between total survey respondents and those from South Australia. In light of these results the paper will engage in a discussion about how Australia could do more to foster a beneficial and productive relationship with its diaspora.

Australians in the US

Long-term and permanent departures to the US have accounted for over ten percent of all Australia-born resident long-term and permanent departures in the past decade. Movement to the US from Australia is often for business and employment related reasons, due to the growing strength of economic ties between Australia and the US. Therefore many of Australia's diaspora members who are living in the US are highly skilled.

The Australians in the US Survey (AUSS) was developed to explore the actions, opinions and characteristics of the Australian diaspora in the US at the micro level, across a range of themes. The major themes explored in the survey were:

- Reasons for movement;
- Connections with Australia; transnational networks and identifications maintained with Australia;
- Mobility patterns; between Australia and the US and to other countries.

Survey respondents were also asked to their opinions on how their presence in the US may be of benefit to Australia.

This survey was delivered in an online format and made available to any Australians living in the United States[4]. A number of organisations (20) with links to Australians living in the US assisted in distributing the questionnaire, with links to the survey given through organisation newsletters, websites and email send outs. In total 1,581 valid surveys were returned. In addition to the mainly quantitative data gathered in the survey questionnaire, a number of in-person interviews (n=17) were undertaken. The data collected from these interviews help to flesh out some of the experiences and opinions of Australians surveyed.

Characteristics and Reasons for Moving

To provide context, some basic characteristics of the AUSS survey sample are shown in Box 1. Of note is that the majority of respondents in the prime workforce age of 25 – 59, most who are employed are working in highly-skilled occupations, and over one-third of survey respondents have a postgraduate

[4] More than 98 percent of survey respondents were Australia-born and/or an Australian citizen.

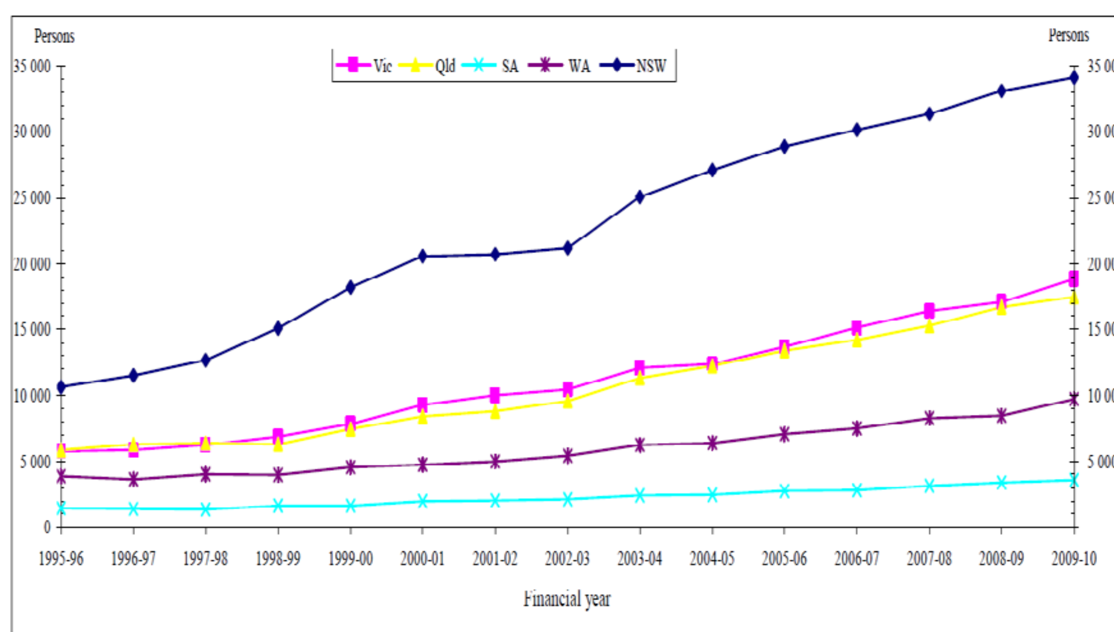
degree. This is in accordance with general characteristics of Australian emigrants; many are young and highly skilled.

Box 1: Select characteristics of AUSS respondents (n=1 581)

- 51% females, 48% males
- 91% between the ages of 25-59
- 82% employed – of this group 81% employed in highly-skilled occupations
- 35% have a postgraduate degree
- 33% earning incomes of ≥ US$100,000 per year
- Most respondents were living in the US States of California (18%) and New York (13%)
- Most respondents had been living in the Australian States of New South Wales (41%) and Victoria (24%) before their move to the US; 7% from SA

Just 7 percent of respondents (n=109) were living in the state of South Australia before their move to the US. When AUSS survey data is compared with Overseas Arrival and Departures data for Australian long-term and permanent departures over the same period, this proportion of departures from South Australia is approximately the same (DIAC 2007). The ranking of States/Territories of departure from Australia are also closely aligned with the proportion of the Australian population living in these States/Territories. Sydney and Melbourne were the most popular cities of residence among AUSS respondents before their move to the US. Figure 1 shows most permanent departures from Australia since 1995-96 are residents of New South Wales, followed by Victoria and Queensland. The number of permanent departures from South Australia has remained relatively stable over the past 15 years, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: State/Territories of Residence 1995-96 to 2009-10 Permanent Departures



Source: Extracted from DIAC 2010, Emigration Australia 2009-10

The question relating to State/Territory of previous residence was asked in such a way in the AUSS survey that 'stepping-stone' migration patterns within Australia before moving to the US are not captured. Respondents who originate from South Australia, for example, but who had already moved to pursue other prospects in Sydney of Melbourne before moving to the US would be recorded as coming from New South Wales or Victoria. There is a clear trend in out-movement from South Australia to other States and Territories (Hugo 2002). Since the late 1970's there has almost always been an annual net loss of persons moving interstate, and about half of these interstate movers are young adults heading to other capital cities (ABS 2010). Therefore the number of survey respondents who orignate in South Australia may be underrepresented.

Reasons for Moving from Australia

International experience, marriage/partnership, employment opportunities and career and promotion opportunities are all important drivers of movement for Australians who have moved to the US, as shown in Table 1. Other studies of the Australian diaspora have also found these to be the main reasons for moves away from Australia (Hugo, Rudd et al. 2001; Rudd and Hugo 2007). Moves for marriage/partnership are clearly based on individual circumstance and movement by way of a network with their spouse, while moves for employment opportunities and career and promotion opportunities are influenced by structural forces such as internationalisation of workforces and business networks.

When comparing responses of all persons surveyed to those of migrants from South Australia only, it is clear the top reasons for movement away from Australia are the same, however marriage/partnership as a reason for moving was more important to South Australians compared to survey respondents as a whole.

Table 1: Reasons for a Move to the US, Total and South Australian respondents

	Total % **(n=1 581)**	**SA %** **(n=109)**
International experience	43	39
Marriage/partnership	37	40
Employment opportunities	33	31
Career and promotion opportunities	28	23
Professional development	26	23

Source: AUSS 2006

Reasons for moving only tell part of the story as to how these Australians ended up living in the US. Migrant networks are well documented as influential in encouraging mobility by lowering the financial and social cost of migration by helping in job searches, finding accommodation, and acting as a source of social support (Massey and Espana 1987; Boyd 1989; Massey, Arango et al. 1998; Iredale 1999; Meyer 2001; Vertovec 2002; Liang and Chunyu 2005; Epstein and Gang 2006). Some 70 percent of AUSS

respondents had contacts in place in the US before moving there and existing networks in the US are how many learned of opportunities that encouraged a move there.

Transnational Experiences of Australians living in the US

While Australians are living in the US they keep a range of connections with Australia including long-distance networks and return visits to Australia. These networks are channels for knowledge and information transfer to take place. Networks have come to be seen as a form of social capital which is as valuable as financial and human capital assets (Bourdieu 1986; Portes 1998). In the AUSS sample, most respondents keep linkages with other Australians living in the US (77 percent) and the vast majority keep networks with Australia from afar (94 percent). Almost all AUSS respondents who keep networks with Australia from afar keep social networks (99 percent), and informational/current affairs links and employment links are also fairly common (55 percent and 40 percent respectively keep these types of networks). Most respondents are in contact with Australia at least once per week. Maintaining employment networks with Australia is also seen by many as important to keeping the option of return migration to Australia a possibility at some time in the future.

In addition to maintaining long-distance networks, most Australians surveyed return to Australia to visit thereby keeping a tangible connection to Australia and strengthening connections and relationships. The vast majority of AUSS respondents (85 percent) have returned to Australia to visit since moving overseas and nearly half of all respondents have made four or more visits to Australia. Additionally 16 percent have made a non-permanent return move to Australia to live for a period of time. Data from AUSS sample confirm that highly-skilled individuals, and those moving for employment related reasons, are more frequently mobile.

Another very important consideration is that diaspora members continue to strongly identify with Australia as their home. Approximately 80 percent of AUSS respondents said they 'still consider Australia to be their home'.

Future Plans

Much migration is not intended to be permanent, particularly between developed nations, since migrants moving between these countries know they can return to the country of origin at any time (Gold 1997; Green, Power et al. 2008). However, more than 60 percent of all AUSS respondents said they were staying away from Australia for longer than originally intended; about one-third of respondents said there had been no change to their intended length of stay. In fact comments from some AUSS respondents make it clear that many did not have specific intentions in terms of the duration of their stay at the outset of their migration journey and are open to staying overseas longer if suitable opportunities arise:

> *This offer looked attractive so I thought I'd come out for maybe 12 months…and then another 12 months…and maybe another 12 months after that…*
>
> *Bradley, age 50, California, has been living in the US 23 years*

When asked about future plans, approximately one-third of AUSS respondents plan to return to Australia to live in the future, 25 percent plan to stay in the US permanently, and 32 percent are undecided about their future plans. It is interesting to note that compared to respondents from other Australian States/Territories, those from South Australia are less likely to plan to return to Australia to live in the future (Table 2).

Table 2: 'Yes' plan to return to Australia by state left when moved to the US

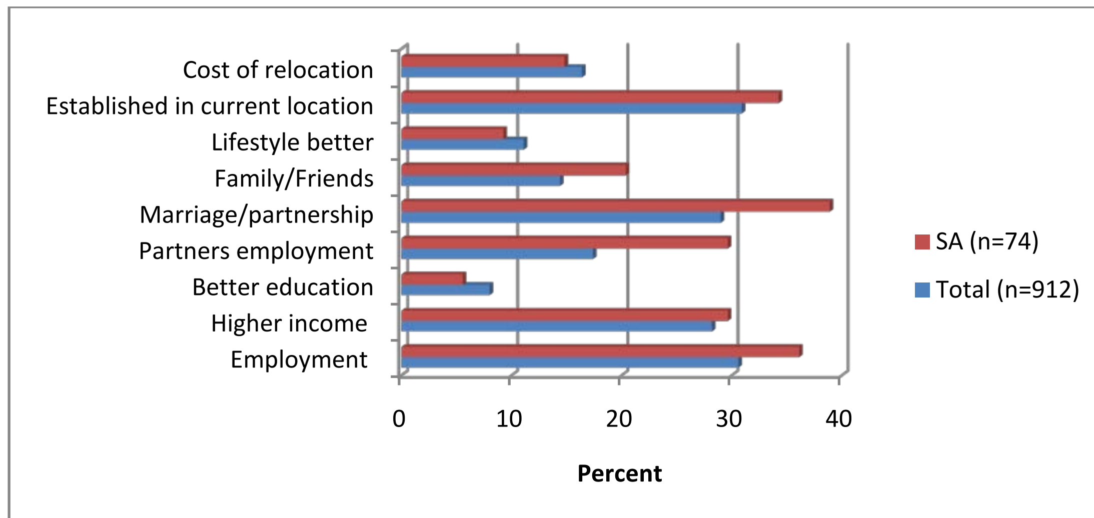
	n	%
New South Wales	190	38.5
Victoria	129	35.7
Queensland	73	40.1
Western Australia	53	46.1
South Australia	**34**	**31.5**
ACT	22	38.6
Tasmania	6	40.0
Northern Territory	6	60.0

Source: AUSS 2006

AUSS respondents who do plan to return to Australia at some point in the future or who are undecided about their future plans were asked the reasons they would consider returning to Australia. It is apparent there are vastly different drivers for moving overseas compared to returning to Australia. While work and gaining international experience are the most important drivers of emigration from Australia, family and friends and lifestyle are by far the most important factors encouraging return to Australia. When responses are compared across different Australian States of planned return it is interesting to note that 'work opportunities' are more important to Australians planning to return to South Australia compared to those returning to other States/Territories. 'End of Employment Contract' is also a more common reason for return for those from South Australia, which perhaps indicates more emigrants from South Australia had moved to the US on a fixed-term contract compared to those from other States.

Survey respondents who said they do *not* intend to return to Australia were also asked the reasons for this. Figure 2 shows the reasons for non-return to Australia given by South Australians and total respondents. For all of those surveyed, being established in their current location, employment and income reasons are the most influential in discouraging return to Australia. South Australians are more likely to say marriage/partnership is a reason for non-return (this makes sense in light of the fact that more survey respondents from South Australia moved to the US for marriage/partnership). Employment and partner's employment are also more important reasons for not planning to return for South Australians compared to total respondents.

Figure 2: Reason for NOT planning to return to Australia, Total and respondents from South Australia[1]



[1] Includes respondents who plan to live in the US permanently or are undecided in their future plans

Source: AUSS 2006

There are many benefits to Australia should members of the diaspora decide to return with enhanced skills, experiences and assets gained overseas. Comments from some AUSS respondents express this:

> *I will eventually bring accumulated wealth to Australia and feed into economy.*
> *Joe, age 36, California, first arrived in the US nine years ago*

> *I am earning income that will in future be used to purchase assets in Australia.*
> *Ava, age 53, New Jersey, has been living in the US five years*

It is important to consider that many migrants have an open attitude towards their future plans; if desirable opportunities continue to exist overseas diaspora members will be willing to take them, just like they may be willing to take any desirable opportunities back in Australia. It is important that Australian employers consider this and view skilled Australians living and working overseas as a part of the wider Australian talent pool. If the diaspora are presented with suitable work opportunities back in Australia this would facilitate return movement of those who are open to the idea. This is articulated by some AUSS respondents:

> *How do we get more resources for making good decisions to move home? More resources [are needed] to transition expats who'd like to move back but have been gone so long and feel disconnected from working in Australia.*
> *Dan, age 42, Washington, has been living in the US 11 years*

At one time I explored the possibility of returning to Australia, but was discouraged by the fact that additional qualifications I had gained in the US were not recognized in Australia.
Brett, 68, OR, has been living in the US 32 years

Many Australians I know in the US would like to move home but are concerned that they will be penalized professionally. There is a perception that Australian business does not value international experience as much as experience gained in Australia.
Mel, age 35, Washington DC, first arrived in the US 14 years ago

Perceived Benefits to Australia

The positive potential of diasporas has been widely discussed in recent literature (see for example Meyer and Brown 1999; Meyer 2001; Cervantes and Guellec 2002; Migration Policy Institute 2003; Fullilove and Flutter 2004; Hugo 2006). What is often neglected in this area of research is the voice of migrants themselves and their opinion about if and how they, and the countries they are moving between, stand to benefit from their experiences. According to the African Diaspora Policy Centre (ADPC):

This reality makes it impossible to design appropriate policy instruments without tapping creatively into the input and intellectual resources of the diasporas whose wealth of knowledge and practical experiences are largely undercapitalized.

Discussing strategies towards better engagement between the country of origin and the diaspora, with members of the diaspora itself, provides insider information to inform policy and theory (ADPC 2007; Mohamoud 2007). A view from migrants that their activities are potentially beneficial to the countries they are moving between is a starting point in making positive exchange with the diaspora a reality. AUSS respondents were asked if and how they felt their experiences as a member of the Australian diaspora living in the US may benefit Australia (Table 3). The majority of AUSS respondents do think Australia stands to benefit from their presence overseas. Increasing knowledge about another country, encouraging goodwill towards Australia and acquiring skills that are transferable back to Australia are seen by diaspora members in the US as the greatest potential benefits to Australia.

Table 3: Respondent opinion on how Australia could benefit from their presence in the US as a member of the diaspora[1]

	%
Increase knowledge about Australians in the US	81.0
Encouraging goodwill towards Australia	69.3
Skills and experience transferable back to Australia	63.6
Creating useful contacts for other Australians	52.4
Creating links with US organisation	40.3

[1]Question only applicable to respondents who said their experiences in the US benefit Australia (n=986)
Note: Respondents could select all that apply
Source: AUSS 2006

These positive outcomes to Australia are interpreted by respondents in terms of both individual growth and more generally by way of enhancing a global viewpoint of populations in Australia and/or the US. The following comments show how this benefit is interpreted and perceived as useful to Australia:

> *I am gaining an understanding about the world from another perspective, which I hope I'll someday be able to use in expanding the understanding and attitude of Australians to other countries.*
> *Sally, age 29, California, has been living in the US four years*

> *I feel like I am an ambassador for the greatest country in the world and enjoy broadening Americans views of my homeland.*
> *Ben, age 41, Pennsylvania, has been living in the US 10 years*

The Australian Emigration Survey (Hugo, Rudd et al. 2003) and the One Million More Census of overseas Australians Abroad (OMM) asked a similar question of their respondents in an attempt to gain migrant perspective on the potential advantages to Australia from their living overseas. Nearly 80 percent of Australian Emigration Survey respondents thought Australia could benefit from their presence overseas; 'creating goodwill towards Australia' and 'skills transferable back to Australia' were seen to be the biggest potential advantages to Australia by this group (Hugo, Rudd et al. 2003 p.47). OMM respondents said 'sharing knowledge about Australia' and 'gaining skills to take back to Australia upon return' were the biggest potential benefits to Australia from their experiences; over half of all respondents also felt they were 'Ambassadors for Australia' in their country of destination (Hugo and Rudd 2007).

Implications for Australia

These results demonstrate diaspora members do think about how the experiences they are having as Australians living overseas translate more broadly into real outcomes for themselves as international migrants and for the countries they are moving between. They are therefore a valuable resource of information and their input should be sought on relevant issues, including the formation of policy about the Australian diaspora. The Senate Inquiry into Australian expatriates in 2005 (Parliament of Australia 2005 p.123) agrees 'consultation with groups from the expatriate community' should be a part of creating appropriate policies related to these populations.

There should be more clarification from Australia as to how Australians living overseas fit in as a valuable asset to the country. The following are some recommendations as to how Australia could better engage with its diaspora:

- Provide transparent information to the diaspora about their rights and responsibilities (e.g. voting, retirement funding, citizenship);
- Foster a positive attitude in Australia towards the diaspora (e.g. public recognition of achievements, funding of periodic return);

- Increase awareness of opportunities for transnational networking;
- Ensure minimal deterrents to return mobility;
- Provide transparency into the Australian job market;
- Recognize overseas qualifications and experience as valuable in Australia;
- Improve data collection and research about Australian emigration and diaspora

Australia stands to benefit economically from remaining connected to its diaspora, particularly because many Australians have moved overseas for work and are highly-skilled.

It would be to Australia's advantage to conceptualise the diaspora as a valuable asset for Australia and get this message across to diaspora members in order to encourage engagement. It is also essential that emigration and diaspora research and data collection continue to be undertaken so updated information is available to inform practical strategies towards understanding and engaging with Australia's diaspora.

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There is currently a global market for International Medical Graduates or Overseas Trained Doctors in which Australia must compete. These doctors undertake a major role in the provision of primary health care, especially in rural and remote areas. In fact, in some Australian locations the only doctors available have come from overseas. It is clear that International Medical Graduates (IMGs) will remain an integral part of the rural and remote medical workforce on an on-going basis due to an inability to recruit enough Australian rural pathway students into medicine.

This paper highlights the voices of six International Medical Graduates in general practice who took part in a focus group to explore their experiences of living and working in Australia. Doctors from overseas arrive in Australia often unprepared for life in an Australian community and unprepared for medical practice in the unique Australian context. Once in Australia, with some minimal supervision and scarce information, they are expected to basically 'sink or swim'. Focus group participants raised several critical issues which must not only impact on their integration into and retention in rural practice, but also on the very wellbeing of the doctors and their families.

BACKGROUND

The registration processes for IMGs wishing to practice in Australia can be arduous and confusing. In fact, according to Harris: 'for decades, overseas doctors have been faced with a registration system with as many twists and turns as a diseased vascular system'[5]. For example, Dr Douglas a Canadian doctor with 16 years clinical experience practising in Canberra had medicare withdraw her provider eligibility after she made application to become a permanent resident. Dr Douglas believed that the action was due to a lengthy dispute with the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners (RACGP) over her Canadian qualifications. Dr Douglas stated that she was: 'just blind-sided' and that this action was 'absolutely absurd and illogical'. Mark Metherell reports that this occurred just when Dr Douglas 'thought she had finally overcome Australia's dysfunctional treatment of foreign doctors'[6]. A press release from the Australian Doctors Trained Overseas Association (ADTOA) mentions several government sponsored commissions that have investigated the IMG registration system. Comments from these investigations described Australia's assessment of IMGs as 'racially discriminatory' 'unfair' 'unreasonable' and even 'unlawful'[7].

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[5] A Harris, 'Doctors from Overseas are being wasted' *National Times,* 7 April 2011.

[6] M Metherell, 'A bitter pill to swallow when a doctor feels double-crossed' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 October 2009.

[7] ADTOA, '*Passionate cries from Parliament: there needs to be a fairer go for overseas trained doctors',* Press Release 20 October 2010, viewed 25 May 2011, http://www.adtoa.org.au.

IMGs must pass numerous tests, workplace assessments and interviews administered by a number of organisations such as medical colleges, boards and associations all with their own requirements. For example, The Medical Board of Australia oversees registration standards, English language tests are administered by the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and Language Australia. The Australian Medical Council (AMC) controls written medical and clinical exams and various Australian Medical Colleges have their education and training programs accredited by the AMC. The medical colleges regulate entry into the specialties. Medicare issues provider numbers while visas are the domain of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Not only do IMGs have to navigate their way through the organisations and their processes, but the requirements can differ according to where the particular doctor's qualifications are from, their medical speciality, as well as their visa. In addition, the processes are also influenced by the area of Australia where they will be working and the position they will be employed in. These processes do not always progress smoothly or in a timely manner, as a result, it is not unusual to find medical doctors trained overseas not practicing medicine but instead, driving taxis or delivering pizza to make ends meet while they negotiate their way through the processes. At a public hearing recently, it was noted that an IMG had waited more than a year to even obtain a place in a clinical exam[8].

While there have been previous government initiated investigations into the registration process for IMGs, it seems that the lengthy and complicated processes still persist. Moreover the processes often change to include even more requirements for IMGs to negotiate such as in examinations. For example the AMC clinical exam for IMGs now specifically includes examination of professional attitudes[9]. According to the ADTOA: …'the professional and personal lives of hard working IMG doctors are being destroyed by this dysfunctional and evil system. Rural and regional Australians are literally paying with their lives'[10].

There was a 30% increase in the number of IMGs practicing in Australia over the decade 1996-2006. During this time Australian trained General Practitioners (GPs) declined in number. However, in rural and remote Australia during the same period, while there was an increase in Australian trained GPs of nearly 10%, there was a dramatic increase in IMG GPs to almost 100%.[11] The increase in IMG numbers was due to the link between provider numbers and area of need, restricting IMGs to rural and remote area practice, usually for ten years.

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[8] Harris, op. cit.

[9] K J Breen, SM Cordner, CJH Thomson & VD Plueckhahn*, Good medical practice: professionalism, ethics and law, Cambridge University Press,* New York, 2010, p. xxii.

[10] ADTOA, op.cit.

[11] Department of Health and Ageing, *'General Practice Statistics'*, Canberra, 2007, viewed 31 May 2011, http://www.health.gov.au/internet/wcms/publishing.nsf/Content/General+Practice+Statistics-1

While the focus group participants associated with this research were all located in rural or remote Queensland where 46.4% of the medical workforce is overseas trained, the current situation in South Australia and indeed across Australia is similar. As at November 2010, there were 770 IMGs including 207 temporary residents working in rural or remote Queensland locations[12]. In South Australia the …'number of overseas trained professionals…is expected to continue to increase to meet workforce requirements'[13].

To further compound the shortage problem, South Australia has predicted that 26% of rural and remote GPs will retire over the next five years.[14]

THE RESEARCH

I was invited by a Queensland Division of General Practice to facilitate a focus group of IMGs. There are numerous regional Divisions of General Practice across Australia. The divisions are Commonwealth funded organisations which provide free membership, professional development programs and information for general medical practitioners. Participating focus group doctors were those who chose to accept an invitation issued by the Division to attend a focus group session. The particular division concerned was cognisant of the challenging circumstances which their International Medical Graduate membership experience. As a result, the division was interested in seeking feedback from this membership group with a view to improving the division's provision of support and services.

Participants were informed before electing to take part in the focus group that the session would be recorded, facilitated by an independent researcher and anonymity maintained in any associated dissemination of information. Focus group participants were provided with an information sheet and consent form. The information sheet clearly set out the necessary detail about the research, facilitator and the use of the data collected. All participants signed a consent form. The findings in this paper are taken directly from the transcript as conveyed by the IMGs present at the focus group. In line with ethics approval, to ensure anonymity and confidentiality, this paper has not identified specific names or locations of the participants.

Six doctors took part, three men and three women. The two hour session was held in the evening at the office of the Division. The focus group provided IMGs with an opportunity to raise and discuss aspects which are integral to their professional and personal lives. Participation also offered busy IMGs, who do not often have the opportunity, to come together to network and build relationships with each other and with the Division.

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[12] Health Workforce Queensland, *'Medical Practice in rural and remote Queensland: Minimum Data Set* (MDS) Report, 2010, HWQ, Brisbane, viewed 30 May 2011, www.healthworkforce.com.au .

[13] Government of South Australia, '*Strategy for planning country health services in South Australia'*, South Australian Health, Adelaide, 2008, viewed 31 May 2011.

[14] Rural Health Workforce Australia, '*What will GP ageing do to rural and remote GP numbers*? Fact sheet 4 , RHWA, 2007, viewed 6 June 2011, http://www.rhwa.org.au.

The focus group was virtually un-structured allowing IMGs to freely raise and discuss any aspects they wished. In the invitation distributed to members the division listed the following as prompts for discussion:

- What assistance do you need as an IMG?
- How can General Practices and this Division make the transition to Australia easier for IMGs?
- How can we put these ideas into practice?

Participating IMGs raised several issues which they viewed as vital to improve the transition of IMGs into the Australian medical workforce. These issues included: orientation, access to information, mentoring and supervision. In addition, certain aspects of personal experience richly illustrated the frustrations, disappointments and difficulties faced by these doctors. These aspects included: working conditions, different cultural perceptions and beliefs, different rules and responsibilities in medical practice and feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability.

Initially, the participating doctors we asked why they choose to relocate to Australia? Overwhelmingly, the primary reason was to live and raise a family in a relatively safe country where one's children had access to a reasonable education. They did not relocate because they considered employment and living conditions were more attractive in Australia.

For some doctors, however moving to Australia constituted a culture shock experience.

CULTURE SHOCK

One doctor who had a two hour drive from his small country town location to attend the session described his feelings:

> It took us a long time to accept that we were going to be staying in Australia. My wife came into quite a vacuum… We came from South Africa where we lived in a fairly grand style. The house that they gave us here was something that we would never have looked at. It was a total culture shock and really disappointing.

While it is unlikely that housing of a 'fairly grand style' would be available in a small Australian country town, how can 'culture shock', be minimised? All IMGs in the focus group believed that there needs to be a substantial, structured orientation program right from the beginning. Ideally, orientation would 'walk' the IMG through every aspect of living and working in Australia. This would encompass information about housing and schools to information on setting up a medical practice. It was felt that this would ease 'culture shock' by allowing doctors to form realistic expectations. Closely related to the lack of orientation was the idea of the availability of local information. While general information about living and working in

Australia is useful, IMGs recognised that in addition, there are numerous situations and services to negotiate which are locally based. Participants believed that easy access to local knowledge would be beneficial.

ORIENTATION

According to one IMG, lack of orientation is a major deficit in the Australian Health System. A thorough orientation would make it:

> Very easy for the person that's coming in to learn quickly…There is no booklet out there that you receive the day you arrive in Australia which says: If you need this….

Another IMG who was in Australia nine months before discovering, via her accountant, that she needed a tax file number stated:

> For me the main aspect is how you manage the practice itself. How you interact with patients, staff and community. What are the networks available? All these things need to be in your grasp before you even start the practice. She listed the following:
>
> How do I set up a practice?
> What is best practice, having multiple doctors or single doctors?
> What are practice management skills?
> What are the rules and regulations for good practice?
> How do you organise superannuation, insurances, financial advice?
> What about income protection?

Once an initial orientation process was undertaken, it was felt that a structured mentoring program, with clear guidelines for mentor and mentee, would facilitate and support the progression of doctors through a less problematic transition into practice in Australia.

MENTORING

Mentoring and how it should occur was a source of concern. Firstly, in terms of indemnity, one doctor stated:

> Some doctors have the notion that if you are mentoring someone and that person stuffs up, does the mentor have indemnity? This is a very important issue that needs to be clear. Medical insurance needs to clarify that you may be mentoring but you are not taking that responsibility.

One focus group participant was mentoring an IMG colleague who was seeking visiting rights to the local hospital in another country town. She was in a situation where she was not able to care for her patients when they were hospitalised. In order to obtain access to her patients in hospital she was required to enrol with one of the colleges and take on mentoring. According to her mentor:

> She had this set back because she had just come to Australia, got a job as a GP out in the bush by herself, with no support services and no idea of processes.

Mentoring of this particular IMG has required the mentor to visit her practice and with patient permission, sit in on consultations. The mentor discussed the cases with the mentee and also assessed how she related to the staff. While this support constituted an extra work load for the mentor he acknowledged that:

> Someone has to do it.

There is mentor training available for doctors who wish to become mentors but it is not compulsory to undergo the training. The IMG currently mentoring had not undertaken formal mentoring training. Instead, he preferred to mentor from his own personal experience:

> Whilst I was new in Australia…, I mentally made a note of all that I would have liked assistance with. I didn't need to be taught all over again but just the local practice of medicine. I provide that to a person now and she feels comfortable getting it from me because, probably I'm an IMG. We both feel more comfortable with me telling her what to do and maybe that's a cultural thing.

In addition, One IMG stated that mentoring would be particularly helpful in relation to drug identification and prescription because in Australia there are so many medications. This was a shared concern and it was mentioned that this is an area where doctors unfamiliar with the situation in Australia can make mistakes. Apparently every year doctors are disciplined by Medical Boards or actually prosecuted in courts for ignorance regarding the generic names of some drugs of dependence. They may inadvertently prescribe a drug without realising that it is a narcotic. Professing ignorance in these matters is not accepted as a defence.[15]

Also raised was the need for mentoring in relation to preparation for the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners (RACGP) exams which IMGs must pass to obtain full registration in Australia. It was agreed that general mentoring is multi-faceted. It was acknowledged that taking on a mentoring role

[15] Breen, et.al. op.cit., p.287.

was also adding to the heavy workload of most IMGs but perhaps established IMGs mentoring new IMGs would produce the best possible outcome, particularly if both are from the same cultural background. This gave rise to the role of Supervision in the experience of the IMGs and it was also stressed that unlike mentoring which is informal, supervision is a formal obligation and must occur.

SUPERVISION

Medical practices engaging IMGs are legally obliged to provide formal supervision. The general consensus regarding supervision was that across the region IMGs were not receiving the level of supervision expected and required. Participants felt that supervision like mentoring needs to be conducted according to some guidelines.

One participant described his experience of supervision as: 'Being thrown in at the deep end".

Another doctor stated:

> The supervision given to me and to another IMG was mediocre to nothing and obviously the so called supervisor did not fit any guidelines. When this person did anything it was always criticism rather than assisting in finding out the problem and offering a solution. It happened because of the lack of guidelines and the lack of orientation.

Another participant talked of his supervision experience:

> I was told that my supervision would take place through professional conversations…but we don't get the time for those conversations.

One doctor made the comment that several practices within the division's area wanted to supervise and mentor new doctors from overseas but were not prepared to invest the time commitment due to the high IMG turnover. Retention of IMGs is a concern, according to the ADTOA: 'in the last 6 months alone regional Australia has lost at least 16 doctors to the system of which 11 have been in Queensland.'[16]

Supervision was considered particularly important as this can familiarise doctors with the practice of medicine in Australia. The practice of medicine varies around the world with doctors expected to practice according to the guidelines set down for their location.

DIFFERENT RULES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Australia has its own medical culture, as one participant explained:

> Every country is different, it's all very different and all very new and that seems to be something you just have to learn as you go along.

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[16] ADTOA, op.cit.

Two of the focus group participants had spent time working in South Africa and mentioned several differences between practice in South Africa and Australia. For example, working in emergency in Australia usually does not involve many patients presenting with gunshot wounds as is the case in South Africa. IMGs from other countries may be more used to dealing with infectious diseases such as HIV, rather than geriatric related problems and skin cancers which are more common in Australia. One IMG stated:

> In my surgery in South Africa, I could do an aspiration, full tracheotomy, whereas in Australia you do it in a hospital because one of the requirements is to have emergency resuscitation equipment. These things are very important to know.

The Australian perception of appropriate medical care can be quite different than the IMGs perception. Participants stressed the importance of ensuring that IMGs who practice in Australia are aware of the differences. Australian culture requires the IMG to put aside his or her philosophy and beliefs and think and practice in the Australian way. For example, one participant stated:

> I come across patients who would demand the maximum in any situation…we go overboard in trying to save lives here.

Another commented:

> I personally don't believe in the morning after pill but I prescribe it. My values and beliefs are for myself not for my patients.

The possibility of litigation needs to be made very clear. Many IMGs are unfamiliar with the concept and how it is viewed in Australia. One IMG stated:

> For me to accept death for example, it's very easy because when it's time it happens and that's finished. In my culture litigation would be unheard of because when the time comes it comes. The approach here is so different.

IMGs often come to Australia with different values and beliefs. IMGs need to be made aware of the Australian 'norms' however, these norms cannot be readily picked up in conversations with colleagues because as one participant mentioned:

> Most doctors just do not have time for these conversations.

In addition to the practice of medicine being perhaps different from practice where an IMG has come from, the contracts which IMGs sign up to in Australia was raised.
The negotiation of contracts and the work conditions embedded in contracts were of particular concern and discussed at length.

WORKING CONDITIONS AND CONTRACTS

One IMG highlighted the discrepancy between his working reality and his contract:

> In our practice we are supposed to go from 8.30 to 5.30 every day and half day Saturday for the whole year with 6 weeks of leave. I have worked for 4 years and I haven't had any leave. I can't there's no one there, no one running the place.

Another IMG raised the vulnerability of new IMGs particularly in relation to negotiating contracts:

> You subconsciously say yes to most of the things that they want you to do rather than what you want. It is because of that vulnerable situation that we are put into and that's one thing we should address.

One doctor shared his discovery of risk management and the need for income protection:

> …Where I come from there was no such thing as income protection. In my culture, if I get sick and can't work someone in the family will assist but that's not possible here, you're all by yourself. I wasn't made aware of these things until I was well into my third year here.

Focus group participants believed that they are regarded as a source of cheap labour. The following comment was made:

> The greatest percentage of bulkbilling doctors are IMGs. Doctors seeking to start their practices as bulkbilling, look for IMGs because they are cheap labour. We are treated indirectly in a way as cheap labour. We are not cheap labour we have good skills, broad-based skills.

Apart from feeling somewhat undervalued the sheer vulnerability and powerlessness of these IMGs became evident in their comments.

VULNERABILITY AND POWERLESSNESS

One IMG gave an example of a colleague who had a personality clash with his supervisor. This eventually resulted in the IMG being dismissed of his duties. The IMG was not a permanent resident so was required to leave the country within 28 days:

> The very next thing we had was people coming to our house crying, the whole family and they couldn't go back to where they'd come from, they'd sold everything from where they'd come from and what do they do, how do they get another job?

The adjustment to Australia has not been easy for many IMGs and their families. Many IMGs feel powerless in the system and are reluctant to speak out. Even with a positive reception from the community and local hospital one participant stated:

> We come into a fragile situation that takes us out of our comfort zones, coming up from that takes a long time. Ideas spin in our minds, are we going to be deported because you make a wrong move? Have you missed your chance in life? Thus we are hesitant instead of saying this is what we want.

Another doctor felt that because he did not have adequate orientation and supervision he did not have:

> All the equipment you need to fight in the system.

The comment was then made:

> We network and support each other and stick together when we can…but often it's the blind leading the blind.

While IMGs make a considerable contribution to health care services in the community, temporary resident IMGs cannot access Medicare benefits for themselves or their families. Participants found this particularly unjust. One doctor stated:

> Most of us would be in the highest tax bracket and I find that very unfair. We contribute the most but don't get any benefit out of it. We come to Australia, we provide medical services to everybody and we cannot access medical services like everybody else.

Another participant made the following analogy:

> It's like having your own bakery but you cannot eat the bread in there.

Access to Medicare for temporary resident IMGs has been an issue for years. The Australian Medical Association (AMA) has been lobbying for this for some time. Back in 2006 the then president of the AMA stated: …'For less than $10 million over four years, we can give overseas trained doctors access to decent health care and make them part of the community that needs them so much[17].'

Participants viewed the inability to access Medicare as an aspect of vulnerability in terms of health care for themselves but particularly for their families.

DOCTOR WELLBEING

One IMG described his situation:

> It is very prescriptive in the sense that IMGs have to do so many hours, see this many patients from this time to that time, and basically very little time is given to them for leave or to refresh themselves, I burn out.

One participant replied stressing the importance of caring for oneself and one's family:

> We must look at our quality of life, our partners, our families… take the leave if you need to do that…I know it's easy to say…

It is generally accepted that medical practice is a stressful occupation. Apart from the emotional impact of having to deal with pain, suffering or death on a daily basis, doctors also have to deal with: '…A medical-legal and regulatory environment perceived as more threatening, changes to the organisation and funding of health care, and increased accountability of doctors for health outcomes'. [18] A 2005 study exploring the psychological health of rural GPs revealed that: '…At least one-third to one-half of GPs indicated that they had either 'some degree' or 'quite a lot' of distress directly related to rural general practice'.[19] Doctors tend to deny problems with their own psychological and physical health. However the AMA's code of ethics places the onus on doctors to be responsible for their psychological and physical well-being. The ethical principle of 'non-maleficence' requires that: '…doctors must not permit their own ill health to put their patients at risk'.[20]

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[17] M. Haikerwal, 'The case of the disappearing doctors' Address to the National Press Club, Canberra, 2006, viewed 5 April 2007, http://www.ama.com.au

[18] Breen, et. al., op.cit., p.171

[19] M Gardiner, R Sexton, M Durbridge & K Garrard, 'The role of psychological well-being in retaining rural general practitioners', *Australian Journal of Rural Health*, vol. 13, 2005, pp.149-155.

[20] Breen, et. al., op.cit., p.169.

The focus group session left me with many questions. I was disturbed by the experiences and responses of these highly skilled professionals. If particularly rural and remote Australia depend heavily on the contribution of IMGs then why make it so difficult for them to practice and settle in Australia? The seemingly over-zealous processes appear to be underpinned by a deficit model which suggests that IMGs, just because they are overseas trained, will be somehow wanting in their qualifications and skills. It is evident that the maize of organisations and processes involved in the IMG experience in Australia would benefit from a thorough streamlining and restructuring exercise. The opportunity to rethink the situation is now at hand once again.

On the 18th October 2010 a motion was successfully put forward by Bruce Scott, member for Maranoa for a parliamentary inquiry. More than 100 submissions, many from IMGs, have been received. Following consideration and a series of recent public hearings to follow up on the submissions, the parliamentary committee will make recommendations to the government. While congratulating the government on setting up the inquiry, Harris believes the fundamental question is: 'do we consider our overseas trained doctors as skilled migrants or gap-fillers? [21] Hopefully the result of the inquiry this time will be a new, far more efficient and equitable model.

CONCLUSION

The voices of the six focus group participants in this paper expressed overwhelmingly a lack of overall support. They required more information not only about the country in general and specifically the community in which they are located but also about setting up a medical practice, the approach to medicine in Australia and their responsibilities. More information was viewed as a way to minimise 'culture shock'. Comprehensive orientation, mentoring and supervision programs were seen as vital to assist IMGs in their transition as the practice of medicine varies across countries and cultures. Vulnerability and Powerlessness was evident in several instances such as the uncertainties associated with temporary residency and deportation. The most concerning aspects were related to work contracts and well-being. IMGs should begin work in Australia feeling confident to negotiate their work conditions and empowered to state what they require in their contracts. IMGs should feel empowered and supported to assert themselves if practices are in breach of contracts. Instead it seems for some, especially temporary residents that they feel powerless and vulnerable, they do not wish to assert themselves because of fear of job loss and subsequent deportation. Similarly, why should IMGs feel that they require enough information to fight in the system, the very system which needs their valuable contribution? The stressors inherent in practicing as a GP in a rural or remote area are difficult enough to contend with. When these stressors are expanded to include continual struggle there must be an impact on doctor well-being. Despite the current plethora of bodies, organisations, colleges and the like to assess, regulate, train and support IMGs, the voices from this focus group echo their ineffectiveness.

[21] Harris, op.cit.

INTRODUCTION

The India-born population in Australia has increased at an exponential rate in the last 15 years, from 84,784 persons in 1996 to 340,604 persons in 2010 (ABS, 2011). During this period, India has become the largest source country for permanent skilled migrants and overseas students and the second largest source country for temporary employer-sponsored migrants (DIAC, A:2010). Representing 1.5 per cent of Australia's estimated resident population of 22.3 million (ABS, 2011), the India-born population is currently the fourth largest overseas-born group in Australia after the United Kingdom, New Zealand and China. Moreover, it is the fastest growing of these groups (ABS, 2011).

The influx of India-born migrants to South Australia has also been significant, with South Australia attracting proportionally more India-born settler arrivals. The intake of temporary migrants, through both workers on 457 long stay visas and overseas students, while lower than national rates has none-the-less been substantial and contributed to the resurgence in population growth experienced by South Australia in recent years.

Growing the State's population has been an explicit priority for successive South Australian governments since the mid 1990s (Hugo, 2007). In an attempt to arrest declining population growth rates, South Australia was the first Australian state to develop a population policy (Government of South Australia, 2004a). The ambitious target identified in this policy of increasing the State's population to 2 million by 2050 was subsequently incorporated in *South Australia's Strategic Plan*, which outlines key strategies for increasing the prosperity and wellbeing of South Australians (Government of South Australia, 2007, 2004b).

Commencing with a review of South Australia's recent population growth, the paper highlights the success of the State in attracting an increasing proportion of the nation's share of overseas migrants due largely to the use of State Specific Regional Migration (SSRM) initiatives. However, while South Australia's population has steadily increased and exceeded the interim target of 1.64 million by 2010, four years ahead of schedule, it is still continuing to decline as a proportion of the nation's population. This is due largely to the lack of success in stemming outmigration to other states (South Australia's Strategic Plan Audit Committee, 2010:36). Previous research (Hugo and Hinsliff, 2007:49) has demonstrated that former immigrants account for a disproportionately large share of interstate migration from South Australia.

Retaining migrants is therefore critical and it is noteworthy that the most recent review of the State Strategic Plan recommended 'a more ambitious target in respect of initial overseas migration but with an emphasis on retention of overseas migrants in South Australia' (South Australia's Strategic Plan Audit Committee, 2010:37). Understanding overseas migrants' reasons for coming to South Australia and their experiences of living in the state can therefore provide important insights to guide interventions to

improve migrant settlement and increase retention. To this end, the paper reports on findings of a case study of recent India-born arrivals to the South Australia particularly in relation to their experiences of finding employment commensurate with their skills and qualifications as well as their intentions of staying in the state.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

Launched in March 2004, *South Australia's Strategic Plan* sets out a range of targets aligned with six key themes aimed at enhancing the wellbeing of South Australians (Government of South Australia, 2007, 2004b). Within the theme of 'growing prosperity', increasing the state's population is seen as critical in boosting the state's economy by addressing skills shortages and arresting the ageing of the population. The target of growing the state's population to 2 million by 2050, with an interim target of 1.64 million by 2010, is underpinned by targets of maintaining fertility rates as well as increasing net migration: through a combination of increasing net overseas migration to 8,500 persons per annum by 2014 and reducing annual net interstate migration loss to zero by 2010 with a net inflow sustained thereafter (South Australia's Strategic Plan Audit Committee, 2010:35-38).

As shown in Table 1, the interim target of 1.64 million persons by 2010 has been achieved. South Australia's annual growth rate has steadily increased, exceeding 1 percent in 2006-7 for the first time since 1983 (Hugo, 2007:17). However despite this growth, South Australia's share of the national population has continued to decline following a post-war peak of 9.4 percent in 1966 to 7.4 percent as at September 2010.

Table 1: South Australia and Australia: Population Growth, 1947-2010

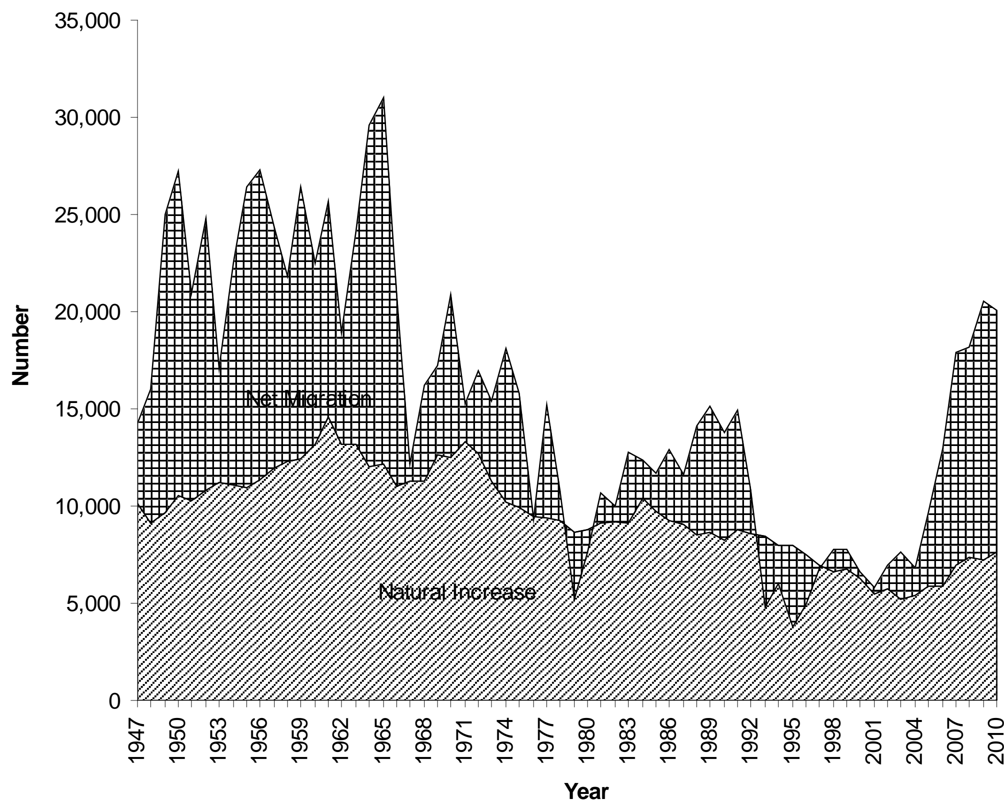
Year	Population ('000)		South Australian population as per cent of Australia
	South Australia	Australia	
1947	646.1	7,579.4	8.5
1954	797.1	8,986.5	8.9
1961	971.5	10,508.2	9.3
1966	1,095.0	11,599.4	9.4
1971	1,200.1	13,067.2	9.2
1976	1,274.1	14,033.0	9.1
1981	1,319.3	14,926.8	8.8
1986	1,382.6	16,018.4	8.6
1991	1,439.3	17,176.9	8.4
1996	1,477.6	18,430.5	8.0
2001	1,515.5	19,529.3	7.8
2006	1,576.5	20,873.7	7.6
Sept 2010	1,647.8	22,407.7	7.4

Note: Population totals 1947-1986 are census counts; 1991-2010 figures are estimated resident population.

Source: ABS, *Australian Demographic Statistics* (various issues)

In examining the components of growth, Figure 1 shows that while natural growth has increased slightly, the state's recent population growth has largely been attributable to net migration which contributed nearly two-thirds of all growth in the last few years following a sharp increase in 2005-06.

Figure 1: South Australia: Total Population Growth Showing the Natural Increase and Net Migration Components, 1947 to 2010
Source: ABS 1997 and Australian Demographic Statistics, various issues



In looking more specifically at the components of net migration, as shown in Table 2, net overseas migration to South Australia increased approximately 6 fold from 3,106 persons in 1996-97 to nearly 18,000 persons in 2008-9 before declining slightly in 2009-10. In contrast, negative net interstate migration movement has not been abated, with an annual average loss from 1996-2010 of nearly 3,000 persons.

The significance of net overseas migration (NOM) to South Australia's population growth is also highlighted in Table 2, which shows that since 2005-06 intakes have exceeded the Strategic Plan target of 8,500 persons per annum. Moreover, the state's share of overseas migrants has doubled from 3.6 percent in 1996-96 to 7.1 percent in 2009-10, and as such is nearly commensurate with the state's share of the overall national population – which was the original target specified in the 2004 Strategic Pan to be achieved within a 10 year period (Government of South Australia, 2007:47).

Table 2: South Australia: Components of Population Change, 1996-2010

Year	Components of Population Growth		Components of Net Migration		South Australian Net Overseas Migration (NOM) as percent of Australia NOM
	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Net Interstate Migration	Net Overseas Migration	
1996-97	6,951	-212	-3,318	3,106	3.6
1997-98	6,602	1,164	-1,996	3,160	4.0
1998-99	6,751	1,051	-1,631	2,682	2.8
1999-00	6,306	298	-3,531	3,829	3.6
2000-01	5,495	347	-2,418	2,765	2.0
2001-02	5,772	1,196	-1,602	2,798	2.5
2002-03	5,198	2,407	-1,497	3,904	3.9
2003-04	5,318	1,108	-3,197	4,305	3.5
2004-05	5,832	3,537	-3,483	7,020	5.2
2005-06	5,857	7,102	-2,711	9,813	6.7
2006-07	6,926	10,980	-3,658	14,638	6.3
2007-08	7,366	10,825	-4,499	15,324	5.5
2008-09	7,219	13,308	-4,676	17,984	6.0
2009-10	7,663	12,407	-2,964	15,371	7.1

Source: ABS, Australian Demographic Statistics (2002:11-12; 2006:12-13;2010:11-12)

ATTRACTING OVERSEAS MIGRANTS TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Since 1996, Australia has experienced a paradigmatic shift in the scale, nature and composition of international migration (Hugo, 2004), driven largely by pressures to respond to national skills shortages within the context of increasing internationalisation of labour markets and global competition for skilled labour (OECD, 2002). Key changes have been a shift in the emphasis within the permanent migration program towards skilled migrants, an exponential increase in temporary migration for work, business and study purposes and an increasing number of onshore temporary migrants upgrading to permanent residency (Hugo 2004, 2006).

South Australia's overseas migration patterns differ from that of Australia as a whole in that the state has attracted proportionately less temporary workers and overseas students and, as a flow on, proportionately less permanent additions from onshore granting of permanent residency. In contrast, the state has attracted more than its share of skilled migrants notably those on state government nominated visas.

Temporary Migration

In a major reversal in Australia's migration policy which previously eschewed temporary workers in favour of permanent settlers, the introduction of a number of new visas since the mid 1990s has resulted in an exponential increase in temporary migrants entering Australia for work, business and study purposes

(Hugo 2004, 2006). Table 3 highlights this exponential growth in grants for two of the main temporary visa categories: overseas students and Business (Long Stay) visas.

Table 3: Growth in Grants for Temporary Business (Long Stay) and Overseas Students Visas, Australia, 2001-2009

Category	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	Growth pa 2001--09
Overseas Students *	151,894	162,575	171,616	174,787	190,674	228,592	278,184	320,368	11.3
Temporary Business (Long Stay)	37,080	37,859	40,124	49,855	71,150	87,310	110,570	101,280	15.4

Notes:*Includes offshore grants only
Source: DIAC *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues

Unlike permanent migration, which remains tightly controlled with set levels determined annually for both the Migration and Humanitarian Programs, grants for temporary visas are uncapped with uptake driven entirely by demand.

For Business (Long Stay) visas, demand is determined by Australian employers who are able to sponsor overseas workers for up to four years to undertake positions unable to be filled by the local workforce. Applications for Business (Long Stay) visas, such as the 457 subclass, therefore fluctuate with economic conditions, closely mirroring the ANZ Advertisement Index (DIAC, 2011a:9). For instance, declining economic circumstances resulting from the global financial crisis saw an 8.4 percent decrease in grants from 2007-08 to 2008-09, while latest figures indicate that applications for the 457 visa program are 'on track to record its strongest year since the global financial crisis, with an increase in demand for trade workers' (DIAC, 2011b).

Despite the exponential increase in the number of Business (Long Stay) grants, South Australian employers have made substantially less use of these visa opportunities than the eastern states and Western Australia. For instance, during the three year period 2006-2009, a total of 12,100 Business (Long Stay) grants were received by South Australia representing only 4 percent of the total grants Australia-wide for this visa (DIAC, A:2010:134). This is reflective of South Australia's lower employment growth rate, which was nearly half that of the national rate of employment growth over the 20 year period 1989-2009 (Spoehr and Barrett, 2009:24). Despite recent figures showing continued growth in employment for the year to April 2011, South Australia's employment rate at 1.7 percent still lags behind that for Australia of 2.5 percent (DEEWR, 2011:1). In terms of stock, while the proportion of temporary overseas migrants on this visa (both primary and secondary applicants) resident in South Australia has grown from 3.0 to 3.9 percent from 2004 to 2010 it is still well below the state's national share (Table 4). In contrast Western Australia and Queensland have nearly doubled their share in this same period to 21 and 20 percent respectively (DIAC, A:2010:135). A review of industry sector data shows that, compared to Australia as a

whole, there is significantly greater use of 457 visas in South Australia for 'Health Care and Social Assistance' (with this accounting for 47 percent of all primary applications granted in 2009-10) but less for the construction and mining sectors (DIAC,2010f).

Table 4: Stock of Business (Long Stay): South Australia, Australia, 2006-2010

Year*	South Australia	Australia	South Australia as percent of Australia
2004	1,604	53,566	3.0
2005	1,794	58,651	3.1
2006	2,769	74,803	3.7
2007	3,840	97,182	4.0
2008	4,798	124,403	3.9
2009	5,152	132,998	3.9
2010	4,338	127,648	3.9

Note: excludes New Zealand citizens; figures for 30 June of each year
Source: DIAC, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects 2008-09* for all years except 2010; *Immigration Update*, for 2010 figures

South Australia has fared better in relation to growth of overseas students but still lags behind in terms of the state's proportion of total stock of overseas students, fluctuating in recent years between 5.6 and 6.2 percent of the total number of overseas students in Australia (Table 5). Overseas student visa grants are also demand driven, albeit by potential students who compare opportunities offered world-wide by education providers operating within a highly competitive international education market. Growth in the Australian overseas student market has been facilitated by immigration policies successively introduced from the late 1990s which have made it easier for international students, on completion of their course, to transition from temporary to permanent settlement. Policy changes introduced in July 2001 were particularly significant, enabling international students to apply onshore for permanent residency on successful completion of their course rather than having to leave the country to apply (Koleth, 2010).

Recent policy changes to decouple the international education and migration have arguably reduced Australia's competitive advantages in the international education market (ACPET, 2010). This has been further compounded by increased cost burdens for many overseas students as a result of both the global financial crisis and the strengthening of the Australia dollar. Indeed the most recent figures confirm there has been a reduced demand for overseas student grants, with applications falling by 18.9 percent between 2008-09 and 2009-10 (DIAC, 2011c:7). While this may have a flow-on affect for South Australia, the impact of declining overseas students is likely to be most strongly experienced in New South Wales and Victoria as these states have attracted the greatest share of students with, for instance, 37 and 33 percent respectively in 2009 (DIAC, 2010:133). In addition to being a significant income generator for the South Australia, overseas students are an important source of skilled labour for the state (SACE, 2011:8) with

research reported by Education Adelaide showing that 45 percent of skilled migrants are former students (Education Adelaide, 2008:5).

Table 5: Stock of Overseas Students: South Australia, Australia, at 30 June, 2006-2009

Year*	South Australia	Australia	South Australia as percent of Australia
2004	9,258	164,775	5.6
2005	10,738	178,746	6.0
2006	12,164	195,654	6.2
2007	14,236	232,092	6.1
2008	17,067	291,731	5.9
2009	20,790	355,856	5.8

Note: Excludes not stated and other territories
Source: DIAC, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects 2008-09*:133

Permanent Migration
The majority of permanent settlers to Australia are granted entrance under the 'Migration Program', which comprises two main streams: Skill and Family. As a result of increasing demand for skilled workers, policy changes since 1996 including the introduction of the points test have progressively given greater emphasis on attracting skilled migrants (McDonald and Withers, 2008). Consequently, as a proportion of all Migration Program grants, skill stream grants have increased from 47.1 per cent in 1996-97 to 67.0 percent in 2008-09 with a commensurate decrease in family skill grants. The recent announcement of the 2011-12 Migration Program indicates that skill stream places will account for 68 percent or 125,850 of the 185,000 visas to be granted (Bowen, 2011).

Permanent residency can be granted either offshore or onshore. The rapid uptake of both temporary skilled and overseas student visas has led to a marked increase in the proportion of grants for permanent residency allocated onshore. Hugo (2004:26) has questioned the extent to which temporary migration has become a 'de facto settlement migration category' and research by Khoo et al (2008) has indeed shown that many temporary skilled migrants, especially those from less developed countries, come with the intention of applying for permanent residency. In 2009-10, a third of all permanent additions to Australia's resident population were granted onshore with just over half of these sponsored by employers (DIAC, B:2010:11). Not surprisingly, given that South Australia has attracted less than its share of the national intake of temporary migrants, the proportion of permanent additions to the state granted onshore is also lower than the national average as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: South Australia: Onshore Additions by Visa Category, 2006-07 to 2009-10

Visa Category	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Migration Program				
- Family Stream	416	430	564	710
- Skill Stream	2,459	2,541	3,082	3,001
- Special Eligibility	0	0	5	7
Humanitarian Program	101	140	94	146
Total	2,976	3,111	3,745	3,864
Additions to South Australia as percent of total Onshore Additions to Australia				
Migration Program				
- Family Stream	3.6	3.5	3.9	4.3
- Skill Stream	6.4	6.0	6.3	6.4
- Special Eligibility	0.0	0.0	4.6	1.4
Humanitarian Program	5.3	6.3	2.9	3.1
Total	5.7	5.5	5.6	5.7

Source: DIAC *Immigration Update*, various editions 2006-07 to 2009-10

In contrast, South Australia has been attracting more than its share of settler arrivals: those migrants arriving from overseas who have applied offshore and been granted permanent residency. In 2003-04 when the State Population Policy was being developed, South Australia attracted only 4.3 percent of total settler arrivals to Australia. However by 2009-10 this had increased to 8.1 percent, exceeding South Australia's share of the national population (Table 7).

Of note is that nearly all of this growth has been in the skill stream, with South Australia's share of skill stream settler arrivals increasing from 4.4 to 12.6 percent between 2003-04 and 2009-10. Humanitarian entry has continued to remain above the state's proportionate share due to a Commonwealth Government policy to promote regional settlement for humanitarian migrants (Miller et al, 2010) which has been actively embraced by the South Australian government (Government of South Australia, 2004a:11). In contrast, South Australia's intake of family settler arrivals has remained consistently below its proportionate share, which Hugo (2007:18) asserts is 'due to decades of low levels of immigration which have reduced the pool of potential sponsors for family migration'.

Table 7: South Australia: Settler Arrivals by Visa Category, 2003-04 to 2009-10

Visa Category	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Migration Program							
- Family Stream	1,240	1,339	1 502	1,769	1,762	1,958	2,121
- Skill Stream	2,278	3,320	5 987	6,518	6,608	5,987	7,741
- Special Eligibility	11	19	10	4	3	9	8
Humanitarian Program	844	1196	1 072	1,229	835	1,013	952
Non-Program*	400	490	528	541	688	728	555
Total	4,773	6,364	9 099	10,061	9 896	9,695	11,377
Arrivals to South Australia as percent of total settler arrivals to Australia							
Migration Program							
- Family Stream	4.2	4.0	4.3	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.9
- Skill Stream	4.4	6.2	10.1	10.7	10.1	8.6	12.6
- Special Eligibility	5.3	11.7	9.6	3.7	2.3	7.3	4.7
Humanitarian Program	8.2	9.0	8.8	10.0	8.8	8.7	9.7
Non-Program	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.1
Total	4.3	5.2	6.9	7.2	6.6	6.1	8.1

Note: Non-Program: mostly includes New Zealand Citizens who are allowed to enter Australia without the need to formally apply
Source: DIAC *Immigration Update*, various editions 2006-07 to 2009-10, earlier data from unpublished OAD database

Further examination of the skill stream visa categories highlights that a very significant proportion of permanent additions to South Australia (ie settler arrivals plus temporary migrants subsequently granted permanent residency onshore) utilised visas available under the State Specific Regional Migration (SSRM) scheme. Since 1995, SSRM initiatives have progressively been introduced by the Commonwealth Government in consultation with state and territory governments to encourage migrant settlement in specified areas of Australia to facilitate more balanced settlement in Australia and boost the economic and social development of regional areas and low population growth areas (DIAC, A: 2010:39). As Hugo (2007) observes, the introduction of SSRM initiatives has given the states a greater role in migration and settlement processes enabling them to proactively seek migrants to meet specific skill shortages. Moreover, it has the potential to influence the spatial distribution of migrant settlement by dictating not only '*who* can settle in Australia but also, for a significant number, *where* they are permitted to settle, at least for their [initial] years in the country' (Hugo, 2007:1).

Table 8 summaries the skill stream visas available under the Migration Program highlighting the suite of SSRM visas. Both permanent and provisional visas are available offshore and onshore under SSRM initiatives, with sponsorship required either by an authorised state/territory government, an employee or an eligible relative living in a designated area. Of note, is that South Australia, Tasmania and the Northern Territory are the only states/territories that qualify for *all* of the SSRM visa subclasses. This has given South Australia a particular advantage as Adelaide is the only mainland state capital that meets the SSRM requirements.

Table 8: Migration Program Skill Stream Visas (* indicates SSRM Visa)

EMPLOYER NOMINATED CATEGORY
Employer Nomination Scheme (ENS) (Subclass 121/856): permanent visa enabling Australian employers to nominate skilled overseas workers to fill full-time vacancies in their business. Must provide full time employment in Australia for at least three years and meet the Minimum Salary Level. ***Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS)** (Subclass 119/857): permanent visa allowing employers to nominate skilled overseas workers to fill full-time vacancies in their business. Employer must provide full time employment in Australia for two years and comply with Australian legislation and awards. Employee must remain employed in the nominated position in the regional area for at least two years. Excludes employers located in Sydney, Newcastle, Wollongong, greater Brisbane, Gold Coast, Melbourne metro and Perth / surrounding areas. **Labour Agreement**: formal arrangement between the Commonwealth (represented by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship) and an employer. Labour agreements enable Australian employers to recruit a specified number of workers from overseas in response to an identified or emerging skill need in the Australian labour market.
BUSINESS SKILLS CATEGORY
A number of permanent and provisional visas are available to business owners and investors. Those sponsored by states/territories are: ***Sponsored Business Skills (SSBS)**: various subclasses available for Business Skills entrants to set up business in regional, rural or low growth areas of Australia. Substantial concessions available for provisional and permanent visas. ***Regional Established Business in Australia (REBA)** (Subclass 846): a permanent visa for temporary residents in Australia with a proven ownership interest in one or more successful businesses in Australia.
GENERAL SKILLED MIGRATION (GSM) CATEGORY
Applicants need to satisfy threshold criteria in relation to age, English language ability, skills and qualifications. **Skilled Independent (Migrant)** (Subclass 175/885): permanent visa available off and onshore requiring 120 points **Skilled Regional (Residence)** (Subclass 887): permanent visa available onshore for eligible provisional visa holders who can demonstrate they have lived for at least two years and worked for at least one year in a Specified Regional Area in Australia. ***Skilled - Sponsored (Migrant)** (Subclass 176/886): permanent visa available off and onshore requiring 100 points and sponsorship by an authorised state/territory or eligible relative: previously State Territory Nominated Independent (STNI) introduced in 1997. All states/territories are now authorised, whereas in 2006 this was limited to South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania (Birrell et al, 2006). Migrants need to remain in the State or Territory for a period of at least two years. ***Skilled Regional Sponsored (SRS**) (Subclass 475/487): 3 year provisional visa available off and onshore requiring 100 points and sponsorship by a state/territory or eligible relative: previously State Independent Regional (SIR) visa for state/territory nominated and Skilled Designated Area Sponsored (SDAS) / Skilled Australian Sponsored (SAS) / Skilled Australian Sponsored (SAL) for eligible family sponsorship. Applicants are required to live for two years and work for at least one year in a regional or low population growth area.

GENERAL SKILLED MIGRATION (GSM) CATEGORY (continued)
Specified Regional Areas if: • nominated by a state/territory *exclude* Sydney, Newcastle, Central Coast, Wollongong, greater Brisbane, Gold Coast, Melbourne metro, Perth /surrounding areas and ACT • sponsored by an eligible relative *exclude* Sydney, Newcastle, Wollongong, Brisbane metro and Perth metro areas. Subclass 487 visa provides an onshore pathway for eligible overseas students and holders of certain temporary visas to gain a provisional visa. **Skilled Recognised Graduate** (Subclass 476): 18 month temporary visa for graduates of recognised overseas institutions with skills in demand in Australia. No points test applies. **Skilled Graduate** (Subclass 485): 18 month temporary visa available onshore for international students who have obtained an Australian qualification in Australia as a result of at least two years study. No points test applies.

Source: DIAC, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various; DIAC website www.immi.gov.au

Under the current points test (due to change in July 2011), applicants applying for the SSRM visas available under the General Skilled Migration category are only required to meet sufficient criteria to accumulate 100 points as opposed to 120 for the Skilled Independent visa. In addition, overseas students applying for a provisional or permanent visa on completion of their studies in Australia are awarded 5 points if they have lived and studied in a regional Australia (defined as any statistical division with a population of less that 200,000) or a low population growth metropolitan area in Australia (defined as an area experiencing less that 50% of national average population growth between census periods) (DIAC, A:2005:45).

SSRM visas grants have increased as a proportion of all Migration Program skill stream grants, up from 4.1 in 1996-97 to 33.9 percent in 2008-09 (Table 9). This upward trend is likely to continue given that under the recently introduced skill migration visa processing arrangements highest priority is given to employer sponsored applicants (which includes the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS)) followed by applicants nominated by a state or territory government (DIAC, 2010a:2). More recently the government announced that processing of regional visas will be given highest priority with 16,000 out of the planned 2011-12 skill stream intake of 125,850 places being allocated for RSMS visas (Bowen, 2011).

The South Australian government has actively pursued the use of SSRM initiatives, particularly the Skilled Independent Regional (SIR) visa, as a specific strategy to achieve population growth targets (Government of South Australia, 2004a:10). Introduced in mid 2004, the SIR visa heralded significantly more arrivals to South Australia. This visa (like the subsequent Skilled Regional Sponsored (SRS) visa introduced in 2007) gives migrants a three-year provisional visa with a pathway to permanent residency provided they live for two years and work for at least one year in a designated area. South Australia has consistently made greater use of provisional sponsored visas than any other state receiving, for instance, 61 percent of all settler arrivals to Australia on provisional sponsored visas in 2009-10 (DIAC: B:2010:10). South Australian employers have also made very effective use of RSRM visas with, for instance, South Australia granted the largest number of grants of all the states (34.6 percent) in 2007-08 (DIAC: A:2009:37).

Overall, South Australia has received a disproportionately far greater share of all SSRM grants. As shown in Table 9, this peaked in 2005-06 with grants to South Australia accounting for 29.8 percent of all SSRM grants. In 2009-10, South Australia had the largest proportion of all the states (26.1 percent), exceeding Victoria (23.3 percent) which had previously led the states for several years (DIAC, 2010b:11).

Table 9: South Australia and Australia: State Specific Regional Migration, 1996-2010

Year	Australia		South Australia	
	Number of SSRM Visas Granted	Percent of total Skill Stream Grants	Number of SSRM Visas Granted	Percent of all SSRM Visas Granted
1996-97	1,126	4.1	N/A	N/A
1997-98	1,753	5.1	605	34.5
1998-99	2,804	8.0	1,035	36.9
1999-2000	3,309	9.4	702	21.2
2000-01	3,846	8.6	750	19.5
2001-02	4,136	7.7	703	17.0
2002-03	7,941	12.0	1,324	16.7
2003-04	12,725	17.9	2,071	16.3
2004-05	18,697	24.0	4,951	26.5
2005-06	27,488	28.2	8,182	29.8
2006-07	25,845	26.4	7,158	27.7
2007-08	26,162	24.1	7,041	26.9
2008-09	33,474	29.2	7,650	22.9
2009-10	36,568	33.9	9,540	26.1

Source: DIAC *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects* and *Immigration Update*, various issues; DIAC *Report on Migration Program*, 2007/08 - 2009/10

South Australia's relative advantage has, however, in recent years been eroded with other states also actively pursuing the use of SSRM visas. For instance in 2006, only South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania were sponsoring permanent skilled migrants (under the State Territory Nominated Independent (STNI) and more recent Skilled - Sponsored Migrant visa) whereas now all states are authorised to sponsor (DIAC, C:2011; Birrell et al, 2006). As a result, whereas in 2007-08 South Australia attracted 13.4 percent of all sponsored permanent migrants, by 2009-10 this had reduced to 8.9 percent (DIAC, B:2011:10, B:2009:11).

Moreover, there are concerns that the new points test due to commence in July 2011 will reduce the relative advantage of the provisional sponsored visas. Under the current points system, there is a lower pass mark (100 points) for both sponsored permanent (Skilled - Sponsored Migrant) and sponsored provisional (SRS) visas in comparison with a Skilled Independent (Migrant) visa (120 points). In addition, all applicants who are nominated by state/territory governments are awarded 10 points. SRS applicants are awarded a further 25 points if they are sponsored by an eligible relative. However, under the new

points test the relative advantage of the SRS visa will be eroded. The pass mark will be the same (65 points) for GSM applicants regardless of whether they apply for a Skilled Independent (Migrant), a Skilled - Sponsored Migrant or an SRS visa; with Skilled - Sponsored Migrant applicants allocated 5 points for state/territory sponsorship and SRS applicants allocated 10 points for either state/territory or family sponsorship (DIAC, 2011d).

The preferential treatment previously enjoyed by South Australia is likely to substantially diminish to the extent that the state's share of SSRM grants in the near future will be commensurate with the state's population share (Miller, 2011), which is consistent with the overall decline in NOM projected for South Australia (DPLG, 2010:11). This will place an even greater imperative to retain migrants in South Australia particularly those residing in the state as a condition of their visa who may, therefore, on meeting their visa requirements and being granted permanent residency, choose to relocate interstate.

GROWTH IN INDIA-BORN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Foremost amongst those settling in South Australia are India-born migrants, who accounted for just over one in ten (9,065 persons or 10.8 percent) of all settler arrivals to South Australia between 1996-97 and 2009-10. The rate of growth of India-born settler arrivals has increased exponentially, from only 100 in 1996-97, representing 3.0 percent of all setter arrivals, to 1,983 persons or 17.4 percent in 2009-10 (compared to 11.1 percent nationally). Moreover, whilst the majority of Indian-born settler arrivals live in New South Wales or Victoria, South Australia's share has progressively increased from 3.7 percent in 1996-97 to 12.6 percent in 2009-10 (DIAC:D:1999-2011).

Table 10: South Australia: Settler Arrivals, by Top Countries of Birth, 1996-97 to 2009-10

Year	United Kingdom	India	China	Philippines	South Africa	New Zealand	Total all countries	India as proportion all SA settlers
1996-97	660	100	127	136	66	289	3,336	3.0
1997-98	671	154	109	131	184	296	3,069	5.0
1998-99	681	87	107	147	213	327	3,320	2.6
1999-00	665	152	96	121	189	341	3,105	4.9
2000-01	495	126	123	123	153	482	3,183	4.0
2001-02	572	118	134	126	241	339	3,316	3.6
2002-03	785	138	113	134	209	232	3,657	3.8
2003-04	1269	243	208	147	317	266	4,773	5.1
2004-05	1725	404	513	161	253	327	6,364	6.3

Year	United Kingdom	India	China	Philippines	South Africa	New Zealand	Total all countries	India as proportion all SA settlers
2005-06	3009	909	879	285	263	373	9,099	10.0
2006-07	2535	1416	1078	343	290	397	10,061	14.1
2007-08	2451	1657	1060	372	245	508	9,896	16.7
2008-09	2291	1578	905	362	329	479	9,695	16.3
2009-10	1897	1983	1292	519	389	354	11,377	17.4
Total	**19,706**	**9,065**	**6,744**	**3,107**	**3,341**	**5,010**	**84,251**	**10.8**

Source: DIAC, *Settler Arrivals Australia States and Territories*, 1999-00 to 2009-10, 1993-94 to 2003-04.

Growth of India-born settler arrivals to South Australia sits within a broader context of exponential growth of the India-born population in Australia as reflected by the increasing proportion of grants allocated to Indian citizens for permanent skill stream visas as well as temporary Business (Long Stay) and overseas student visas (Table 11). Since 2002-03, India has been the largest source country allocated grants for permanent skilled migrants and the second largest, after the United Kingdom, for temporary employer-sponsored migrant, while in 2006-07 India eclipsed China as the largest source country for offshore overseas student grants (DIAC, A: 2003-2010).

Table 11: Per cent of Grants to Indian Citizens, Selected Visas, 2000-01 to 2008-09

	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Permanent									
Skill Stream	10	N/A	11	13	13	14	16	18	18
Temporary									
Business (Long Stay)	8	N/A	10	10	10	10	14	14	15
Student Offshore	4	N/A	N/A	9	9	12	17	20	24

Source: DIAC, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects,* various issues

As observed in Table 7, South Australia has been attracting more than its proportionate share of skill stream settler arrivals, peaking at 7,741 persons or 12.6 percent of all skill stream settler arrivals to Australia in 2009-10. Just over a fifth (1,745 persons or 22.5 percent) of these arrivals to South Australia were born in India. This compares with 17.2 percent of all skill stream settlers to Australia being born in India. South Australia's increasing reliance on skilled settler arrivals from India is highlighted in Table 12 which shows the proportion of skill stream settlers from the top four source countries (excluding New Zealand) arriving from 2004-05 to 2009-10. While there has still been strong growth in migrants from the United Kingdom (refer Table 10), the overall proportion of UK skilled settler arrivals has declined relative to those from India in the last few years.

Table 12: Top Source Countries of Skill Stream Settler Arrivals to South Australia, 2004-5 to 2009-10

Country of Birth	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
India	10.3	13.8	19. 6	22.7	22.6	22.5
United Kingdom	43.0	45.2	34. 7	32.3	32.4	20.5
China (excludes SARs and Taiwan)	12.3	12.6	14. 1	13.5	11.2	13.2
South Africa	6.6	3.5	3. 6	3.0	4.6	4.4
Other	27.8	24 9	28.	28.4	29.2	39.3
Total number SA Settler Arrivals	3,320	5,987	6,518	6,608	5,987	7,741
As percent of all Skill Stream Settler Arrivals to Australia	6.2	10.1	10. 7	10.1	8.6	12.6

Note: excludes skill stream arrivals from New Zealand. Source: DIAC, unpublished data derived from OAD database

The vast majority of India-born settler arrivals are entering the state on skill stream visas, with this accounting for in excess of 85 percent of all India-born settler arrivals to South Australia since 2004-05. Of note, is that nearly all of those on skilled visas have utilised General Skilled Migration (GSM) Program visas in contrast to Employer Nominated or Business Skill categories (Table 13). Moreover, a very significant proportion of GSM visa holders utilised SSRM visas, particularly provisional visas sponsored by the state government, namely the Skilled Independent Regional (SIR) and Skilled Regional Sponsored (SRS). Use of these visas grew exponentially from 48 in 2004-05 to 1,230 visas in 2009-10[22]. South Australian India-born migrants are making substantially greater use of provisional visas accounting for, in 2009-10, 71 percent of all India-born settler arrivals compared to 58 percent of all skill stream settler arrivals to South Australia and only accounted for 12 percent of all skill stream settler arrivals to Australia (DIAC, B:2010:10-11).

[22] The SIR (state/territory nominated) and SDAS (family sponsored) visas were subsumed by the Skilled Regional Sponsored (SRS) in September 2007 which allows for either state/territory nominated or relative sponsored. Some of the 1,230 SRS settler arrivals in 2009-10 may therefore have been sponsored by relatives (as opposed to the state).

Table 13: India-born Settler Arrivals to South Australia by Visa Category, 2004-05 to 2009-10

Skill Stream Visa Category	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
EMPLOYER NOMINATED CATEGORY	*7*	*3*	*7*	*10*	*15*	*18*
BUSINESS SKILLS CATEGORY		*3*	*8*	*2*		*3*
GENERAL SKILLED MIGRATION (GSM) CATEGORY						
Skilled Independent (Permanent)	*256*	*492*	*607*	*283*	*432*	*257*
State Nominated (Permanent)						
State/Territory Nominated Independent				177	108	65
Skilled Sponsored					13	164
Sub-total				*177*	*121*	*229*
Family Sponsored						
Skilled Australian Linked/Skilled Australian Sponsored (SAL/SAS)	2	2	2	15	13	2
Designated Area Sponsored (SDAS)*	30	38	43	22	17	6
Sub-total	*32*	*40*	*45*	*37*	*30*	*8*
State Nominated (Provisional)						
Skilled Independent Regional (SIR)	48	291	610	993	514	218
Regional Sponsored (SRS)**					241	1,012
Sub-total	*48*	*291*	*610*	*993*	*755*	*1,230*
Total GSM	*336*	*823*	*1262*	*1490*	*1338*	*1724*
TOTAL ALL SKILL STREAM SETTLERS	*343*	*829*	*1,277*	*1,502*	*1,353*	*1,745*
As percent all India-born settler arrivals to SA	84.9	91.2	90.2	90.6	85.7	88.0

Notes: * SDAS was modified on 1/7/06 from permanent to provisional visa following SDAS Review; *SRS can also be sponsored by family member.
Source: DIAC, unpublished data derived from OAD database

Just as for Australia as a whole, India is the second largest source country (after the United Kingdom) for temporary employer-sponsored migrants resident in South Australia. However, as shown in Table 14, South Australia is attracting proportionately more India-born temporary residents, with the India-born accounting for 14.3 percent of all temporary 457 migrants in South Australia in June 2010 compared to 10.9 percent for the whole of Australia (DIAC, B:2010:50).

Table 14: Top Source Countries of Temporary Business Entry (457 Visa) resident in Australia, South Australia, at 30 June 2006 to 2010

Country of Birth	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Australia					
United Kingdom	24.1	21.4	20.3	19.9	20.7
India	7.3	9.6	10.1	10.2	10.9
Philippines	4.1	6.8	8.8	10.1	10.0
South Africa	7.1	7.5	8.0	9.0	7.5
China*	5.3	6.2	6.8	6.2	4.8
Total count 457 Australia	80,137	104,038	134,238	142,669	127,648
South Australia					
United Kingdom	21.0	14.3	13.8	13.5	16.2
India	6.0	9.4	11.4	13.8	14.3
Philippines	5.8	11.4	12.1	11.3	11.8
South Africa	8.8	9.2	9.3	8.5	7.4
China*	8.5	8.2	7.8	8.2	6.3
Total count 457 South Australia	2,770	3,840	4,798	5,152	4,338
As percent of all 457 resident in Australia	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.4

Note: China: excludes SARs and Taiwan
Figures vary slightly from Table 4 as latter includes Business (Long Stay) of which 457 is a component
Source: DIAC, *Immigration Update*, various editions

South Australia is also attracting proportionately more India-born students. In 2008-09, South Australia accounted for 6.2 percent (7,542 persons) of student NOM in Australia, of which 42 percent originated from India compared with 35 percent nationally. As a proportion of student NOM for Australia as a whole, India accounted for 19.6 percent in 2004-05 increasing to 35.1 in 2008-09, taking the lead position from China which decreased from 30.1 to 20.1 percent during the same period (ABS, 2011).
Of note has been the significant increase in enrolments of Indian students in the Vocational Education and Training (VET) sector, both in South Australia and Australia as a whole. In 2010, India-born students accounted for nearly four-fifths (78 percent) of all enrolments in VET courses in South Australia on par with Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia (AEI, 2011). Within the South Australian India-born cohort, the prevalence of VET courses has increased from 11.5 percent of enrolments in 2007 to 75.1 percent in 2010 with a corresponding decline in Higher Education courses from 77.9 percent to 19.1 percent for the same period (AEI, 2011).

UTILIZING SKILLS AND RETAINING INDIA-BORN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Given the prevalence of the India-born amongst South Australia's newly arrived skilled migrants, it is useful to pose two questions: to what extent have newly arrived India-born migrants been able to secure employment commensurate with their skills and experience, and are they planning to stay in South Australia.

This section reports on findings relevant to these two questions drawn from a wider study looking at the reasons for, and experiences of, India-born migration to Australia. Research was undertaken in two stages: focus groups to explore migrants' experiences followed by a quantitative survey. Working in liaison with Adelaide-based Indian associations, 43 participants participated in one of seven focus groups conducted in late 2008 clustered according to their Indian state of origin and whether they entered Australia either for work or study purposes. Four states – Punjab, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Kerala – were chosen based on anecdotal information that the majority of Indian migrants originate from these areas. Focus group findings were used to inform the design of a survey, which was implemented at the 2010 Adelaide Mela Festival – an annual event which attracts several thousand Indian residents. Festival attendees who voluntarily self-selected to complete the survey were screened to ensure they met the criteria of entering Australia as the primary applicant on either a permanent/provisional skill stream visa, a temporary employer sponsored or overseas student visa. The low rate of attainment of responses from temporary employer sponsored migrants necessitated subsequent targeted selection by tapping into occupational networks known to attract India-born employer-sponsored migrants such as IT, health and hospitality/catering.

As summarised in Table 16, the survey yielded responses from 180 skilled migrants on either permanent (65), provisional (64) or temporary (51) visas, who came to Australia either independently (32), sponsored by the state and / or a relative (97), or sponsored by an employer (51). A further 149 respondents entered Australia on student visas, for either Higher Education (106) or VET (43) courses of which, at the time of being surveyed, 69 were still studying while 80 had completed their studies. All respondents arrived in Australia after 1996 with approximately three quarters arriving after 2005.

Table 16: Summary of Visa Profile of India-born Survey Respondents

Type of Visa	**Skilled Migrants**			
	Permanent	**Provisional**	**Temporary**	***Total***
Independent	32	Not available	Not available	32
Sponsored by State or Relative	33	65	Not available	97
Sponsored by Employer	0	Not available	50	51
Total	***65***	***65***	***50***	**180**
Type of Visa	**Students**			
	Still studying	**Completed Course**		**Total**
Higher Education	64	42		106
Vocational Education Training	5	38		43
Total	***69***	***80***		***149***

Source: Adelaide 2010 Survey of India-born skilled migrants

Results presented here focus mainly on the 180 skilled migrants, particularly those who initially settled in South Australia. As expected, respondents on state government nominated permanent or provisional

visas indicated that the additional points bestowed by these visas was the main reason for choosing South Australia, whereas employer-sponsored migrants came because they had already secured a job. In contrast those on permanent independent visas, who were free to settle anywhere in Australia, chose the state primarily because of the presence of family members and the state's relative affordability. Of the 22 respondents who initially settled in other states, nearly all cited employment reasons for relocating to South Australia: either because they had already secured a job or thought the state offered better employment opportunities. For international students, South Australia's reduced cost of living featured heavily in their decision making processes along with presence of family and friends, and acceptance into educational institutions.

Employment Outcomes

Whereas employer sponsored migrants have a guaranteed job prior to migrating, those on either permanent or provisional GSM visas are responsible for securing their own employment on arrival in Australia. Focus group discussions identified that many newly arrived India-born migrants experience considerable difficulties in finding suitable employment. For many this was contrary to their expectations as they had been led to believe, from the Indian media and migration agents, that given the skills shortages in Australia they would be offered a job immediately on arrival.

> *'If you look at any Indian paper they will say 'Teachers wanted, skilled migrants wanted in the mining industry and so on' When you come in your realise that is not the picture'*
>
> *'Back in India it's very bad in dealing with the agents. They say you can do this much job, you can do that in Australia – they give wrong picture over there'*

Instead the reality was that for many it took several weeks to find employment. Survey findings identified that although about half of all permanent (sponsored or independent) migrants had secured a job within five weeks, this took 8 weeks for provisional sponsored migrants. By the end of six months, all bar three respondents had found employment giving an employment rate of 98.3 percent. Despite expectations that gaining employment would be easier, these outcomes compare favourably with findings from the third Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA3) as well as the more recent 2009 Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants (CSAM): with the latter showing that 5 percent of newly arrived skilled migrants were unemployed and a further 5 percent not in the labour force at the end of their first six months residency in Australia (DIAC, 2010c, 2010d). Previous studies have demonstrated that human capital attributes, notably qualifications and proficiency in spoken English, positively influence attainment of employment (Hawthorne, 2005; Richardson et al, 2001, 2002), and this is no doubt a key factor in the higher rate of employment amongst the 180 skilled India-born respondents with English spoken 'very well' by nearly two-thirds (62 percent), 'well' by one-third (34 percent) and 'not very well' by only 4 percent. The latter primarily accounted for the small portion (5 percent) with no post secondary school qualifications, contrasting with over a quarter (29 percent) with trade or diploma qualifications and two thirds (66 percent) with bachelor or higher degrees.

In 2010, at the time of being surveyed, although the majority of the 180 respondents were employed in either full-time (79 percent) or part-time (11 percent) positions, 8 per cent were unemployed. As shown in Table 17, employment rates were better for temporary employer sponsored migrants and least

favourable for sponsored migrants. These outcomes are consistent with CSAM findings which showed negligible unemployment rates for employer sponsored migrants compared to 6 percent for offshore independent migrants and 13 percent for those sponsored by a family member or a state/territory government (DIAC, 2010e:4).

Table 17: India-born Migrants, Employment Outcomes by Visa Type (percent)

Visa Type	Employed Full-time	Employed Part-time	Unemployed / looking for work	Study only *
Permanent Independent	78.1	9.4	9.4	3.1
Permanent Sponsored	72.7	15.2	12.1	0.0
Provisional Sponsored	73.4	15.6	9.4	0.0
Temporary Employer Sponsored	92.0	4.0	2.0	2.0
Total	78.9	11.1	7.8	1.1

Note: exclude respondents who were studying but also in employment or looking for work.
Source: Adelaide 2010 Survey of India-born skilled migrants

Furthermore, the CSAM highlighted that employer sponsored migrants are more likely to be working in a skilled job (94 percent) compared to offshore independent migrants (90 percent) or sponsored migrants (approximately 50 percent) (DIAC, 2010e:4).

Difficulties of finding employment commensurate with their skills and experiences and the subsequent underutilisation of skills were consistently raised by India-born migrants at the focus groups:

> *I know many skilled people, like doctors, engineers, lawyers and chartered accountants. When they come here they go for process work. It is a big struggle for them to get the job (in their field) - in some cases it takes many years. So I think they lose their potential and also the government is wasting human capital that was brought here with the consent of the government.*
>
> *Skilled people go for jobs that do not require any skill, like cleaning, working in the chicken factory, petrol stations ….*

The 2010 survey findings affirm that many India-born migrants, particularly provisional visa entrants, are employed in less senior positions to those they held prior to migrating to Australia (Table 18). The proportion in low level positions increased even further (from 58 to 67 percent) for the 51 percent of provisional sponsored migrants employed in fields they have not previously worked in. A similar pattern emerged for both permanent independent and sponsored migrants. Focus group discussions highlighted that acceptance of any position is often a strategic decision to achieve, in the first instance, the requirements for permanent residency. For others, it is an initial sacrifice they are willing to make in order to provide financial stability for themselves and their family. In contrast, more effective utilisation of skills can be seen amongst temporary employer sponsored migrants with only 6 percent working in fields they have not previously undertaken and nearly three quarters (73 percent) in equivalent or more senior positions to those held prior to migrating. These results are further reinforced by respondents' assessment of the extent to which their current job matches their skills and experiences, with 87 percent

of employer sponsored migrants agreeing with this assertion compared to only 44 percent of provisional sponsored migrants.

Table 18: India-born Migrants, Employment Outcomes by Visa Type (percent)

Visa Type	Status of Position			Not previously worked in this type of job
	Less senior	About the same	More senior	
Permanent Independent	51.7	27.6	20.7	19.4
Permanent Sponsored	39.3	42.9	17.9	13.8
Provisional Sponsored	58.3	27.1	14. 6	50.9
Temporary Employer Sponsored	26.7	55.6	17.8	6.4
Total: All Skill Migrants	44.0	38.7	17.3	100.0

Source: Adelaide 2010 Survey of India-born skilled migrants

These findings are consistent with other studies which demonstrate the underutilisation of migrants' skills, particularly those from non-English speaking countries (NESC), and subsequent downward occupational mobility (cf Ressia, 2010; Birrell and Healy, 2008; Birrel et el, 2006; Ho & Alcorso, 2004). For instance, Birrell and Healy (2008) used Census data to compare outcomes for migrants holding degree-level qualifications arriving between 2001 and 2006 differentiating between age cohorts of 20 to 29 years and 30 to 64 years as well as country of birth. They found that whereas those born in mainly English speaking countries (MESC) performed nearly as well in the labour market as qualified Australia-born persons, there was a much lower rate of attainment of professional or managerial positions amongst NESC persons particularly those in the younger cohort. Only 36 percent of those aged 30 to 64 had found a professional/managerial position (compared with 65 percent for MESC persons) and in the 20 to 29 age group this reduced to 28 percent (compared to MESC at 57 percent). The rate of attainment of professional/managerial positions was even lower, at 22 percent, for India-born persons aged 20 to 29. Similar conclusions were drawn from a review of employment outcomes for SIR visa holders comparing migrants born in the UK, India and China (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008).
Numerous studies have identified the difficulties faced by newly arrived migrants, particularly those from NESC, of entering the Australian labour market. Barriers consistently highlighted include: fluency in English, recognition of skills and qualifications particularly if obtained in NESC, lack of local work experience and ethnic discrimination (Ressia, 2010; Kraal and Roosblad, 2008; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007; Wagner & Childs, 2006; Ho & Alcorso, 2004). Even LSIA outcomes, which have been criticised as overstating employment outcomes (cf Birrell and Healy, 2008; Ho & Alcorso, 2004), show that 'even after controlling for English language ability, being born in the UK, Ireland or North America confers still greater chance of being employed' (Richardson et al, 2001:12).

Research findings of India-born arrivals to South Australia confirm the presence of these obstacles in gaining employment particularly in positions which fully utilise migrants' qualifications, skills and experiences. The challenge of having to demonstrate local experience was reported by a half of all

respondents while a quarter reported difficulties having their qualifications as well as skills and experiences recognised in Australia. Employer expectations of greater proficiency in English was identified by 11 percent of respondents, despite the fact that English was spoken 'very well' (by a third) or 'well' (by two-thirds) these particular respondents. These results tend to suggest ethnic discrimination may also be a contributing factor, and indeed 16 percent of respondents identified this as a barrier to employment. Not having permanent residency further compounded obstacles to employment for provisional sponsored migrants, many of whom highlighted the irony that although they were sponsored by the state government they are not eligible to apply for any state government positions. Research participants expressed frustration that despite being accepted to Australia on the basis of their skills and qualifications in order to address skills shortages, they received limited support to secure these positions. Of note, the survey found that only 29 percent of state sponsored migrants received support on arrival from the state government with most migrants reliant on assistance from friends or family members. In stark contrast, nearly three-quarters of employer sponsored migrants received support on arrival from their employer.

To address these concerns, the President of the Indian Australian Association of South Australia (IAASA) is advocating for a 'one stop shop' to be established to support newly arrived migrants with all aspects of the resettlement process over and above those services already provided by Immigration SA such as the Employment Linkages Services and Skills Recognition Services. Foremost is the need for increased acceptance of overseas qualifications and/or provision of bridging courses to up-skill migrants so they meet required Australian standards. While bridging courses are available in many fields, exorbitant fees act as a disincentive especially if migrants have to re-sit exams (Madan, 2011).

Despite the rhetoric that Australian employers are more likely to favour former international students to newly arrived migrants, as the former have gained Australian qualifications and become acclimatised to the Australian way of life, India-born student survey respondents also reported difficulties in gaining skilled employment on completion of their studies. This is despite high levels of educational attainment with nearly 90 percent of the 65 students enrolled in higher education courses being awarded a masters degree or PhD. In transitioning into the Australian workforce on completion of their studies, most survey respondents indicated they had gained either a full-time or part-time job (70 and 22 percent respectively), with the rest either looking for work and/or undertaking further studies. However despite attempts to find a job related to their course, only 42 percent were successful. The greatest obstacle, faced by half of the respondents, was employers wanting them to have local experience. Students who were still completing their course appeared cognisant of the difficulties they are likely to face in gaining skilled employment with 74 percent rating this as likely to be either 'quite' or 'very difficult'. Birrell and Healy (2008:16) also observed that overseas students had the least successful employment outcomes, flagging the serious implications this poses given the increasing share of permanent residency grants being allocated to overseas students on completion of their studies.

Working in lower level positions has caused many India-born migrants a great deal of personal distress. Focus group participants relayed stories of the demoralising impacts on skilled migrants of working in lower-skilled positions, which for some resulted in their return to India.

> *… there is a different mindset with Indian people as far as working is concerned So if a person has been in a really good position, eg a marketing engineer and he comes down here and he has to work in Cunningham's he will definitely find it hard – something he just cannot accept.*

Indeed, when asked what advice they would give to prospective migrants about whether to migrate to Australia, over a third of all respondents suggested either staying in India (22 percent) or consider going to another country (10 percent). Those most positive about coming to Australia were employer-sponsored migrants, with 71 percent advising people should definitely come but with another 20 percent advising caution – suggesting that prospective migrants weigh up their alternatives and in particular only migrate if they already secured a job. Respondents advising others to stay in India primarily highlighted the difficulties of gaining suitable employment and the flow-on effects this has on quality of life. Amongst the more disturbing consequences is anecdotal evidence suggesting that personal demoralisation and frustrations in not securing suitable employment is, in turn, resulting in increased levels of domestic violence (Madan, 2011).

Table 19: Advice given by newly arrived India-born migrants to prospective Indian migrants

Visa Type	Definitely come to Australia	Consider going to another country	Stay in India	Other
Permanent Independent	55.6	7.4	37.0	0.0
Permanent Sponsored	65.6	12.5	21.9	0.0
Provisional Sponsored	67.7	7.7	23.1	1.5
Temporary Employer Sponsored	70.8	2.1	6.3	20.8
Students completed studies	58.0	10.1	30.4	1.4
Students still studying	57.7	17.9	19.2	5.1
Total: All Respondents	62.4	10.3	22.3	5.0

Source: Adelaide 2010 Survey of India-born skilled migrants

Furthermore, when asked to assess the extent to which various factors might impact on migration from India to Australia, two-thirds of all respondents identified that 'changes to Australian immigration policies making it harder to get permanent residency' are likely to have 'a lot of impact' while 60 percent identified reported incidences of violence towards Indians as negatively impacting future migration. Both of these factors were of greatest concern to respondents who came on student visas, with this group also expressing concerns about the impact of colleges closing. In contrast, impacts of the global financial crisis were seen as being less critical with only 28 percent of all respondents stating this is likely to have 'a lot of impact'.

Incidences of violence towards Indian students, together with the sudden closure of colleges which left many young Indian students emotionally and financially distressed, received extensive negative media coverage in India regarding (Rentschler, R et al, 2010). This undoubtedly contributed to the recent dramatic decline in student visa applications from India falling by 52 percent from 80,238 applications in 2008-09 to 38,504 in 2009-10, compared with only an 18.9 percent fall in all student applications (DIAC, 2011c). Moreover, these incidences have negatively impacted on relations between Australia and India, with the Indian Government issuing safety travel warnings about Australia (MEA, 2010) which met with the Australian Government acting swiftly to allay fears of racism and danger to Indian citizens in Australia by establishing committees of enquiry and sending a number of high level delegations to India (Rentschler, R et al, 2010; ABC, 2009b).

Retaining India-born Migrants in South Australia

As already observed, the vast majority of India-born settler arrivals to South Australia enter on a three-year provisional Skilled Regional Sponsored (SRS or SIR) visa, which requires them to live for two years and work for at least one year in the state before they are eligible for permanent residency, after which stage they are at liberty to move. Similarly, permanent sponsored migrants on the Skilled - Sponsored (Migrant) (eg STNI) visa are required to live in the state for two years. Of particular interest, therefore, are the likely future intentions of respondents who first settled in South Australia because this was a condition of their visa. To this end, skilled migrant respondents were asked to indicate the likelihood of relocating from South Australia to another state in the next five years for work purposes.

As shown in Table 20, respondents' future intentions of moving interstate varied considerably. While a fifth of all respondents are uncertain about their future, temporary employer-sponsored migrants had the highest anticipated rate of staying in the state with over half (58 percent) indicating it is unlikely they will relocate. In contrast, the likelihood of retaining provisional and permanent sponsored migrants is lower with only about a third indicating with certainty they will stay in the state. It could reasonably have been expected that newly arrived sponsored migrants might have had higher anticipated rates of departure but these percentages remained fairly consistent irrespective of length of residency in the state. Likely relocation rates of 20 percent for provisional sponsored migrants are, however, much higher than findings from wave two of the LSIA3 which showed that only 12.9 percent of India-born SIR migrants resident for at least 12 months between mid 2004 and 2006 planned to move state after gaining permanent residency (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008:18).

While number of factors are likely to influence future movement patterns, those least likely of leaving South Australia indicated higher levels of satisfaction with their current work, which in turn is linked with the nature and status of employment as discussed above. Whereas nearly three quarters (72 percent) of temporary employer sponsored migrants stated they were either 'quite' or 'very satisfied' with their current employment, other groups recorded lower levels of satisfaction: 56, 38 and 26 percent respectively for permanent sponsored, provisional sponsored and permanent independent. Similar patterns of job

satisfaction were observed by Birrell et al (2006:83) who asserted that 'people who do not like their work are likely to be less productive, and to seek alternative employment (including by moving to another location)'.

Table 20: Intentions of newly arrived India-born migrants who first settled in South Australia

Visa Type	Likelihood of Relocating Interstate in the next five years for work purposes					
	Very unlikely	Quite unlikely	Neither likely or unlikely	Quite likely	Very likely	Don t know
Permanent Independent	24.0%	8.0%	24.0%	16.0%	0.0%	28.0%
Permanent Sponsored	10.0%	23.3%	16.7%	20.0%	3.3%	26.7%
Provisional Sponsored	23.7%	10.2%	11.9%	11.9%	8.5%	33.9%
Temporary Employer Sponsored	34.2%	23.7%	21.1%	10.5%	5.3%	5.3%
Total: All Skill Migrants	23.7%	15.8%	17.1%	13.8%	5.3%	24.3%

Source: Adelaide 2010 Survey of India-born skilled migrants

Future intentions of moving interstate need to be considered within the broader context of skilled migrants' intentions of staying in Australia, as opposed to returning to India to live or migrating to a third country. Intentions of respondents on permanent independent visas mirrored those of permanent sponsored migrants (all of whom had attained permanent residency) with about two-thirds intending to settle in Australia permanently (albeit some may move back to India on retirement) while about a quarter envisage moving between Australia and India, and only 6 percent either returning to India or migrating to another country. Of the provisional sponsored respondents, half have already applied and been granted permanent residency while the remaining half intend to apply. Their responses indicate they are more likely to settle permanently in Australia with reduced travel back to India. In contrast, nearly a fifth of the temporary employer sponsored respondents are either undecided or not going to apply for permanent residency and are likely to be more mobile travelling between India and Australia, returning to India or migrating to a third country. Hence while employer sponsored migrants are more likely to stay in South Australia if they remain in Australia, they are likely to be more transient in terms of international travel.

CONCLUSION

As highlighted in this paper, South Australia is attracting proportionately more than its national share of India-born migrants: as permanent migrants (notably as skill stream arrivals particularly on GSM SSRM visas) as well as temporary migrants on either employer sponsored or overseas student visas. Consistent with previous research, the patterns emerging for newly arrived India-born migrants in South Australia indicate that temporary employer sponsored migrants enjoy better employment outcomes, in terms of employment rates as well as utilisation of their skills and qualifications, which is likely to explain their higher levels of job satisfaction. Conversely sponsored migrants, especially those on three-year

provisional visas, are not faring as well with lower rates of skills utilisation and job satisfaction, resulting in a higher propensity to consider relocating from South Australia.

The dilemma is that South Australia has been attracting substantially more sponsored migrants, especially those on provisional visas, and relatively few temporary employer sponsored migrants. If the experiences of India-born migrants reflect those of other newly arrived migrants, at least those from NESC, then abating interstate movement will require a more concerted effort by the state government to make more effective use of migrants' skills. Not only is the current underutilisation of migrants' skills having negative personal impacts, at a broader societal level it is a waste of human capital.

Another challenge facing South Australia is the anticipated decline in net overseas migration given the erosion of the state's relative advantage in utilising the State Specific Regional Migration scheme. South Australia has attracted a much greater share of sponsored migrants, particularly those on provisional visas, with the latter accounting for over half (58 percent) of all settler arrivals to South Australia in 2009-10. However a number of factors are likely to result in South Australia's share of sponsored visas declining. Not only are other states more actively utilising these visas, proposed July 2011 changes to the points test will reduce the relative attractiveness of provisional sponsored visas. In addition, it is unclear whether Adelaide will continue to qualify as a 'low population growth metropolitan area' given recent increased population growth rates. As the only mainland capital city with this classification, this has given South Australia a significant advantage in attracting provisional sponsored migrants.

Effective utilisation of the skills of existing new migrants is therefore paramount. A series of reforms to the General Skilled Migration program, introduced since mid 2010, have seen a progressive tightening of selection criteria and assessment processes for skilled migrants so as to meet 'Australia's needs rather than the desires of prospective migrants' (Bowen, 2011). A new Skills Occupation List (SOL), regularly updated by independent body Skills Australia to be more responsive to changing skills requirements, has been introduced together with State Migration Plans which allow states to identify additional skills required to meet local labour demands. The extent to which these measures are successful in better matching the skills and expertise of new migrants to jobs in demand may result in increased utilisation of migrants' skills. However measures to address employer ethnic discrimination as well as increase migrants' awareness of Australian culture are also likely to be required.

Facilitating increased employer sponsored migration to South Australia will also be critical. Given that the uptake of temporary 457 visas is highly responsive to economic market conditions, increased grants to South Australia are likely to depend on the success of growing the state's economy through key strategies such as attracting businesses to the state, diversifying the export base and expanding the mining industry. On the other hand, South Australia already has a good uptake of permanent employer sponsored visas both offshore and onshore. This is likely to strength given the federal government's ongoing prioritisation of employer sponsored visas, particularly the RSMS visa.

The recently announced Skilled Migrant Selection Model, due to commence in July 2012, further seeks to facilitate employer-sponsored migration as all prospective skilled migrants applying for an independent, family sponsored or state/territory sponsored visa will be required to submit an expression of interest, effectively creating a pool of talent for employers to select from. The desired outcome is a skilled migration program that is 'more focused and efficient, demand driven and tailored to employers needs' (Bowen, 2011). How this is likely to affect South Australia and other smaller states remains to be seen.

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COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

Due to the growing attention on the refugee crisis in Australia at present, this paper will step back in time and explore the Greek-Cypriot refugee arrival in South Australia. During the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s, we find the largest influx of Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees to Australia, due to inter-communal violence and the Turkish invasion. Through the lens of oral history, I will explore the experiences and resettlement patterns of migrants and refugees, who live amongst us today in the community. The data will provide an understanding of the issues faced by this minority group, in areas of settlement challenges and identity in a foreign country. This examination will offer a significant tool to reflect back on the current situation, and whether we as a society can help.

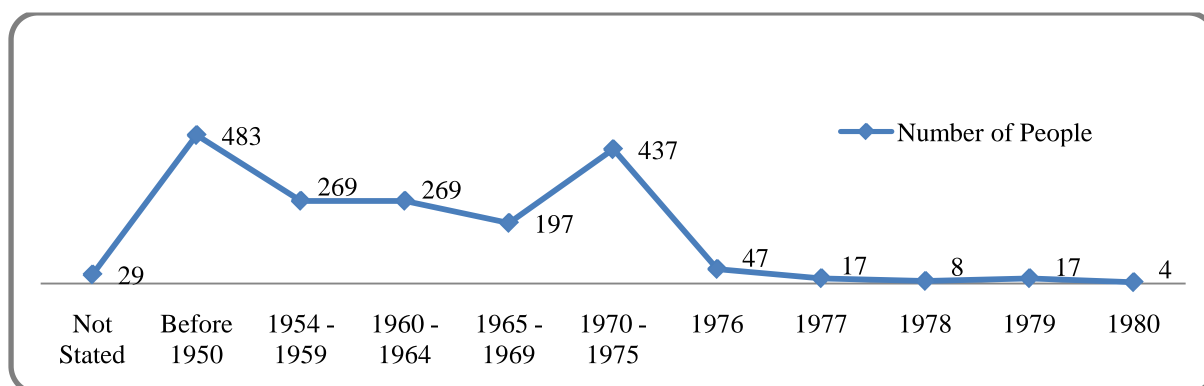
Introduction

The Republic of Cyprus proclaimed independence on the 16th of August 1960. Both Greek and Turkish Cypriots coexisted a long one another, however with the onset of political instability there was an uprise of inter-communal clashes. This resulted in the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force (UNFICYP) being sent in as a mediator in 1964. Then on 20th July 1974, Turkey invaded Cyprus and illegally occupied the northern 37% of the island. The invasion internally displaced 200,000 Greek-Cypriot individuals and as many as 20,000 went missing. Many Greek-Cypriots were caught up in the ambush, being killed, raped, or taken prisoner. Those who could were evacuated or fled to the southern half of the island, in seek of refuge. This paper intends to shed light on the experiences of Greek-Cypriots refugees and political migrants, during the 1960s till 1970s, which came to an unknown country far away from what they knew as home. Through this paper I aim to explore an understanding of the mechanisms that have assisted upon settlement and establishment of refugees in an Anglo society. As this has a large scope to cover, the paper will only focus on topics of pre-settlement challenges, work and identity. The significance of this paper is due to the lack of research on the Greek-Cypriot migrant and refugee population in South Australia and its desire to fill the gap.

Statistics

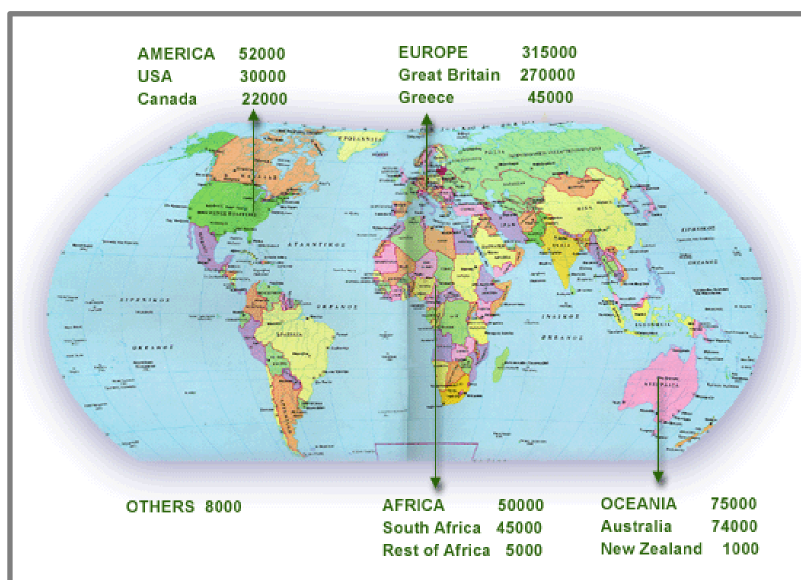
Throughout history, there has been a continuous flow of Greek-Cypriot migration to other countries. Specifically focussed to South Australia, the Australian Bureau of Statistics 1981 Census published data on the Cypriot-born population who entered the state between 1950 until 1980. From the figures below, we can see South Australia had two peaks of the Greek-Cypriot population arrivals, the first, during and prior to 1950 and the second between 1970 until 1975.

Figure 1: Greek-Cypriot Born Population in S.A. between 1950 – 1980: 1981 Census.[23]



In 2006 there were somewhat of 500,000 Cypriots spread around the world. Of those, according to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship there were '1,380 Cypriot-born residents in South Australia.'[24]

Figure 2: Distribution of Overseas Cypriots around the world in 2006.[25]



When interpreting the statistics given above, it must be considered that there are limitations. Firstly, due to Cyprus being under British rule and only gaining independence in 1960, citizens were known as British subjects and travelled with British passports. This in result would possibly provide inconsistent figures of migrants. Secondly, when interpreting data on Cypriots it is often necessary to differentiate whether Greek or Turkish, as they are two different identity groups.

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[23] '1981 Cyprus Profile Data,' *Census of Population and Housing*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1981

[24] *Cyprus-born Community Information Summary*, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2006

[25] Communities Overseas Map (2006) Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs, www.mfa.gov.cy/ (Date accessed: 2 April 2011)

Methodology

The research was conducted through oral history because it provided candidates an opportunity to express themselves more openly on a turning point in their lives. The data was derived from five candidates who arrived between 1965 until the 1970s. The topics discussed with interviewees were in regards to their journey through turmoil to seek refuge, their settlement, the assistance they received, and identity matters. The information collected from interviews was utilised with secondary sources, such as books, archival material and articles, to provide an analytical framework.

Limitations

Whilst undertaking this research, numerous limitations seem to be confronted. Firstly, it must be taken into consideration that only a handful of refugees were interviewed, and does not intend to speak for the whole refugee population as a whole. Also a variable factor is reflected in the findings because candidates are of different age, sex and background. This will be addressed accordingly through the analysis. Secondly, a limitation was encountered with memory. Although, an ethical practice was undertaken when interviewing, it is the empty gazes into the wide spaces and murmurs that one would like to know more about.

Data analysis on the patterns / experiences in areas of:

Pre-Settlement Challenges

During the period of turmoil, there were governmental restrictions for refugees departing the island. On one hand, the Greek and Cypriot Government did not endorse Greek-Cypriots departing the island because it composed vulnerability towards the Turkish occupation. Therefore, restrictions were applied to 'prevent citizens of the Republic from leaving the island unless they secured an exit permit from the Ministry of the Interior.'[26] Whilst, on the other hand, as a key actor in the international arena Australia reflected moral responsibility and humanitarian qualities, but it also had to address political relations involving sovereign equality and integrity. For example, the Australian Government assured 'it would not want to arrange the movement of significant numbers of Greek-Cypriots to Australia if in present circumstances this would be inconsistent with the policies of the Greek and Cypriot Government.'[27]

In addition to these governmental restrictions, the Australian Government was also concerned with the influx of refugees. The consular officer Mr. Ray Pennifold in Cyprus appealed to the Australian Government to alleviate the current problems they were exposed to in Cyprus and Athens. On the 18th September 1974, his report stated

[26] *Cyprus – Migration of displaced persons 1974 (Contents date range: 1974)*, National Archives of Australia, http://naa.gov.au, Series number: A1838, Barcode: 1872873, Location: Canberra, p60

[27] *Cyprus – Migration of displaced persons 1974 (Contents date range: 1974),* National Archives of Australia, http://naa.gov.au, Series number: A1838, Barcode: 1872873, Location: Canberra, p49

'People with Cypriot passports are either proceeding to Athens of own accord to apply for entry to Australia. Relatives in Australia are sending air tickets from travel agents to go to Australia, etc. ect. All do not have entry documents. There are many cases of this. Consider essential that follow up statement on migration policy be issued urgently to stop this unnecessary and perhaps non recoverable expense by so many people. Also to stop distress caused and possible unfavourable publicity in Australia. Even though the Government or its servants are not at fault.'[28]

Ultimately, as refugees were bona fide and required assistance, the Australia Government had to balance a sympathetic plight towards displaced persons, within sovereign constraints and moral obligations.

The preservation of the family unit was of the utmost importance. Frightening to all, many wanted to depart. The Australian Government gave priority to visa applicants to those living in severe hardship and/or those who were supported by family and friends in Australia. For example, at the time of the invasion, an interviewee was 18-year-old girl and one of ten children, who fled to safety with her family. She had just finished high school a month before the invasion occurred in July. She comments

'When the invasion happened, we fled to Nicosia that was unoccupied. We lived in a tent because they didn't have anywhere to go. We even didn't have food or anything. So we decided to go to Australia because I had an elder brother there. He insisted that we go there to stay close to him. My family and I left Cyprus from the Limassol port on the 14th September 1974. We arrived at Piraeus port in Greece on the 16th September 1974. When we reached Athens, we stayed in a cellar of an apartment building for three months up until the Australian Embassy granted us visas. After we gained clearance for a visa from the Australian Embassy in Athens, only my father, three sisters and myself left Greece and arrived in Sydney airport on the 25th December. Other members of the family and my mother stayed in Athens up until one of my sisters gave birth because they wouldn't let her travel.'

Furthermore, a 77-year-old male remembers his experience coming to Australia. He was 40-years-old at the time married with three young children.

'I remember the day we left. We left from the Limassol harbour. There was no airport at the time because it was under the Turks. The one in Larnaca wasn't used as an airport until three years later. We left Cyprus and on the 26th November we arrived at the harbour of Piraeus in Greece. We stayed in Greece for a week so we could arrange the kid's papers with the Australian Embassy, before we departed Athens by aeroplane on the 29th November to Australia. On the 30th November 1974 we were permitted to enter Sydney and then on the 2nd of December we were granted a permit to remain in Australia by the Department of Immigration in Adelaide. We came here with five suitcases and enough money for the first

[28] *Ibid.*, p38

couple of weeks. The journey was very stressful because I had a lot to worry about. I had three little kids and my wife didn't speak a word of English.'

Understandably, those who had assistance from family and friends in Australia provided support for their application, but there were also those who needed financial assistance to come because they were displaced and left with nothing. One refugee lady born in Amohostos (or Varrosi known to Greek-Cypriots) in 1938, who worked in a pharmacy, tells of her experience when she, her husband and two children had fled from their village. They left during the invasion with what they had on their back. The lady tells of the challenge in their journey to Australia, explaining:

'We were told to get onto a bus. We thought it would be for a short time and we would return. My husband accidently left his wedding band in the bedroom on the dresser. Unfortunately, we were not able to return to retrieve our personal belongings. Once we left, we stayed for 15 days at different places, in open fields, schools and various other places, up until we were to find where we were going to stay. Eventually, we ended up at Limassol. My children grew up a bit whilst there and the International Red Cross helped us a lot. In two years time, we were able to get a visa from someone we knew [who lived in Australia], not related, but an acquaintance that I grew up with. In 1976 we came to Australia and specifically Adelaide. There were four of us and two suitcases. We did not have any family or relatives here, we knew absolutely no one. We came to Australia with a Cypriot passport and by an aeroplane. There was a government organisation that helped refugees, which you could give one third forward, because we didn't have money and we weren't able to leave. And whatever money we had, we sold our car to put down the one third of the money. Then there was also one organisation that helped refugees and when you came to Australia you would give about $10 - $20 a month, or whatever you could afford, to pay off the debt. If you could pay it off straight away you could pay it off. After two years we were able to pay off our debt because we were both working.'

As another refugee summed the overall experience as, 'we didn't know what was happening from one day to the next.' Essentially, many found themselves in this same situation. During this unstable period, individuals faced constraints financially and by governments. For those who could, they found assistance from family and friends in seek refuge to Australia.

Opportunity and Contribution in the South Australian Workplace

Every nation-state's impulse in accepting new members is hesitant because it considers not only the burden on the country as a whole but also how the individuals will endure in a new environment. Prior to the flow of Cypriot political migrants and refugees, there was already unemployment issues present in the established Greek community in South Australia. On the 18th June 1961 a mass meeting of 500 Greeks was held at the Greek Community Hall on Franklin Street in Adelaide, to address the unemployment situation. 'The speakers were Mr. J. Goss, from the A.E.U., Mr. A. Denison (A.R.U.), Mr

D. Dunstan M.P., Mr. C. Socratous, Secretary of the Workers Club, PLATO, and Mr. H. Milton, President of the Greek Community of S.A.'[29] The minutes from the meeting expressed

> *'Many migrants hold the view that they were brought here under false pretences. In fact some rightly feel that the Government has not honoured its pledge to provide employment for the first two years. Migrants then are caught in a trap. [Many] generally expressed disgust at the apparent neglect shown by the government to migrants, some of the speakers said that the present Government in fact serves the monopolies and not the interests of the Australian people – which include the migrants. [Then]......to cover up for the bad unemployment situation, firms are demanding a knowledge of English before giving employment. Worse still some firms in giving employment are classifying workers under Australians, naturalised Australian citizens, migrants who have filed forms to become naturalized, migrants who have not, and those who have not resided in Australia long enough to apply for naturalization.'*[30]

Since there were unemployment issues previously, it was important to consider the potential for the new intake of refugees and migrants. It must be considered, 'refugees need to insert themselves into the labour market ...to rebuild lives.'[31] Not only by doing this, it would help with taking the financial stress out of new surroundings, but it would also reboot their lives from a stagnant. This is significant for their settlement within the community because they were able to contribute to society from an opportunity they were offered. A refugee lady tells of her struggle

> *'My husband found work at Chrysler as a car electrician, two weeks after arriving in Adelaide. It took me much longer to find work. Eventually, I got a job at Hills Hoist factory at Edwardstown. I honestly struggled. It was the first time I ever worked that hard, more than I ever had. Unfortunately, nine months later Chrysler had sacked about 800-900 employees and unfortunately my husband was one of them. So I went to the office at work, and they employed him. I worked there for 10 years and he worked for 15-16 years there up until he retired at 65. I didn't have any training. We found it very difficult at the beginning. We were lucky enough to make plenty of friends who helped us along the way. We made friends with Cypriots when we worked at the factory, and after all these years we are still really good friends. They helped us a lot. We thank God.'*

Similarly, a refugee 63-year-old male admits he found challenges upon arrival.

> *'Australia was good but very very hard at the beginning. If you don't know English...... It took me 2 weeks to find a job at a property burning steel. It was very hot. I used to work from 7am until 9 at night.*

[29] Mass Meeting of Unemployed Greeks, (1961) Greek Community of South Australia, Adelaide, 18 June (Accessed from the State Library of South Australia: September 2010)

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Harzig, C., and Hoerder, D., (2009) What is Migration History, UK: Polity Press, p89

Life was very hard. We knew of different ways in Cyprus, and here it was work home, work home. That's all it was. I found the job because my uncle had a best friend who had a snack bar where the factory was. His friend knew the boss and he told him about me that I came from Cyprus recently and he is looking for work. Since I was 18-years-old and you had to be 21 to work this particular job. So they wrote I was 21-years-old. But I was producing the same work that the others were. I learnt a little bit of English and after six months we got used to, we made friends.'

Interestingly, when looking at all cases in-depth, although not all added in this paper, there is an underling similarity from all those interviewed. Firstly, all interviewees found work within two weeks of arrival. Secondly, all candidates worked manual labouring positions, long hours and nearly every day of the week. Thirdly, generally those who could not speak good English, possessed jobs that secluded them from integrating to higher positions and intermixing outside their cultural background. For example, one refugee summed up by saying,

'The people here were friendly and nice to us. Sometimes they used to get upset at us not knowing the English language. They couldn't communicate properly with us. Nevertheless they were glad to have us. We were hard working people and that's all they wanted in those days.'

Overall, these candidates had contributed to the South Australian society and economy by seize the opportunity to work. They were also able to rebuild their lives by obtaining a sustainable work placement, even though they struggled with language barriers.

Identity

The picture featured is well known Cypriot refugee stamp which represents a symbol of the continual struggle and despair of those who have suffered from the invasion. As one refugee mentioned, '...never forgotten, we are tortured life long,' it can be seen it their eyes, the legacy they have lost. However, the identity of Greek-Cypriots is a unique one and is not only that of a refugee. They are hospitable and undoubtedly respectful. Their ability to sustain their identity within an Anglo society is of interest. On a larger scale the Cypriot Community of South Australia was formed in 1948. A refugee male reminisced, 'when I was in Cyprus, I had heard that there were a lot of Greeks and Cypriots in Adelaide. One day I went to the club rooms and I introduced myself and I made a lot of friends since then.' This represented a social network for many migrants and refugees to integrate into the Cypriot community.

Furthermore, each household carried the traditions and customs that were taught in Cyprus. A refugee 55-year-old female stated

> *'When we first came we would support significant Cypriot days and events but now since the children have grown up we do not so much. My husband used to be a coach for the Omonia Soccer Club and my children played 10 years for the club. I would go there to watch them play. There were many Cypriots there. Also we used to take the children to Greek school two times a week. We would go to dinner dances that Cypriot community would hold and other Greek dances. From young we would teach our children from where they originate the customs and the traditions. These were always important for our kids to know.'*

Likewise, the 77-year-old male refugee asserted with pride,

> *'We used to have countrymen come from Cyprus to visit us and they would always tell us "Cyprus is now here, you have held onto our traditions." Not only the Cypriots but also the Greeks too. Me, as a Greek-Cypriot Australian, I am so proud to hear these words.'*

This is significant because they have pass on traditions and customs of the Cypriot identity to the following generation. It signifies the pride they bear and essentially adapting it to the new environment.

However, they are not only Greek-Cypriot, they are also Australian. All of whom were interviewed became Australia citizens. As a male political migrant who arrived in 1965 stated, '....in '78 we decided to become Australian. Since we were to stay in Australia, we said we would become Australian citizens.' Similarly, another male political migrant shared his outlook

> *'I became an Australian citizen in 1978 because we were to go to Cyprus for a family holiday and we wanted to return back to Australia. Also we wanted to travel with the benefits of the Australian passport. I am very satisfied that I became an Australian citizen. Australia, even today, is one of the best places in the world, especially Adelaide because it is quiet and is very similar to Cyprus. The weather is very good in Adelaide especially.'*

In addition, a 72-year-old female refugee declared, 'we became Australian citizens in 1979 because we wanted to stay.' Similarly, a refugee male said, 'I became an Australian citizen in June 1978, which also included my children at the time because we saw a future for our children here.' Whilst, another female refugee reflected, 'I became an Australian citizen in June 1993 because I wanted to remain permanently in Australia. Also it was much easier for me to travel to and from Cyprus with an Australian passport.'

In general, there is a pattern in the context of citizenship. Firstly, the majority became citizens four-five years after the invasion. Even though, not relevant to this interviewed group, it must be noted that there was a portion of the Greek-Cypriot refugee population that came on a ten year refugee permit, which obliged them to return back to Cyprus. This grew to scare many because they could not understand the policy and thought they would be sent back home as well. While this was not the case for many, it still resulted in a trend to become citizens. Secondly, the benefits of obtaining an Australian passport was an incentive for a return holiday visit back home. Coincidently, all of those interviewed still have their passports that they came with to Australia. As one refugee claimed, 'oh, of course I have my passport. It is not just purely for memory purposes but it signifies the journey I took.'

Reflection on the Current Refugee Issue

The new strategy proposed by the Gillard government called the 'Malaysian Solution,' it conveys an interesting turn of events to Australian migration history. The policy is still being structured accordingly, addressing to the specifics required, at the same time as it is continuously analysed by refugee organisations and advocates. However, the dominating question for a nation-state is how to deal with the refugee problem. From numerous sources upon sources, they all draw upon one bottom line and that is that the flow of refugees will continue to increase over the twenty-first century. 'The world must either solve the problems that create the refugees – and that keeping creating them – or it must solve the problems of the refugees themselves.'[32] This unfortunately is not as easy as it sounds, as the situation of refugees and asylum seekers seem to be a complex one at hand. Even still, we should be motivated to find a possible solution that will not undermine the nation's moral responsibilities within the global community.

Conclusion

Concluding to this paper, through the lens of oral history it signifies the pre-settlement challenges, work opportunities and the identity of Greek-Cypriot refugees and political migrants. This minority group faced pre-settlement challenges. From their struggle to depart the island, know as home, they confronted governmental restrictions and financial difficulty. From this study, we cannot reiterate enough the benefits of placing migrants and refugees in a suitable work environment upon settlement. This is vital not only for the individual's life transformation and integration into society, but also for the receiving countries economy. Whilst, the Greek-Cypriot political migrant and refugee population held onto their unique identity, they also gained a new title 'Australian.' Essentially, the bottom-line in the reflection of current trends, is that we require resolutions to the issues that create refugees.

[32] Smyser, W.R., (1987) 'Refugees: Extended Exile', foreword by Leo Cherne, *The Washington Papers*, United States: The Centre for Strategic and International Studies Washington D.C., p2

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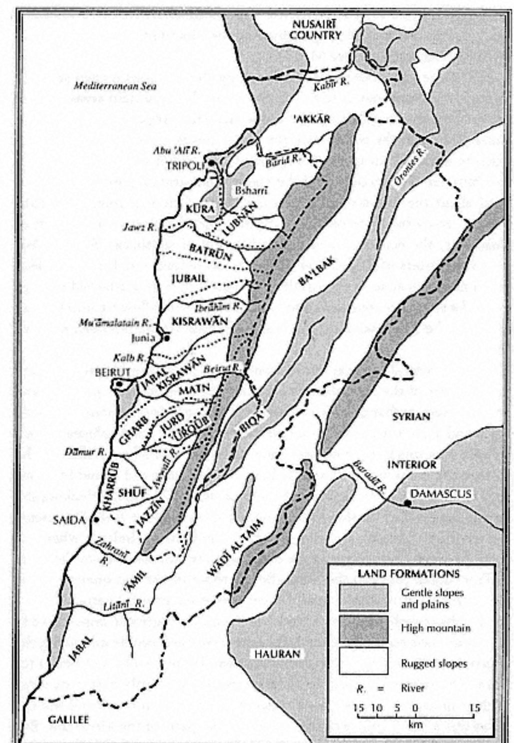
In the late 19th century, a sizable movement of people from the Mount Lebanon area was so pronounced that it had the effect of reducing the population of the region by a fifth. The primary factors which sparked this mass migration, which is usually said to have been a Christian emigration, have often been attributed to economic recession and religious persecution. Historical analysis of Mount Lebanon's culture and economy suggests the overwhelmingly Christian migration was in fact due to population and economic factors as well as association with European identities rather than religious persecution. In addition, there is a new strain of research that indicates a sizable Muslim and Druze share in migration.

The diversity of religions migrating from Lebanon is applicable to all destinations, be it Americas, Europe or Australia. In Australia's case, the historiography of Lebanese migration has been dominated by Trevor Batrouney's research which prolonged that the religious persecution as a push factor, suggests that the majority of Lebanese migrants to Australia, with the exception of a handful of Muslims and a half dozen Druze, were Christian who settled in New South Wales and Victoria. Kemal Karpat has used Ottoman archival records to refute the nature and religious diversity of the migratory movement as well as the factors which led to it. Research into South Australia's rich history contradicts the second assertion and shows that there was a sizable Lebanese community living in the colony prior to federation.

History of Mount Lebanon

The Ottoman Empire took control of the Greater Syrian region in 1516 and did not cede it until the Empire was defeated by the allies in the Great War.[33] The area known today as Lebanon was considered to be part of Greater or Natural Syria which was divided into three provinces, Aleppo, Syria and Beirut, and three autonomous districts, Mount Lebanon, Jerusalem and Dayr al Zawr. The *villayet* of Beirut included modern day Lebanon and parts of Northern Palestine. Mount Lebanon is today part of Lebanon and it is from this mountainous region that the majority of immigrants came (refer to map one).[34] While Mount Lebanon's population was diverse, its villages were homogenous in religious makeup. The majority of individuals



Map 1 – Mutasariffiya of Mt Lebanon

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[33] Hourani, Albert. The History of the Arab Peoples. London: faber and faber, 1991. p. 214-215

[34] Saliba, Najib. Emigration from Syria. P. 31

were either Druze or Christian, specifically Maronite. With the advantage of a sizeable population, the Druze were for centuries the ruling elite, however, migratory movements, particularly to Hawran which was predominantly Druze, and continued bloody battles between the two groups, the Druze ultimately became the minority, particularly after the civil war of 1860.
The Maronites of Mount Lebanon benefited from foreign intervention by Rome and France, initially though catholic education facilities and latterly though direct negotiations with Ottoman officials, which in time allowed them the opportunity of entering high ranking administrative positions. Although missionary work had begun in the region previously, the relationship between Rome and the patriarchs of the church was strengthened by Emir Fakhr-al Din (1590-1633) in the late sixteenth century when the Medicis of Tuscany sent him arms and ammunition.[35] The relationship between Fakhr-al Din and Italy was such that "Pope Gregory the XIII addressed a letter to the Maronite patriarch requesting that his community side with Fakhr-al Din in future wars.'[36] Thus, the close relationship of the patriarch with the Pope on the one hand, and with the French on the other created an identity that linked the Christians of Lebanon more closely with the people from these empires rather than with their countrymen and it is this that facilitated Christian migration from Lebanon in great numbers.

Rebellions and battles between the Druzes and the Maronites occurred periodically and culminated in a civil war in 1860 which required Ottoman, French and British intervention to obtain a truce. With the design of preventing future conflict in the region and to bolster the position of the Maronites in Mount Lebanon, the Porte, at the request of the European powers, created the independent administrative *mutasariffiya* of Mount Lebanon. It was headed by a governor, appointed by the Porte with consultation and approval of six European powers. The governor was assisted by a council made up of all the religious faiths and sects existing within the area. Namely, four Maronites, two Greek Orthodox , one Greek Catholic, three Druze , one each Sunni and Shia Muslims.[37] Under this system of government, Mount Lebanon enjoyed its longest period of peace, considerably lower taxes and its population was relatively better educated. Despite this unprecedented security, the region was plagued by overpopulation which neither the mountainous terrain nor the lack of industry could support. The fertile valleys to which it once had easy access were now beyond its borders and therefore its reach. Consequently, 'emigration served as a safety valve to what might otherwise have been an explosive situation.'[38]

The creation of the *mutasariffiya* of Mount Lebanon prompted the expansion and strengthening of Beirut's unique and strategic position as a port city. The expansion of trade and the investment of French and British companies in the city that connected Europe to Asia not only allowed it economic prosperity but also opened it up to foreign cultural influence.[39] For example, in 1863, a French company constructed a

[35] ibid.

[36] ibid.

[37] ibid.

[38] ibid.

[39] Hitti, Phillip K. The Syrians in America

carriage road between Beirut and Damascus which was later described as 'the most lucrative French enterprise in the Ottoman Empire.'[40] The 'balance of economic power rapidly tipped in favour of its Christian component.'[41] However, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 ensured that trade effectively bypassed Beirut. The effect was felt by the many towns and villages that provided for that trade as well as those that dotted the carriage road between the Beirut and Damascus cities (see map two). It is easy to see then how the opening of the Suez Canal had profound consequences on the economy of Beirut and its hinterlands and particularly the Christians of Beirut who, according to Traboulsi, 'controlled the international import trade, whereas Muslim merchants had to content themselves with trade between the different ports of the Ottoman Empire'.[42] Of Christians' economic dominance, Traboulsi writes that by 1914

> 'Of the 26 houses engaged in the export of raw silk, only three belonged to Mulism families. The importers of manufactured products, building materials and pharmaceutical products were all Christians. There was only one Muslim among the eleven cotton merchants. Local banks were in the hands of Christian families, which the exception of two owned by Jewish families. Christians also dominated the liberal professions.'[43]

The deteriorating economy was buttressed by epidemics that all but annihilated essential cash crops such as the silk and vine industries, the inability to compete with cheaper, more efficiently produced silk, and antiquated farming techniques and only served to deepen the economic recession the country experienced.[44]

[40] Traboulsi, Fawwaz. A history of Modern Lebanon. P. 54

[41] ibid. p. 58

[42] ibid.

[43] ibid.

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The nomadic tribes inhabiting the Lebanon region are not strangers to migration. Therefore, it is no surprise that heavy taxation by an Empire they did not associate with and an ailing economy would drive them to seek a better standard of living abroad. In the second half of the nineteenth century, many in the educated classes migrated to Egypt where they were able to express their political opinion without fear of retribution.[45] However, once the people of Lebanon discovered the United States and stories of their success were relayed back to their villages, the flow of immigration became steady.

As early as 1924, Dr. Philip K Hitti, himself a Lebanese immigrant, wrote of Syrian[46] migration to America in which he makes five important observations which echo through all the Australian studies of Lebanese migration. First, that a 'Syrian is born to his religion, just as an American is born to his nationality. In fact, his church takes the place of the state for him.'[47] This assertion is not only reinforced by a plethora of scholars who have commented on the primordial ties that continue to exist between village groups in modern day Lebanon but also by recurring civil wars between the different sects and the continuing disagreements between the various faction leaders in the country today. Although Hitti wrote this in 1924, this form of identification persists, is explored below, and is, unsurprisingly, also prevalent in the diaspora. Therefore, the relationships migrants carried out abroad closely mirrored those they held at home which tended to remain with their coreligionists.

All scholars on this topic agree that the migration of Syrians was encouraged by pull factors surrounding the relative improvement in living standards they believed were available abroad. These ideas were spread by missionaries, individuals who had previously migrated abroad and travelling merchants. Hitti indicates that the migration 'did not assume large proportions until the early nineties, the Columbian Exposition of 1893 constituting the first general bugle call to the land of opportunity.'[48] It is generally accepted that fairs such as this played a vital role in 'attracting and spreading immigrants all over'[49] the United States. In addition to this, many ranch operators in countries such as Argentina and Brazil sent requests to the Ottoman Foreign Ministry requesting immigrants to work as ranch hands and agricultural labourers.[50] The response to this requests was positive such that in 1909 alone more than eleven thousand Syrian migrants were admitted to Argentina.[51] Clearly, a relative improvement in earning potential and living standards was a significant pull factor for Syrians which was ultimately underpinned by an ailing domestic economy.

[45] Saliba, Najib. "Emigration from Syria" p. 34

[46] Lebanon did not exist as a separate state until 1924, prior to this, it was considered to be part of Syria.

[47] Hitti, Philip K. The Syrians in America.)New York: George H Doran, 1924) p. 35.

[48] ibid. p. 48

[49] Saliba, Najib. "Emigration from Syria" p. 31

[50] Karpat, Kemal. "Ottoman Emigration To America" International Journal of Middle East Studies. Vol. 17, No. 2 (May, 1985) p. 179

[51] ibid. p. 182

Hitti also states that the movement was at first predominantly male but 'before long the economic value of the woman was discovered.'[52] The majority of Syrians, due to lack of skills and knowledge of the English language, more often than not engaged in hawking or peddling. In this profession, women were at an advantage as they could gain entry to homes more easily and were able to sew garments and notions that were in demand and thereby increase their earning potential.[53] In the years between 1899-1909, 18,274 (or 32%) Syrian women migrated to the United States boosting the number of women in the country above that of the majority of immigrant groups.[54]

In his 1964 work *Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion* Alexander Yarwood briefly examined the phenomenon of Syrian migration with a view to understanding why this group of migrants, who were classified as Asiatics and therefore prohibited from entering the Commonwealth by the Immigration Restrictions Act and barred from obtaining Australian citizenship by the Naturalisation Act, became an exception to both of these statutes. He found that the high proportion of women among these migrants rendered them more palatable as it signalled a readiness to make Australia their permanent home. It also ensured that white race was not at a high risk of intermixing from these particular migrants.[55]

Prior to the turn of the century, the majority of migrants were unskilled itinerant workers, some who had migrated from rural areas to Beirut in search of work but found they were a small part of a large wave of villagers. Their skills were limited to artisan craftsmanship which were no longer required due to the presence of British manufactured goods. Once they arrived at their destination, immigrants were forced to take employment that neither relied on a set of skills or a thorough knowledge of the language.[56] As a result, the majority of immigrants in the United States and here in Australia were employed in hawking or peddling as the lack of language or skills did not hinder their ability to earn a wage.[57]

Among this majority, were a very few educated individuals who proliferated the view that religious persecution was rife in the Ottoman Empire and it was this primary factor which pushed them and their coreligionists to migrate. While neither Hitti nor Andrew and Trevor Batrouney believe this cause to be foremost in encouraging people to migrate, they do believe that the disadvantage with which Christians existed under Ottoman rule was sufficiently significant to encourage them to leave. The Batrouneys cite tales handed down through the generations of 'having to step off the footpath if a Turk was passing or being spat upon by Turks'.[58] These scholars, authors of books which have become important reference points for their respective countries, attribute the large number of Christian migrants to the existence of

[52] Hitti, Philip K. The Syrians in America. P. 58
[53] ibid.
[54] ibid.
[55] Yarwood, AT. Asian Migration to Australia. University Press: Melbourne, 1964. p. 143
[56] with the exception of those migrating to Argentina and Brasil who were engaged to work as ranch hands on arrival
[57] Batrouney, Andrew & Trevor. The Lebanese in Australia. p. 34; Hitti, Phillip. The Syrians in America. p. 69
[58] Batrouney, Andrew & Trevor. The Lebanese in Australia. p. 57

religious persecution. In the US, this view amounted to the decision that Syrians were to be treated as 'free white men'. Accordingly, immigration increased so that between 1899 and 1919, nearly 90,000 Syrians entered the United States until the quota system came into law 1921 and further reduced in 1924 which stated that only 925 were permitted to enter per year.[59]

The number of Syrian migrants in Australia were but a fraction of those in the US. Although it is difficult to ascertain for sure due to poor record keeping practices, estimates of the Syrian born in Australia prior to federation range from 1,800 to 4,000.[60] Relying on census information, Yarwood estimated that in 1901, approximately 1800 people were living in Australia who were born in Syria.[61] These numbers were based on figures drawn from Victoria and New South Wales, the two states that had a sufficiently significant population of Syrians to create a distinct category for them in the first federal census. An adequate number of women emigrated with the Lebanese males making it possible for this group of prohibited immigrants to add to their numbers by natural increase.

Natural increase however, could not counteract the Immigration Restrictions and the Naturalisation Act. The former prohibited Asiatics from entering the Commonwealth while the latter barred those already settled from becoming naturalised and thereby restricted the manner in which they lived and conducted business in Australia. However, in time, Syrians became more acceptable to Australian law makers. In addition to the high percentage of women migrants discussed above, Atlee Hunt, Head of the Department of External Affairs, described Syrians as 'of swarthy appearance with dark hair, and of sallow complexions' they were believed to be more like Europeans than Asians. They were 'practically all Christians, being adherents either of the Greek Church or of a Church affiliated with the Roman Catholic."[62] Although they were a shade or two darker than their European cousins, their Christian religion and the perception that they were subjected to religious persecution in their homeland differentiated them from other Asiatics and rendered them less undesirable than other immigrants.

In their pioneering work on the Lebanese migrants in Australia, Andrew and Trevor Batrouney divide the history of Lebanese immigration to Australia into three periods they call waves. The waves are 1880-1947, 1947-1975, 1975 to present. They show that migrants arriving in the first wave largely settled in New South Wales or Victoria, travelling the country sides of these colonies to hawk their wares. They repeat Hitti's finding that the overwhelming majority of these pioneer migrants were Christians with but a handful of Muslims and Druze (who settled in South Australia) and hypothesise that the 'fact that the

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[59] Hitti, Philip. p. 61-65

[60] Yarwood uses census information to arrive at the 1800 while Najib Saliba uses estimates based on records kept by church officials.

[61] Yarwood arrives at this number by "subtracting the estimated excess of arrivals over departures and of births over deaths for the period 1901-11 from the number 2339 given by the Commonwealth census of 1911) p. 143

[62] Memorandum for the Minister from Atlee Hunt, Secretary Department of External affairs, 27 October 1914, 14/20363, A1/1 14/20363, NAA (ACT). Quoted in Yarwood (1964) p. 142

early immigrants were predominantly Christians is indicative of the religious and cultural persecution suffered by Christians under the Ottoman suzerainty over Lebanon.'[63] Those who settled in the east found it easier to assimilate to Australian culture and society and probably found it was so given the dispersion of individuals due to their hawking profession.[64] Chain migration was a feature of future immigrants who were encouraged to set sail for Australia on the basis of letters sent home describing the high standards of living and opportunities for success.[65] New arrivals would be trained by seasoned hawkers into the profession thereby allowing them to progress and open supply shops for hawkers in central locations. It is no surprise that the majority of pioneer immigrants were either hawkers or drapers and eventually factory owners who were able to employ their newly arrived countrymen.[66]

In the decade prior to federation, Syrian migration increased dramatically such that the colonial governments and the print media began to take notice. For example, in 1892, the illustrated Sydney news portrayed the 'typical Syrian hawker as a woman with a child on her hip and a basket of goods on her arm'.[67] At this point, migration into the colonies was unrestricted for Syrians though as more and more of them came under scrutiny, the strong anti-Chinese sentiment began to shape into an anti-Asian one. Despite these obstacles, Syrians migration continued. It is estimated that approximately two thousand were settled in the eastern states. This number would have continued to grow had it not been for the passing and implementation of the Commonwealth government's first Act, the Immigration Restrictions Act or the White Australia Policy.[68]

The initial purpose of the *Immigration Restriction Act* was to curb Chinese migration and to 'circumscribe severely the rights and privileges of Chinese residents therein' and this included citizenship, health and welfare and occupational policies.[69] According to James Jupp, labour issues emanating from the belief that inferior races were willing to accept inferior working conditions and pay were not the only driving force behind the Act but that 'labor pioneers, including the most radical, were usually rabid racists' whose 'fear and loathing of the Chinese were pathological'[70] The *Immigration Restriction Act* did not define race as the determining factor for immigration but did specify the use of the 'Natal formula', a dictation test used in South Africa to determine immigrants' desirability, which had the sole intention of excluding non-

[63] Batrouney, Trevor in James Jupp. The Australian People. p. 666 and Batrouney, The Lebanese in Australia, 1880-1989. p. 417

[64] Batrouney, Trevor. " Early Lebanese Settlers: 1880-1989" in Albert Hourany ed. *The Lebanese in the World* p. 421

[65] Batrouney, A and T. p. 33

[66] ibid.

[67] Monsour, Anne. Not Quite White. p. 18

[68] Dutton, 44

[69] ibid., 45

[70] James Jupp 2007, 8

European migrants as well as undesirable European or British immigrants.[71] This dictation test could also be given to any non-European immigrant who had resided in Australia for fewer than two years.[72]

The Commonwealth government based its decisions on who was or was not desirable on four key elements: economics, assimilability, political institutions and cohesiveness(Dutton).[73] David Dutton refers to the government's recurring concern that non-Europeans would accept lower wages than their European counterparts which would drive down wages for all Australians. Rather than define a minimum wage, the government preferred to control the economy by creating a highly prescribed immigration policy. Parliamentarians felt that non-Europeans were accustomed to subjugation and were incapable of self-government and would therefore not be compatible with the British political structure which would invariably lead to the system being compromised. These two factors combined would render non-Europeans unassimilable and this would be highly poisonous to Australia's strong need for racial homogeneity and cohesiveness. If races could not assimilate, they would undoubtedly form enclaves which would in turn cause racial tension and eventually conflict.[74]

The *Naturalisation Act 1903* excluded 'natives' of Asia, Africa and Pacific Islands from attaining citizenship although they could continue to reside in Australia on temporary permits. However, there were several members of government, such as Senator Thomas Playford, EL Batchelor, Minister for External Affairs and Atlee Hunt, Secretary for the Department of External Affairs, who believed that excluding Asians from citizenship would unfairly ban certain 'white' races who were considered desirable citizens such as the Syrians, Armenians and Russians from the east of the continent. The basis for including Syrians revolved around the notion that they were 'as white as we are' and that they were of 'high character and substantial property'.[75] In 1920, the government resolved the issue when it adopted the *Nationality Act* which removed reference to race. As a result, Syrians were granted citizenship despite the government's continued firm stance on naturalising other non-Europeans.[76]

Despite the proscription on their entry and naturalisation, Syrians continued to arrive on exemption certificates, designed to bypass the dictation test, or a special authority, granted by the Minister of External Affairs to migrants wishing to join family members already settled. Yarwood estimates a conservative figure of 123 individuals arriving on special authority in the two decades following

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[71] Dutton, 46. The 'Natal' formula was first implemented in South African province of Natal where immigrants had to complete a simple form in European language. The Australian requirement was that the migrant complete a 50 word dictation test in a language which was to be the choice of the immigration officer. This test was not administered to white British subjects.

[72] David Dutton 2002, 37 in 1920 this period was extended to three years, 1932 it was farther extended to five years. The onus of proving that an immigrant has resided in Australia was placed on the immigrant himself. This, for the commonwealth was cheaper and speedier than pursuing a legal course to deport the alien.

[73] David Dutton 2002, 32

[74] ibid, 31-35

[75] ibid., 40-41

[76] ibid., 42-43

federation.[77] Applications for naturalisation were numerous with several being granted and those that were rejected often attempted a few times before being approved, sometimes claiming to have been born in European territory of the Ottoman Empire.[78] This shows that Syrians were not regarded in the same light as other 'prohibited' Asiatics.

Yarwood attributes the difference in attitude to five factors: the proportion of women, physical characteristics, religious persecution, the desire to become naturalised, and a high moral character. The first three factors have been discussed above and the desire to become naturalised has been alluded to previously had the effect of demonstrating the Syrian's willingness and desire to make Australia their permanent home. The Department of External Affairs related that they had had dealings with Syrians and had found them to be honest, trustworthy and reliable. They had not encountered any cases where Syrians had attempted to circumvent the Immigration Restrictions Act by entering the country illegally.[79]

The pioneer immigrants, arriving before the first World War integrated readily into Australian society and by the second generation had shed their language. Individuals who arrived after 1918 were reluctant to assimilate and wished to express their own national character. This created tension between the two groups as did their individual national identification and their definition of who their perceived enemies were. The pioneer settlers believed that the Turks were the enemy while the second group believed the French were to be blamed, particularly since they had not kept their promise to create an independent Lebanon after the war.[80] Settler or pioneer migrants sought to differentiate themselves from this second group and 'emphasised sectarian difference in order to distance themselves from negative Lebanese stereotypes and demonstrate their own affinity with the dominant Australian culture and institutions.'[81]

The second wave was similarly overwhelmingly Christian (although the Druze community was established during this period) in composition and followed the same pattern of settlement and as hawking had ceased to be a possible occupation, the majority of immigrants found work in factories. By this time, religious institutions were established and were able to assist new arrivals with basic resources. In addition, village associations were instituted in order to help fellow villagers who remained in Lebanon and those new arrivals. By 1975, there were thirty-five village association in Sydney alone. Not only were they responsible for the settlement of new arrivals but also became the social focus of families originating from those villages. In due course, these associations became political and were characterised by infighting.[82]

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[77] Yarwood, AT, Asian Migration to Australia. p. 146-148

[78] Monsour, Anne. Not Quite White. p. 36

[79] Yarwood, AT. p. 146

[80] Batrouney, A & T. p. 60-61

[81] Humphrey, Michael. "Sectarianism and the Politics of Identity: the Lebanese in Sydney, p. 455; 461

[82] Batrouney

Until 1970, the number of individuals migrating numbered approximately 5,500 which doubled in the period between 1970-1975. Batrouney believes that the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 was responsible for the sharp increase while Ghassan Hage attributed it to the economic recession, resulting from the collapse of the Lebanese Intra Bank which once represented 'the power of Lebanese banking and represented a considerable challenge to Western financial institutions eager to have a greater share of the Arab oil profits.'[83] This coupled with the unassailed growth of the tertiary sector and the drop in tourism following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war was responsible for the highest level of post-independence migration.[84]

The third wave was different from the previous two in that a large proportion (35%) of the 16,000 Lebanese that arrived by 1981 were Muslims. The large influx was a direct result of the Australian government's relaxation of immigration laws on humanitarian grounds resulting from a plea by resident Lebanese. As a result, Christian dominance in the Lebanese Australian community was challenged by the addition of such a large community of Muslims. Because they were not designated as refugees, there was little to no state assistace or funds to help these humanitarian immigrants. The responsibility of settling them into their new context fell to the village association who did receive grants from the government. However, as there were few representatives of Muslims, this group was largely left to fend for itself. Today, Muslim Lebanese suffer from unemployment and are significantly more disadvantaged than their Christian counterparts.[85]

Today, Batrouney's work has been accepted as the authority on Lebanese migration to Australia. It has been reproduced in encyclopaedic works such as James Jupps' The Australian People, in Albert Hourani's edited tome The Lebanese in the World as well as journal articles. This is problematic as the historiography of Lebanese contains three significant issues: the breadth of each of the three waves is simply too broad and encompasses events that should not be overlooked, the claim of religious persecution is unsupported by the then existing situation in Mount Lebanon and the history does not take into account the number of Lebanese Druze who resided in South Australia prior to the second World War.

The three waves of migration were designed to coincide with changes in immigration policy in Australia. The first wave, the primary concern for this paper, spans some seventy years and includes critical policies such as the adoption of the Immigration Restrictions Act and the Naturalisation Act and major events such as Australian federation, World War One, the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the formation of the state of Lebanon, the French mandate, Lebanese independence in 1943 and the Second World War. The inclusion of these events that have had a profound effect on their own states and the international stage in one wave is too simplistic.

[83] Hage, Ghassan. "The conditions of Lebanon since 1958" in James Jupp, The Australian People. p. 671

[84] ibid.

[85] Betts, Katharine and Ernest Healy. "Lebanese Muslims in Australia and Social Diadvantage" People and Place 14(1) 2006, p. 25

Taking into account some of the defining events that occurred during the history of Lebanese migration to Australia, it is important to create a timeline that is guided by them and the changing definitions of time, space and identity. To that end, the history of Lebanese migration has been divided into ten distinct periods that take into account the more significant events which affected the two countries in question.

The different periods of Lebanese migration to Australia

		Pre-federation	1870s – 1901
		Immigration Restriction	1901 – WWI
First wave	1880 - 1947	Post Great War	WWI – 1926
		French Mandate	1926 – 1943
		Independence / WWII	1943 – 1958
Second wave	1947-1975	First civil war	1958 – 1967
		Recession / end of WAP	1967 – 1975
		Second civil war	1975 – 1990
Third wave	1975-present	1990 – 2001	Post civil war
		2001 – present	Post 9/11

In addition, each period has been carefully designed to take into account the factors affecting identity for individuals who remained in Syria/Lebanon as well as those in the diaspora. For example, the French mandate had a radical effect on the identity of Christian Lebanese who to this day speak French fluently, as a result of their education, and who also identify themselves with the French culture. Similarly, rather than identifying themselves as Syrian or Ottoman subjects, the immigrants who arrived in Australia during the mandate would have identified themselves as Lebanese French subjects.

The reference to religious persecution as a push factor can be diminished easily when one takes into account the economic position of the Christians of Mount Lebanon discussed above. The idea that Christians fled is refuted by their own return, whether temporarily or permanently to the Lebanese region. Kemal Karpat writes that 'the endless tales of oppression, injustice, and maltreatment at the hands of the Ottoman government and their Muslim fellow citizens were aimed primarily at arousing sympathy and support among Christians in Europe and the Americas.'[86] Karpat believes, and I agree, that the reason the bulk of the early migratory movement was Christian was that the majority of those who lived in the Mount Lebanon were of that faith and therefore it is they that experienced the brunt of economic decline that affected Mount Lebanon after the creation of the *mutasariffiya*.[87]

[86] Karpat, Kemal. "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914" International Journal of Middle East Studies 17 (1985) 175-209 p. 179

[87] ibid.

Finally, Batrouney's multiple references in various publications that the first and longest wave of migration was predominantly Christian has not been supported by archival evidence. While it is true that, as stated above, the majority of migrants were Christian, there was a significant number of Druze who mainly resided in South Australia. He did not attempt in any of his works to include them in the historiography of the migratory movement but only allowed them a passing reference. In fact, he did not make many references to the Syrian community that existed in South Australia until after World War Two. He completely ignored the presence of Syrians in Tasmania and Western Australia.

In his historiography of Syrian migration through Ottoman records, Kemal Karpat proves the presence of a substantial Muslim component in the early period of migration. His purpose was to study the Syrian emigration 'as a part of the total Ottoman emigration to the Americas and in relation to the Ottoman policies governing the movement of people out of its territories.'[88] He differentiated his study by looking at 'Turkish archives, especially the Prime Minister's and Foreign Ministry archives'.[89] In doing so, he sought to dispel the myth that the Syrian migration was a 'Christian' one, that Muslims were propelled by similar forces, with the added stimulus of conscription, which on average lasted 22 years, to seek their fortunes abroad. In order to prove this point, Karpat looks at the push and pull factors that caused migration. He identifies two push factors, 'changes in economy and ethnocultural structure of Ottoman society' and the pull of industrialisation and rise of agricultural sector in South America.[90] His findings reveal that approximately 15-20% (90,000) of the individuals who migrated between the years 1860-1914(1.2 million) were Muslim. The reason they were not enumerated as such was due to two factors: Ottoman policy forbad Muslim immigration from the Empire and because they recognised that in order to succeed in the new world, they must hide their religious affiliation.[91]

The study of Lebanese communities in the Eastern Australian states has been covered by Batrouney and subsequent scholars, this paper will focus on the Syrian-Lebanese migrants in South Australia. Although the 1901 census does not differentiate Syrians from other Asiatics in South Australia, a variety of sources yield an excellent measure of the number of Syrians residing here. State and national archives are the first source of information through naturalisation records, alien registration forms, and other communications with the immigration department that occurred in the life of the migrant. A second source of information is archival records of South Australian Newspapers of that period and Hansard documents.

A testament to the heretofore unpublished large number of Syrians residing in the colony of South Australia can be found in the Newspapers of the time in that colony. There are more than one hundred references to Syrians in the state in both the Register and the Advertiser, the main urban papers, as well as the Burra record, the only country paper that is digitised on the national library's trove project. The

[88] ibid. p. 175

[89] ibid. p. 176

[90] ibid.

[91] ibid. p. 185

stories vary from police court reports, to general insolvency issues to debates in the house assembly with regards to hawking in the first place to the evil of sweating closer to the turn of the century.

The first mention of Syrians residing in the state occurs on the fifth of January 1892 when a report from the Adelaide Police Court relates a story of a scuffle between an Alexander Abotomy and Miss Emily Nash. The incident described that 'Alexander Abotomy – a young Syrian, was accused of assaulting Emily Nash near the Ship Inn… It appeared that the defendant and Nash had a quarrel, and with his mother Abotomy made a vicious assault upon the woman, tearing her hair and kicking her in the side.'[92] At the adjournment of the case, the lad received 'a lashing of 10 strokes.'[93] Although an interesting story, the report furnished proof of two key points: the first that Syrians were present early in the history of their migration to Australia and second, the report of their presence was unexceptional and thereby indicating knowledge of their existence among the general population of South Australia. What is more, a search in the data base of the National Archives lead the uncovering of 15 other members of this family, who all resided in the South Australian colony, only three of whom were women which indicated the number of individuals was in fact larger.[94]

In the following month, the Register reported that 'Naum Hanna Coory, a Syrian' appeared in insolvency court. Unlike the above individuals, Mr Coory did not apply for naturalisation at anytime and may have in fact returned to Syria after an unsuccessful sojourn in South Australia. In order to verify this it would be necessary to investigate outbound passenger lists of the time which remain undigitised and are housed in the National Archives at either Perth or Canberra.

These two anomalous stories were followed by a period of unfortunate reporting by the various newspapers of the time about the plague of Alien hawkers, in particular the Syrians. The miscellaneous column of the South Australian Register in January of 1893 complains that 'the immigration of hawkers, both Afghans and Syrians, has been gradually increasing lately.'[95] It seems that they exercise a 'tyranny over women, who, when they are without protection, are often compelled to buy their goods.'[96] The country report in the Advertiser on the same day related that Asiatic hawkers were persistent in selling their wares and became insolent to 'women and children and unless some check is given to this class it will mean a ruin of our own country storekeepers.'[97] The anti-Asiatic sentiment grew until it attracted the attention of parliament whence the Honourable W Haslam made a lengthy speech wherein he described

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[92] The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA: 1889-1931), Tuesday 5 January 1892, page 3.

[93] Ibid.

[94] This can be surmised because women were not permitted to apply for naturalisation and therefore remained unrecorded prior to federation.

[95] South Australian Register (Adelaide, SA:1839-1900), Tuesday 24 January 1893, page 3.

[96] Ibid.

[97] The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA:1889-1931), Tuesday January 24 1893, page 5.

these Asiatics, particularly Afghans and Syrians as dirty, uncivilised people who were a detriment to South Australia and shouldn't be allowed to live among Englishmen.[98]

In response to Haslam's speech, the Coory brothers of Hindley street retort that Syrians came to Australia 'for the same reason that all other respectable settlers come, namely, to improve their condition by honest toil.'[99] The negative perception of Syrian hawkers continued unabated as the government debated how best to deal with what the media was reporting as a nuisance. Finally, in January of 1894, Michael Jacob Rueddi, who was asleep in a room he had rented at the Kadina Hotel was beaten with a chair and stabbed in the hand with a broken bottle. A group of young English men were arrested for their part in the attack.[100]

The hawker nuisance was tentatively resolved by requiring them to apply for a license to sell their wares in each of the outlying districts they visited, the final decision to grant the licenses rested with the officials of each district to ensure that the individuals in question were of a respectable nature. In the year prior to the turn of the century, journalists turned their attention to the evil of sweating. They alleged that Syrians were carrying on the worst case of the act by paying a pittance for the manufacture of shirts in their residences which they would then sell for a price which undercut other traders. To that end, the government introduced the Factories Act which sought to curtail this practice and enforce a uniform law for all manufacturers.[101]

An initial search of the National Australian Archives (NAA) database of naturalisations granted in South Australia prior to federation show that twenty-six Syrian nationals applied for and were granted naturalisation. The requirement at the time that men who had resided in the colony for a minimum period of two years could complete a form and take the Oath of Allegiance which together would serve as their naturalisation certificate which would not be official until the Queen ratified or approved the measure. The majority of individuals who applied for naturalisation during this colonial period were German or Chinese and numbered 4237. Cross referencing the names mentioned in newspapers with naturalisation records, it appears that none applied for naturalisation. However, there were 26 Syrian applicants prior to federation. Although the number is by no means overwhelming, it does suggest that further research would yield more significant results.

Of these twenty-six individuals, 19 were hawkers or merchants while the remainder were drapers or storekeepers. The majority were Christians with the three Rasheed brothers[102] the only Druze. Although South Australia did not have an official policy regarding the naturalisation of Aliens who were not born in

[98] The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA:1889-1931), Wednesday July 12 1893, page 2,3

[99] Coory brothers, The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA: 1839-1900), Monday 31 July 1893, page 3.

[100] South Australian Register (Adelaide, SA : 1839-1900), Friday 26 January 1894, page 6

[101] The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA:183901931), Thursday 25 October 1900, page 7,8

[102] Majeed (NAA: A711, 4177), Mymeed (NAA: A711, 4175) and Salim Rasheed (NAA: A711, 4176).

Europe, Michael Filfly and Elias Batroney felt compelled to indicate on their applications that they was born in Zahle, Greece and Tripolitza, Greece respectively.[103] The remainder of the applicants demonstrated the ambiguous status of their home country by locating it in either Turkey, Syria, Asia or the Ottoman Empire.

This glance at newspapers of the time and national archives suggests that a more thorough investigation of the Lebanese community in South Australia would yield a sizeable community that would draw a more complete picture of the settlement patterns of Lebanese prior to federation. Such a through search would also undoubtedly show that a significant proportion of that community would have been non-Christian which would contradict previous assertions about the size and nature of the Lebanese migration to the turn of the century. Extending that timeframe would certainly alter the perception of the that community in Australia as well as the ability of non-Christians to assimilate into Western society.

[103] Filfly NAA: A711, 3786, Batroney NAA: A711, 3749

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YOUTH EDUCATION

Julie Robinson[104] - School of Psychology, Flinders University

Young people in transition: Adaptation among refugee and other migrant children and adolescents who are newly arrived in Australia

Authors: Robinson[105], J.A., & Henley, J.C.

Abstract

This paper describes a 5-year program of research that has focused on adaptation among children and adolescents from refugee backgrounds. It will focus on two studies. Both were conducted in co-operation with schools providing a New Arrivals Program. This is a federally funded initiative, administered through the Department of Education and Children's Services, which provides newly arrived students with low levels of English proficiency with intensive language instruction and an orientation to schooling in Australia. The first study compared the level of emotional and behavioural problems and academic progress in newly arrived child and adolescent refugees and voluntary migrants. It also attempted to identify personal and contextual factors that were associated with high levels of emotional and behavioural problems. Schools are an appropriate and cost-effective venue in which to provide universal, group-administered interventions for children and adolescents. The second study therefore evaluated the effectiveness of two such interventions designed to support the mental health of newly arrived child and adolescent refugees and voluntary migrants.

For most of the last decade, Australia has offered resettlement places to between 13,000 and 14,000 people with a refugee background each year (Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), 2010a). About 40% of these humanitarian entrants are under 18 years of age (DIAC, 2010b). In the decade prior to 2000, most humanitarian entrants to Australia came from Europe, mainly as a result of the break-up of the former Yugoslavia. Most of these European humanitarian entrants had access to formal education and health services in their home countries and spent relatively little time in a refugee camp. In the decade since 2000, most humanitarian entrants have come from countries in Africa, the Middle East and Asia (DIAC, 2010a), have had little prior access to formal education and health services, and have spent many years, often more than a decade, in a refugee camp. This paper describes a 5-year program of research that has focused on adjustment among children and adolescents who are part of this new wave of humanitarian entrants to Australia.

The adjustment of young people of refugee background warrants examination because most have experienced a range of stressors in their country of origin, while fleeing, and during resettlement, that can challenge their resources for coping. Most were raised in a country of origin where they were exposed to

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[105] For further information, please contact Dr Julie Robinson: tel. (08) 8201-2395; email: julie.robinson@flinders.edu.au

war or other forms of political violence or persecution, and where violence had become normalized (Wessells & Monteiro, 2004). They then confronted the stressors associated with forced displacement. These include the loss of part or all of their social network of family and friends (and the resulting sense of isolation, lack of social support, and the day-to-day sadness of separation), uncertainty regarding the well-being of loved ones, the disruption of their social role as a child, a lack of environmental mastery (i.e., they may not have the knowledge and skills needed to successfully negotiate their new physical and social environments), limited or no access to health and educational resources, and the many stressors associated with lack of economic self-sufficiency and poverty (Fernando, Miller & Berger, 2010; Miller, Worthington, Muzurovic, Goldman, & Tipping, 2002; Omidian, 1996; Pernice & Brook, 1996; Silove, 1999; Silove, Sinnerbrink, Field, & Manicavasagar, 1997). If they are lucky enough to be one of the few people of refugee background to be offered resettlement in a country like Australia, they continue to experience most of these displacement stressors while facing new separations and becoming members of a visible minority whose welcome in the host country is often equivocal. These stressors associated with having a refugee background are added to the "normal" stressors associated with childhood and adolescence. Young people from refugee backgrounds can therefore by described as facing "cumulative stress".

Given this, it is not surprising that many studies of resettled young people from a refugee background have focused on their mental health. The prevalence of mental health problems varies widely across studies and appears to depend on young people's age and gender, the nature of the stressors they have been exposed to, the extent of their exposure, the resources they have access to, and the length of time since they were resettled. A large number of studies have shown that mental health problems are more common among children and adolescents from refugee backgrounds than among their peers in the host population (e.g., Arroyo & Eth, 1986; Bronstein & Montgomery, 2011; Hodes, 2000; Kinzie et al., 1986, 1989; Murray, Davidson, & Schweitzer, 2010; Thomas & Lau, 2002; Yule, 2002). However, other studies of refugee children report low rates of mental health problems. The latter studies have often focused on children from refugee backgrounds who have low levels of exposure to political violence through spending most of their childhood in the relative safety of a refugee camp (e.g., Miller, 1996; Servan-Schreiber, Lin & Birmaher, 1998), or on children who had access to resources that have the potential to buffer the effects of traumatic experiences. In summary, research shows that mental health problems are shown by a greater percentage of children and adolescents from refugee backgrounds than of children and adolescents from the host population, but that many children and adolescents from refugee backgrounds do not show mental health problems. In addition, many people from refugee backgrounds who have mental health problems nevertheless manage to function effectively in daily life (Summerfield, 1995).

Thus, it is important that any acknowledgement of the greater burden of mental health problems among young people from refugee backgrounds does not lead us to ignore their and their communities' strengths and resilience (Bracken, Giller, & Summerfield, 1995; Muecke, 1992). These strengths often include a determination to adapt to very challenging circumstances. Their resilience may be demonstrated by the

development and participation in organizations that permit the partial re-established normal social interactions and collective coping, and achievements in education, sport or community service. In this context, it is important to note that, in addition to presenting additional challenges, resettlement may create opportunities for achievement or provide access to resources to support adjustment, that were not available in young peoples' homeland.

This paper describes research in one such resource-rich environment in South Australia. It focuses on two studies that were conducted in co-operation with schools providing a New Arrivals Program. This is a federally funded initiative, administered through the Department of Education and Children's Services, that provides newly arrived students who have low levels of English proficiency with a supportive social environment, up to 24 months of intensive English language instruction, and an orientation to schooling in Australia. A number of junior primary and primary schools, mainly in the Northern suburbs of Adelaide, deliver two streams of education for younger students: the mainstream curriculum and the New Arrivals Program. One specialist secondary school, the Adelaide Secondary School of English, provides the New Arrivals Program for adolescent students. Almost all child and adolescent students with a refugee background who settle in South Australia attend one of these programs. The New Arrivals Program is particularly important because it is one of the only specialist settlement services that can be accessed by are all young people from refugee backgrounds and that continue beyond the initial 6 months of settlement.

Study 1: Adjustment among children and adolescents holding humanitarian visas

This study focused on adjustment among young people during their first two years in Australia and while they were still enrolled in a New Arrivals Program. It focused on two dimensions of adjustment: one aspect of poor adjustment (emotional and behavioural problems) and one aspect of positive adjustment (academic progress). The study involved two groups of students: those with a refugee background and those whose parents were voluntary migrants. Both these groups are exposed to some of the same stressors (e.g., acculturation stress). The study had three aims. The first was to describe adjustment among young humanitarian entrants during the initial stages of resettlement. The second was to identify any burden that is specific to young people holding humanitarian visas by also examining outcomes for other young people who were newly arrived in Australia. The third was to identify factors associated with high levels of emotional and behavioural problems. To do this, we explored statistical relationships between emotional and behavioural problems, visa type, one factor believed to support mental health (social support), and two factors believed to place mental health at risk (perceived discrimination, and conflict in personal relationships).

Method

Participants

The sample included 60 children (mean age 9.2 years; 51.5% females) and 73 adolescents (mean age 14.7 years; 52.7% females) holding permanent humanitarian visas ("refugee background") and 37 children (mean age 9.8 years; 75% females) and 43 adolescents (mean age 15.2 years; 53.4% females) holding permanent family or skilled migration visas ("voluntary migrants") who were enrolled in a New Arrivals Program. All students had been in Australia for less than 24 months and had received intensive English language instruction for at least 6 months before taking part in the study.

Measures

This was a quantitative study that involved the collection of information through questionnaires completed by students and their teachers.

Current life circumstances

Student's perception of three aspects of their current life circumstances were assessed: social support, social conflict, and perceived discrimination.

Social support and conflict within social support networks. Students reported on four types of social support (emotional, instrumental, informational and companionship support) received from adults at school, peers and family members using 15 items derived from the Vaux Social Support Record (Vaux, 1988). They also reported interpersonal conflict with these potential sources of support. Each item was rated using a 3-point scale. An example item assessing support is "At school there are adults I can talk to who give good suggestions and advice about my problems". An example item assessing conflict is "There are people in my family who I get upset with or angry at (even if I don't show it)". The total support (alpha = .84) and total conflict scores (inter-item correlations above .40) were used in analyses.

Perceived discrimination. Students reported on discrimination directed towards themselves and other members of their group using a 6-item scale adapted from Verkujten and Thijs (2002). Each item was rated using a 5-point scale. An example item is "How much have you been called names or teased at school because of your ______ background?" This study used the total score (alpha = .79).

Adjustment

Academic progress. Home room teachers rated the participants' academic progress over the previous 2 months using a single-item 7-point scale. Teachers responded to the question, "Compared with other students in the New Arrivals Program, what is the rate of progress for this student over the last two months?"

Emotional and behavioural problems. It was necessary assess these using different instruments for children and adolescents. For children, emotional and behavioural problems were assessed by the Dominic Interactive-Multicultural (Valla, Bergeron, & Smolla, 2000; Valla, Bergeron, Be´rube´, Gaudet, & St-Georges 1994). This is a computer administered and computer-scored questionnaire designed to allow self-report of emotional and behavioural problems by children of primary school age. It consists of 90 cartoons showing a child of the same gender and race as the participant. In some of the pictures, the child's behavior is positive, but in most it reflects emotional or behaviour problems. The participant uses the computer mouse to indicate whether or not he or she sometimes acts or feels like the child in the picture. Each question is provided in both spoken and written formats. The sum of problems scores (alpha > .85) was used in analyses.

For adolescents, emotional and behavioural problems were assessed by the *Youth Self Report* (YSR, Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). Standardization of this edition of the YSR was based on data from Australia, England, and the United States. Responses to the 112 items are recorded on a three point Likert-type scale ("Not True", "Somewhat or Sometimes True", "Very True or Often True"). Sample items include, "I worry a lot" and "I physically attack people." T scores for total problems that are above 64 are "in the clinical range" for Western samples. The structure of the scale and the summative scores it yields have good validity in many cultural contexts, including in Australia and several refugee source countries (Achenbach, Becker, Doepfner, Heiervang, Roessner, Steinhausen, & Rothenberger, 2008; Ivanova, Achenbach, Rescorla, Dumenci, Almqvist, Bilenberg et al., 2007). The total problems score (alpha=.95) was used in analyses.

Procedure

Translated letters of introduction and consent forms were distributed in written (letter) or spoken format (CD) to parents and students from the six largest language groups in each sample. Students for whom consent was obtained were withdrawn from their classes in language groups. A variety of aids were available to support students' completion of the questionnaires in English. These included the opportunity for simultaneous translation by Bilingual School Support Officers, a range of structural supports (e.g., replacement of numerals on numerical rating scales with visual analogues), and the availability of English-speaking research assistants.

Results

Adjustment among young people from a refugee background

The data showed evidence of resilience among most adolescents from a refugee background. The overwhelming majority (76.6%) of both children and adolescents showed emotional and behavioural problems within the normal range for Western populations (Table 1).

Moreover, most children and adolescents from a refugee background showed average or above average academic progress (50.8%).

Factors influencing adjustment

The type of visa newly arrived students held influenced their scores on all measures of adjustment. In every case, having a refugee background was associated with poorer adjustment.

The strongest predictor of self-reported emotional and behaviour problems was whether the student was from a refugee background or was a voluntary migrant. This accounted for more than 20% of the variance in total emotional and behaviour problems for both children and adolescents ($p < .01$ in both cases). For adolescents, three other factors (discrimination, social support, and conflict in supportive relationships) explained additional, independent variance in total emotional and behaviour problems ($p < .05$). These factors also explained variance in academic progress for adolescent refugees and migrants ($p < .05$). In contrast, for children, only discrimination explained the differences between students' emotional and behaviour problems. Differences in academic progress could not be explained by any of the factors that were studied.

Discussion

Most young people from refugee backgrounds showed average or above average academic progress. However many also reported a significant burden of mental health problems. These problems were observed for both children and adolescents and are more severe than the problems experienced by other children receiving the same educational program who were also newly resettled in Australia. The second study investigated whether interventions to support mental health are feasible and effective in alleviating this burden.

Study 2: Preventative Interventions to support mental health

Previous research concluded that the mental health of young people from a refugee background is affected both by past experiences of violence, persecution and deprivation, and the ongoing daily challenges they face during resettlement. These daily challenges include the struggle to develop new social networks, navigate unfamiliar environments, discover new and meaningful social roles, find ways out of poverty and into self-sufficiency, and to cope with painful separations. This conclusion suggests that interventions to support mental health should have two broad aims (Miller & Rasco, 2004). First, they should help individuals to resolve (or effectively manage) emotional and behavioural problems that have their roots in past trauma. Second, they should enhance individuals' (or communities') capacity to cope with daily stressors during resettlement. Many traditional psychological interventions are designed to address the former; fewer are designed to address the latter. This mismatch has important implications when working with people from refugee backgrounds, since individuals in non-Western cultures usually focus on practical approaches to overcoming daily stressors when they attempt to improve their own adjustment. That is, members of the most recent wave of resettled refugee communities are likely to believe that emotional distress can be alleviated by strategies such as developing new social networks that can reduce their sense of isolation and increase the availability social support; identifying new social roles and new life projects that can lend meaning and structure to their lives; enhancing their knowledge and skills in order to achieve goals related to health, education, employment, and legal status; and mending social ties within their community that have been fractured by fear, mutual suspicion, and violence (Miller & Rasco, 2004).

Ecological approaches to supporting the mental health of young people from refugee backgrounds attempt to overcome this mismatch (Miller & Rasco, 2004). One of the principles underlying an ecological approach is that psychological problems often result from a poor goodness-of-fit between the challenges young people face and their adaptive resources. Ecological interventions seek to improve this goodness-of-fit either by changing settings so that they are more in tune with young people's strengths and resources, or by enhancing young people's capacity to adapt to their existing settings. The interventions that were implemented in this study focused on increasing young people's adaptive capacity. Another principle underlying the ecological approach is that interventions that aim to prevent the development of mental health problems should be given as great, or greater, a priority as interventions that treat problems once they have occurred, since prevention is generally more effective, cost-efficient, and humane. Preventative interventions are of two types. Primary prevention targets whole communities or subgroups, and aims to intervene prior to the onset of mental health problems. Secondary prevention targets individuals or groups already showing early signs of the development of mental health problems, and aims to restore psychological equilibrium and prevent the development of diagnosable mental health disorders (Goldston, 1977; Kaplan, 1964). The interventions that were implemented in this study focused on primary and secondary prevention.

Schools are a cost-effective venue in which to provide preventative interventions to children. Moreover, schools offering the New Arrivals Program provide one of the only contexts in which it is possible to reach almost all newly arrived children with a refugee background. Ideally, preventative mental health programs are available to all students in a class in order to prevent stigmatization and to ensure that peer and teacher support of new skills is available. However, classes in New Arrivals Programs often include both students from a refugee background and students who are voluntary migrants. Because both groups of students face some of the same daily challenges during resettlement, and because preventative interventions provide skills and knowledge designed to support the mental health of individuals in a wide range of personal circumstances, these interventions should be helpful for both groups of students. Thus, this study evaluated the effectiveness of two preventative interventions to support mental health in New Arrivals Program classes comprised of newly arrived child refugees and voluntary migrants.

Method

Participants

Participants in the Coping Skills (n = 53) and Tree of Life (n = 36) interventions were primary school students attending a New Arrivals Program. They were drawn from very heterogeneous ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Students were from 20 different countries of origin. The most common of which were Afghanistan, Iraq and India.

Children assigned to the Coping Skills intervention were slightly older than those who received the Tree of Life ($t(57) = 2.57$, $p = .01$). However, there were no other differences between the two groups at the baseline assessment (Table 1) (gender: $\chi^2(1) = 0.01$; time in the New Arrivals Program: $t(87) = 1.14$; percentage of students from a refugee background: $\chi^2(1) = 1.09$; teacher-reported problems: $t(78) = 0.66$; parent-reported problems: $t(61) = -0.77$; $p > .05$ in all cases). However, the two groups showed different patterns of change during the control period immediately before the interventions began. As a result, there was a significant difference in teacher-reported total difficulties between the groups at the beginning of intervention (Table 3) ($t(85) = 2.62$, $p = 0.01$).

Table 1

Demographic characteristics and initial level of emotional and behaviour problems for students receiving two interventions

	Coping Skills			Tree of Life		
	(n = 53)			(n = 36)		
Variable	**Mean**	**(SD)**	%	**Mean**	**(SD)**	%
Demographic characteristics						
Male			57%			56%
Refugee background			72%			61%
Months in NAP*	11.5	(6.6)		9.9	(6.6)	
Age	11.9	(0.7)		11.3	(1.0)	
Total emotional and behavioural problems						
Teacher-reported	20.4	(15.0)		18.3	(13.1)	
Parent-reported	17.4	(9.8)		19.3	(10.0)	

* New Arrivals Program

Procedure

All children in a class received the same intervention designed to increase their capacity to cope with challenges and to alleviate emerging emotional problems. The parents of children in the six most common language groups were sent translated letters, or were contacted by telephone by a Bilingual School Support Officer. These contacts described the evaluation study and sought both their permission for their child's information to be used in the analysis and their own involvement in reporting on their child's mental health. Data from children for whom consent was obtained were included in the analyses.

The two interventions differed in philosophy and content. Coping Skills is a manualised intervention based on cognitive and behavioural psychological principles and was designed to develop active, approach coping skills. It was custom-designed and implemented by the second author. The Tree of Life (Ncube, 2006) is an intervention based on narrative principles, which was designed by Ncazelo Ncube (Regional Psychosocial Support Initiative-- a Southern African capacity-building organisation) and David Denborough (Dulwich Centre, Adelaide, South Australia) and was implemented by school staff. It is a strengths-based intervention that uses the metaphor of a tree as a tool to aid the co-creation of positive life stories by vulnerable children. In both cases, the intervention was delivered in a single 50-minute period, once per week for eight weeks. The content of the two interventions is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2
Content of the Coping Skills and Tree of Life Interventions

Coping Skills

Session	Content	Homework
1	Introduction to the program, Group Norms, rapport-building, Social Skills, Safe Place Visualisation	Practicing Safe Place visualization
2	Psychoeducation and Activity Scheduling (including Sleep Hygiene)	Carrying out activity schedule and rating mood.
3	Psychoeducation: arousal, controlled breathing	Basic Thought Diary
4	Thoughts & feelings, un/helpful thoughts	Thought Diary including helpful thought
5	Dual-attention techniques for trauma processing	Practising favourite dual-attn technique
6	Graded exposure (creating hierarchies for preset problems in groups)	Participants chose a homework worksheet
7	Social skills and pro-social behaviour	Participants chose a homework worksheet
8	Social-skills, help-seeking, maintenance of skills ('relapse prevention')	

Tree of Life

Session	Content
1	Introduction, general discussion of trees, introduction of Tree of Life metaphor, facilitator shares own tree, learn Tree of Life song, students draw own trees
2	Exploration and documentation of 'Roots' (positive aspects of history, culture, favourite places, favourite songs, who has taught them the most in life). Exploration and documentation of 'Ground' (where they live, what they do each day).
3	Exploration and documentation of 'Trunk' (skills, abilities and/or values and the history of these)
4	Exploration and documentation of 'Branches' (hopes and dreams and the history of these)
5	Exploration and documentation of 'Leaves' (people who are special to them, including those living or no longer living, pets, imaginary friends, etc.). Exploration and documentation of 'Fruits' (the gifts which they wish to pass onto others, and the contributions they are making to other people's lives).
6	Finished drawings are displayed in 'Forest of Life'. Exploration of 'Forest of Life', including retelling something from each tree and documentation of all good things from the Forest. Discussion of 'Storms of Life' including documentation of difficulties that trees, forests and animals face and discussions of how they respond.

Session	Content
7	Facilitator draws parallel from Storms to children's lives. Children collectively discuss Storms that children may face (personal disclosure is actively discouraged). Facilitator encourages children to state that storms are not the fault of children. Collective discussion of the effect of storms on children's lives and ways of responding. The celebration is planned.
8	Class celebration in which each child is awarded a 'Tree of life' certificate

Data on a number of mental health variables were collected from multiple informants (students, parents and teachers) at four time-points. Baseline data (T1) was collected nine weeks prior to the commencement of the intervention. The pre-intervention (T2) questionnaires were completed eight weeks after the T1 assessment (i.e., one week before the commencement of the intervention). The post-intervention (T3) questionnaires were completed one week following the conclusion of the intervention, and the follow-up (T4) questionnaires were completed eight weeks later.

Self-reports were collected from students using questionnaires. Questions were read aloud in English by a trained research assistant and were subsequently translated by bilingual school support officers for those students who required this. Parent-reports were collected via telephone by a Bilingual School Support Officer who had received training in the administration of the questionnaire. Teacher-reports were obtained from the participant's regular classroom teacher. Unfortunately, for the Tree of Life intervention, this teacher was also actively involved in implementing the intervention.

Measures

Post-traumatic stress reactions

These were assessed only in students who received the Coping Skills intervention. They were measured using the revised 13-item version of the *Impact of Events Scale for Children* (R-IES, Smith, Perrin, Dyregrov, & Yule, 2003), which assesses intrusive thoughts, avoidance, and arousal. Clinical cut-scores have been developed for British school children (Yule, 1992). The *Impact of Events Scale for Children* has been used widely with refugee and war-affected youth (Ehntholt, et al., 2005; Heptinstall, et al., 2004; Papageorgiou, et al., 2000; Smith, et al., 2003). It had good internal consistency in the current study ($\alpha = 0.82$). The measure was used for both voluntary migrants and student from a refugee background. Because many children who were voluntary migrants might not have experienced a traumatic event, participants were given the following instructions: "All of us have been through some tough times in our lives. Some of us might have seen or been through bad things, or had times when we were really scared. This next form has some questions that ask about ways that you might think or feel about something scary that happened in the past".

Total emotional and behavioural problems

These were assessed for students who received both interventions. The assessment used the problem scales from the *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ; Goodman, 1997). Scores for the 20 items relating to four subscales (hyperactivity, emotional symptoms, conduct problems, and peer problems) were summed to achieve a total problems score. Clinical cut-scores been have been developed for British school children (Goodman, 1997). In previous research, the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire has been used successfully in a range of cultural settings and for young people with a refugee background (Goodman & Scott, 1999; Leavey, et al., 2004; O'Shea, Hodes, Down, & Bramley, 2000; Rousseau, et al., 2007). In the current study, internal consistency was satisfactory ($\alpha = 0.77$ to 0.91) for teacher-reported total difficulties and high ($\alpha = 0.81$) for parent-reported total difficulties.

Results and Discussion

The two interventions improved students' mental health in different ways. The Coping Skills and Tree of Life interventions were effective in reducing post-traumatic stress reactions and total emotional and behavioural problems, respectively. During the control period immediately before the intervention, the mental health of children in the Coping Skills group remained stable (Table 3). In contrast, their mental health improved following intervention: post-traumatic stress symptoms decreased from the beginning of the intervention to follow-up (Cohen's d = .55). During the control period, parent's reports about the mental health of children in the Tree of Life group remained stable, while teacher- reported problems decreased. However, there was a decrease in both teacher- and parent-reported problems decreased between the beginning of the intervention and the follow-up assessment (Cohen's d = .55 and .49, respectively).

In summary, two relatively brief school-based preventative programs using very different approaches were effective in alleviating the burden of emotional and behavioural problems among newly arrived primary school schools from refugee and other migrant backgrounds. Such universal group-delivered interventions require relatively little investment in training have low on-going costs, and high acceptability for teachers and students.

Table 3

Changes in mental health for primary school students receiving two interventions

Mental health variable		**Coping Skills**		**Tree of Life**	
		(n = 53)		(n = 36)	
	Time	**Mean**	**(SD)**	**Mean**	**(SD)**
Post-traumatic stress reactions	Baseline	18.1	(7.6)	-	-
	Pre-intervention	18.0	(7.1)	-	-
	Post-intervention	16.0	(7.4)	-	-
	Follow-Up	16.0	(8.2)	-	-
Total emotional and behavioural problems					
Teacher-reported	Baseline	20.4	(15.0)	18.3	(13.3)
	Pre-intervention	21.8	(13.1)	14.5	(12.5)
	Post-intervention	23.2	(13.5)	12.0	(8.1)
	Follow-Up	22.1	(13.5)	7.2	(7.1)
Parent-reported	Baseline	17.4	(9.8)	19.3	(10.0)
	Pre-intervention	18.0	(9.8)	19.7	(9.7)
	Post-intervention	19.3	(9.9)	20.2	(9.4)
	Follow-Up	19.8	(11.1)	14.8	(8.4)

Conclusion

Recent humanitarian entrants to Australia include a proportion of young people that is unprecedented. These young people are drawn from countries with more protracted conflict and usually have more disrupted development than earlier cohorts. However, unlike some other countries of resettlement (e.g., Denmark), Australia does not provide any systematic monitoring of settlement outcomes for young people from a refugee background. Much of the information about adjustment among young people of refugee backgrounds that is needed to tailor services to ensure their wellbeing, to allow them to contribute fully to the Australian community, and to maximise cost effectiveness, is therefore reliant on individual research projects. The research projects summarised in this paper suggest that services to support the mental health of young people with a refugee background are warranted and demonstrate the feasibility and effectiveness of two alternative models of providing this support through preventative interventions.

In evaluating research projects conducted with young people from a refugee background, it is important to note the ethical, methodological and scientific challenges such projects face. Research must be framed in a manner that minimizes the risk of harm to a vulnerable population, informed consent needs to be obtained from parents and children who may have limited prior exposure to research and limited ability to access information in the written forms in which this is traditionally presented. Measures need to be culturally and developmentally appropriate, able to accommodate disrupted literacy and numeracy skills, and the possible impact of past trauma on students' attention span. Issues surrounding appropriate translation and contextualizing of terms must be addressed. In addition, schools and researchers face many practical challenges when research is conducted "in situ". Nevertheless, the joint contributions of young people, community leaders, service providers and researchers can lead to creative ways to overcome these challenges.

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Under the Immigration Guardianship of Children (IGOC) Act 1946, children arriving in Australia without a parent or close relative are deemed to be under the guardianship of the Commonwealth of Australia Minister for Immigration and are considered to be wards of the State in which they are placed (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007). In South Australia, these unaccompanied humanitarian minors (UHMs) are cared for by Families SA Refugee Services (RS), which comes under the auspices of the South Australian Department of Families and Communities (DFC). RS has been supporting UHMs under Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) between the Commonwealth of Australia and the South Australian State Government since 1999 (Families SA Refugee Service, 2008). As part of providing a refugee service, RS commenced placing UHMs in alternative care in the year 2000. Currently, UHMs are sourced from a range of African, Middle Eastern, South Asian and South East Asian countries.

Approximately 13,500 people arrive with humanitarian visas in Australia per year (Refugee Council of Australia, 2010). Some refugees from offshore are processed in refugee camps and come to Australia with a humanitarian visa. Others arrive on Christmas Island and then seek asylum. UHMs are part of this intake. Approximate numbers of UHMs managed by RS in South Australia since 2004 are: 58 (2004), 108 (2005), 79 (2006), 131 (2007), 92 (2008), 114 (2009), (Tayler, 2009). Of the children cared for in 2009, approximately 50 percent were Sudanese, some Burmese and Afghani, along with other nationalities. There is a mix of gender and age groups.

The 'Best Interests' of the Child

The 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is widely considered to be the most important international treaty concerning the human rights of children (Amnesty International USA, 2003, p. 10). The CRC is the first legally binding international instrument to incorporate the full range of human rights for children under the age of 18 years (UNICEF, 2010). It contains a 'universally agreed set of non-negotiable standards and obligations' (UNICEF, 2011a). Article 3 (Best interests of the child) states that 'the best interests of children must be the primary concern in making decisions that may affect them' (UNICEF, 2011b). In 1997, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees invoked the 'best principles' principle in its Guidelines on dealing with unaccompanied children seeking asylum (Byrne, 2008, p. 13). The recommendation is that the best interests of the child should be the guiding principle in all actions involving UHMs.

The program for unaccompanied refugee minors in the United States is conducted by the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) and has a similar background to the Families SA Refugee Services (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2009a). Originally developed in the late 1970s to provide care for the children from South-East Asia without a parent or guardian to care for them, ORR was downsized in the early 1990s, but gained a resurgence in the late 1990s and by 2009 had about 700 children in care (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2009b; VDSS, n.d.). 'The program establishes legal responsibility...to ensure that unaccompanied minor refugees...receive the full range of assistance, care, and services which are available to all foster children in the State' (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2009b, p. 1). The program operates under the standards and requirements which govern the mainstream foster care system, including foster care maintenance payments, and refugee minors are eligible to receive the full range of services and benefits to which any foster child is entitled (VDSS, n.d.).The United States Refugee Program includes specialized resettlement and foster care services for unaccompanied refugee minors (U.S. Refugee Program, 2006a). These children are placed in foster care, group homes or an independent living situation appropriate to the young person's developmental needs. Similarly, to evaluate the 'best interests of the child', state juvenile courts in the United States adopted standard factors such as 'reasonable services provided in a timely and appropriate way, a sound material family environment, and a moral and intellectual environment for the child' (Xu, 2005, p. 762). This program and the services it provides are similar to those provided in South Australia by RS and include financial support, housing, case management, training in living skills, language training and educational opportunities, health and legal assistance (U.S. Refugee Program, 2006a). The South Australian Government similarly seeks to ensure these services are provided to UHMs. One significant difference in the United States is that foster carers come from 'a diversity of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds' (U.S. Refugee Program, 2006b, p. 1), whereas RS seeks to find carers of a similar ethnic background to the children and only failing this provide carers from other ethnic backgrounds. So, even though children are separated from their biological parents, RS has sought to uphold the child's sense of cultural identity by providing culturally appropriate care, unlike what appears to occur in some state jurisdictions in the United States (Xu, 2005, p. 764). So what are the best interests of the child in a South Australian context?

A study conducted in New South Wales has found that culture is one of several important factors influencing the placement of children and young people in out-of-home care (Burke & Paxman, 2008). Interestingly, it was also agreed by the caseworkers that, 'despite the challenges, the rights of the child are paramount and that forms the platform that underpins all the work we do' (p. 15). The caseworkers appear then to be emphasizing a more individualistic and western focus of care. This perspective on care would appear to be somewhat different to upholding the child's sense of cultural identity. This has been an interesting dilemma for RS staff working in a South Australian context with children and families from non-western cultures. The South Australian 'mainstream' alternative care system is based on the premise that the needs and rights of the child are foremost. Yet the cultures within which RS staff are operating

place the rights and expectations of the family above the individual. How does this disjunction correlate with the best interests of the child?
Nugent (2006) draws attention to the fact that the children's perspectives have usually not been considered in determining policy for unaccompanied minors around what are considered their best interests. Nugent (2006) further maintains that while children are interviewed by the media, by academics for research and for advocacy, they have not been engaged to evaluate policies and practices concerning their welfare. Indeed, should their perspective be taken into account in determining policies and procedures which are considered to be in their best interests?

The researchers first met with staff members from Families SA Refugee Services (RS) on 22nd April 2008 to discuss an evaluation of the services provided by RS. The alternative care process with refugee children appeared to be operating well, particularly with the unaccompanied humanitarian minors (UHMs). There was a desire to undertake research in this area that would provide feedback from carers, staff and if possible the children themselves as to what aspects of the service people found helpful and what aspects might be improved to be more helpful. This article considers interviews with 17 Afghani young men. It focuses on what are their best interests.

Method

Methodology used in this Research Project

In conducting this research, the researchers have used a social constructionist perspective (Burr, 1995), which adopts a relativist ontology, a transformational epistemology and a hermeneutic methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) based on the interactions between researchers and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This provides reconstructed understandings of the social world, at least of the social world as inhabited by these participants. Social constructionism uses a truly investigative approach to engage with participants (Marshall, 1998). One interaction with participants feeds into the next, leading to a development of our understanding as researchers and so to a more informed interaction with subsequent participants. The methodological approach is then hermeneutical and the outcomes are based on 'situational information' provided by participants (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

As participants shared their views and stories, they were describing their interpretation of events, a personal narrative, a retelling of life as they experienced it and the truth as they saw it. They emphasised certain aspects of their story. It was felt by the researchers that the young men perceived the interviews as one legitimate avenue by which they could make their concerns known and that participants hoped the researchers would advocate for change on their behalf. This request was not overt but responses were sometimes carefully constructed, words were carefully chosen, and at times this was more than an issue of language. Nevertheless, their honesty and willingness to respond was engaging.

Study Population and Data Collection

A three day Summer Recreation Program was organised on the 13th, 14th and 15th January 2010 for UHMs by the researchers and a social work student with a recreational background. All UHMs in Adelaide between the ages of 6 and 18 years were invited. Families SA Refugee Services promoted the

Program through their networks. Many of the carers and staff had already been interviewed and so were familiar with the project. As some UHMs are cared for by carers who also have families, these families' children were also permitted to attend. The Summer Recreation Program was conducted at Pulteney Grammar School, in the centre of Adelaide. Approximately 40 children attended the event over the three days. A senior member of staff from RS was present at all times and assumed the overall responsibility for the children and young people.

As one component of the Summer Recreation Program, the two researchers engaged with the children in play, craft and sport and conducted interviews informally. There were 17 Afghani young men and they participated with enthusiasm in the sports program. Eight of their interviews were conducted individually and in addition there were three groups of two young men and one group of three young men, all aged between 14 and 18 years. The interviews were shaped by a number of themes using a semi-structured question format. Conversations were directed by the participants and so each conversation varied somewhat in content and areas covered. Interviews with three individuals and one pair were conducted with another young man acting as interpreter. The other young men chose to speak without an interpreter, despite their limited English.

Data analysis followed a thematic approach. Detailed notes were taken during groups and individual interviews and observational summary notes were taken following play and craft activities. The researchers typed up their notes and shared them with each other. The notes were then assimilated, offering different perspectives and interpretations of the discussions. Themes were noted and summarised into major themes.

Ethics approval was obtained from the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee and the Department of Families and Communities Ethics Committee who also asked for a personal presentation from the researchers. The expenses of the program were met through a research grant from the university to one of the researchers.

Responses

Interviews were conducted with 17 Afghani young men. Following are the ages and length of residence in Australia of the 17 young men who were interviewed:

Code	Age	Length of time in Australia	Code	Age	Time in Australia
R	17	2 months	H	17	9 months
S	17	6 months	Q	17	6 months
K	17	2 months	M	16	not known
J	17	not known	A	18	6 months
D	17	1 month	B	17	1 month
V	18	not known	N	15	1 month
I	14	3 weeks	Z	16	4 months
HR	17	8 months	E	not known	7 months
H2	not known	12 month			

The responses of the participants were organized into seven themes: background, living in Adelaide, education, future plans, family, accommodation, activities and friendships. As the young men were anticipating these interviews, it appeared that they had discussed their responses prior to attending the Summer Recreation Program and so there was a consistent message provided by each respondent. This does not diminish the value of responses. It means there was a similarity in concerns expressed.

Background: Whilst each response was unique, there were a number of similarities:
The length of time they had lived in Australia varied from 3 weeks to 12 months. All of the young men had spent some time on Christmas Island before coming to Australia. In general they did not venture much information about how they got out of Afghanistan, although some said their families fled from the Taliban and some indicated they spent some time in Pakistan. A few mentioned that their families had fled persecution but others did not mention this. One young man did speak at length about his experiences during his time in Pakistan. According to the young men, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship placed them in Adelaide and they had no choice about their location within Australia. It would appear that the young men were not consulted in terms of final place of residence.

Living in Adelaide: All spoke positively of Adelaide and of the assistance they had received from RS. Only later in the interviews did they speak more critically of the facilities and services they were receiving, but this was done carefully and in an informing sense, not in a negative manner. Australia provided opportunities which they were unable to access prior to coming here. Some felt safe here and appreciated that RS were helping and supporting them in their communities. One young man commented that he understood that RS were 'doing a good job.' He had spoken with friends in Melbourne and Sydney and believed they did not have the same facilities there. So in terms of coming to Adelaide and their living situation upon arriving in Adelaide, the young men were content with this. This could be considered to

satisfy the 'best interests' requirement. Nevertheless, the young men were not consulted in the determination of their place of residence. A reasonable possibility might be for the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) to consult UHMs who have already become settled in their place of residence as to the best procedures to follow when they make subsequent placements.

Education: Education was a major issue expressed by the young men. All of them felt that attendance at Thebarton Senior College in the New Arrivals Program, NAP, was not beneficial. Consistently the young men stated that the NAP did not satisfy their need to equip themselves with a satisfactory standard of English to move elsewhere. Their reasons for this attitude were because they felt that the Certificate gained was no use, so it was felt to be a wasted year. They also had been led to believe that they could get a job with the certificate provided by NAP but this proved not to be the case. They felt they should have been able to attend a program with some tangible benefits, for example a certificate for work, a skills program, or something towards these. They attended the NAP with other migrants/refugees, which meant that students congregated in their ethnic enclaves so it was even counterproductive to them learning English.

The following issues were raised and reiterated by almost all of the young men: they wanted to undertake further study; some felt their level of education upon arrival in Australia was inadequate and wanted some effective remedial training to be able to commence further study.
They were required to fit into the Australian program yet they felt that it lacked flexibility in the sense of enabling them to access different types of educational support and training. An interesting issue was that too much time was spent in limbo if they arrived in December or January, in other words, study timetables were based around a traditional academic year with no flexibility for those who arrived during vacation periods.

A considerable amount of frustration was expressed about the educational opportunities offered to these young men. It was unclear to the researchers as to whether these concerns had already been expressed to RS. But now the researchers were being considered as the vehicle by which these concerns could be expressed. In the opinion of these Afghani young men, their acclimatization, language training and educational opportunities in Australia were inadequate and could not be considered to be in their best interests.

Future Plans: All had clear ambitions for their futures. In the short term, they wanted an effective education. In the medium term, they wanted to earn some good money and be able to sponsor their families to come to Australia. This desire appeared foremost in their minds and was a constant pressure on them. All the young men were the oldest sons in the family. They indicated that they had a responsibility to the rest of their families. Some had commenced the process through legal services of determining how to bring their families to Australia. This linked closely to their determination to earn good money in an area such as the mining industry. These young men were still recent arrivals and were

missing their families and wanted them to come to Australia. In the longer term, they wanted to establish themselves in Australia with a good education and good jobs. These young men had clear future plans. If these aspirations could be achieved, then it would be true to say that RS had fulfilled the best interests of these UHMs in terms of their future outcomes.

Accommodation: When these young men arrived in Australia, they were mostly placed in residential accommodation with two, four or six other Afghani young men and usually two male Afghani carers. Only one of the young men interviewed was living in foster care. Appreciation was expressed with the cultural appropriateness of receiving care from Afghani carers. However, one suggestion from several young men was that one of the carers be Afghani and the other Australian to enable a better understanding of Australian behaviour and customs. Some concerns were expressed about the living arrangements and care provided, particularly transport arrangements to College, the quality of food and accommodation facilities. So while housing had been provided and care provision made, there was some disgruntlement with it. It would appear from the conversations that these young men had not been able to make their voices heard in these matters. As Nugent (2006) contends, it would be appropriate if these young men were given opportunity to contribute to the development of policies and procedures which impact on their lives.

When someone turns 18 years old, accommodation is provided through the South Australian Housing Trust. One 18 year old young man lived alone and another lived with another young man. One of these young men told me: 'Every boy gets a house when he turns 18. Families SA do this. They don't put you on your own until you have a house.' This was said in an appreciative sense. The young men appreciated that their interests were being accommodated. Nevertheless, once a UHM turns 18 years old, the supports to which he is accustomed are taken away and he is set adrift. He has gained some living skills by the time he has turned 18, but these are dependent on the skills of the carers with whom he has lived, so they may vary considerably. Some cooking and house-keeping classes would be helpful.

Activities & Friendships: Concern was expressed by several young men about obtaining a driving licence and the costs involved. They felt the costs were prohibitive and suggested that RS could assist in payment for these. Some wanted to get involved in other sporting activities but needed financial assistance and support to do this, especially after they turned 18 years old. Some spoke of friends from other cultures (eg. China and Poland) – indicating a willingness to mingle with people from other cultures. Interestingly, they also expressed a desire to have Australian friends but felt that their English was not good enough. One young man stated, 'I don't know how to answer an Australian my age when he says, "Bye, see you around." Should I ask for his phone number or is he just saying good-bye?' Poor English language skills were a concern expressed in relation to finding Australian friends. They said that non-Australian friends did help them with the language as often these friends were learning English too.

Limitations

In terms of the limitations of the study, it needs to be recognised that this has been a qualitative study incorporating 17 interviewees, utilizing one interview per participant. So, although there was a consistency in responses, it would be inappropriate to extrapolate these data to other UHMs and to other locations. While the timing and location of interviews proved to be effective, the reason was more that the UHMs wanted to communicate with the researchers, despite external distractions. If future interviews were considered, these could be conducted in a more conducive environment and on a regular basis.

Conclusion

According to UNICEF (2011b), the 'best interests of the child' are paramount in dealing with refugee children, and these should be the guiding principle in all actions involving unaccompanied humanitarian minors (Byrne, 2008). The researchers believe that these 'best interests' should also include culturally appropriate care, which may include a family and community focus rather than the individualistic focus on the child which is predominant in western cultures.

Families SA Refugee Services (RS) has been delegated by the Commonwealth of Australia Minister for Immigration to provide care and reasonable services to the UHMs who come to South Australia. 'Best interests' can be considered to include financial support, housing, case management, training in living skills, language training and educational opportunities, health and legal assistance. In interviews conducted with 17 Afghani young men, aged between 14 and 18 years old, the interviewees agreed that RS met a number of these criteria. Certainly in terms of financial support, housing, case management, health and legal assistance, the category of 'best interests' could be considered to be met. Indeed the researchers were greatly impressed by the professionalism and consideration given to their role by RS staff. And RS go beyond what is offered in some other jurisdictions by including culturally appropriate care in the sense of the carers coming from a similar ethnic background to the UHMs. In many ways, RS assisted the UHMs in a range of ways and the young men who were interviewed appreciated this assistance.

But, from the perspective of the young men, there were some key areas of care and reasonable support which did not measure up to the 'best interests' of UHMs. Language training and educational opportunities, aspects of accommodation along with training in living skills provided could be improved. Some rethinking in the provision of educational opportunities and provision of living skills is warranted to ensure the best interests of these UHMs are provided.

An area which needs to be further pursued is that of gaining a better understanding of the UHMs' perspective on what is in their best interests. Following Nugent's suggestion (2006), a recommendation is that a more formal process be set up to gain the views of UHMs. This will include the current incoming group of Afghani young men. But it should also include younger children, and those from different ethnic backgrounds. Each age and ethnic group will provide a different perspective on what they believe

constitutes the 'best interests of the child'. Some of their suggestions may well be frivolous or unrealisable, but others will make sense and may be both cost effective and relatively easily implemented.

The 'best interests of the child' are a vital consideration which needs to be taken into account for UHMs who attempt to make a new life in a new country. These researchers believe that the voices of these UHMs need to be heard when determining what is in their best interests.

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CLOSING ADDRESS

Vision for migrants and refugees in South Australia

The Hon Grace Portolesi MP
Minister for Multicultural Affairs

The Hon Grace Portolesi is Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, Minister for Multicultural Affairs, Minister for Youth, Minister for Volunteers and Minister Assisting the Premier in Social Inclusion. She studied public policy and government at Flinders University and started work as an equal opportunity officer at the University of South Australia. In the early 1990s Grace worked as an advisor to then-Premier of Queensland Wayne Goss, followed by a role as policy advisor to then-Opposition Leader Mike Rann. In 2002, when Labor was elected, she worked for then-Minister for Families and Community Services, Jay Weatherill.

- Thank you for your welcome.
- You have invited me here today to talk about my vision for migrants and refugees.
- It is timely to be asking this question because issues around the arrival of migrants and refugees continue to be controversially debated in many circles.
- I would like to be very clear: My vision that our community as a whole appreciates the incredible value of refugees and migrants and acknowledges their contribution.
- Because I have to say, that I don't believe we are at that point yet.
- It is ironic that while we are envied around the world for our predominantly harmonious society, our cultural and linguistic diversity and our successful multicultural policies, we recently had 9 straight days of letters to the editor published in the Advertiser criticising multiculturalism.
- In addition, the results of a 12 year study conducted by the University of Western Sydney published earlier this year further demonstrate that we have a long way to go before my vision becomes reality.
- The study clearly shows that racism not only exists in our society, but that it is a very complex issue.
- While the majority of respondents – 86.8 % think it's a good thing for society to be made up of different cultures, around 41 % of respondents also find that Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic origin "sticking to their old ways".
- Over 40 % feel that certain ethnic groups "do not fit into Australian society" and 41% have a narrow view of who belongs in Australia.

- And about one-in-ten Australians have very problematic views on diversity and on ethnic difference. They believe that some races are naturally inferior or superior, and they believe in the need to keep groups separated.
- And these attitudes persist despite the facts telling us overwhelmingly that refugees and migrants are valuable contributors to our society.
- They tell us that migrants and refugees contribute to our State socially, culturally and economically in so many ways.
- We are a better society thanks to our diversity.
- It provides us with the opportunity to grow as global citizens, to learn about our lives beyond our own backyards.
- And our diversity creates a bridge that links Australia with the rest of the world.
- According to last year's Refugee Council of Australia Report, the economic benefits include opening up new markets, bringing in new skills, creating employment, and filling vacant employment niches in both rural and metropolitan areas.
- In addition, a large proportion of refugees and migrants are young. This translates into a positive net contribution to the labour market.
- Other research undertaken last year by Econtech for the Federal Government quantifies some of the benefits that flow to South Australia, in particular.
- The research forecast that – over a 20-year period – the humanitarian program would boost employment, Gross State Product and labour-force participation.
- And that the humanitarian program would also have a positive impact in specific areas such as construction, culture and recreation services, manufacturing and mining.
- Such facts should speak for themselves, and yet we still clearly have a problem.
- So what should we be doing?
- Firstly, we need to band together and once again find the courage to speak openly and loudly about the value of refugees and migrants.
- Because only in this way can the message be transmitted.
- Initiatives such as this conference are incredibly important.
- Your research and academic networking will add to our understanding of the value of having a culturally diverse society.

- This conference is a great initiative also because, for the first time, we have a forum where experts from all three of our Universities have come together to share the latest information, research and knowledge on migration.
- This is a first for our State and, I understand, the country, and for this, the Don Dunstan Foundation, and indeed you all, are to be congratulated.
- Our State, indeed, has a long and proud history of firsts especially in the area of diversity and equal opportunities.
- The first non-English newspaper in Australia (a German paper) was published in Adelaide in 1848.
- In 1895 we became the first Australian Colony to grant women the vote and allow women to stand for Parliament.
- And in 1965, South Australia was the first State to prohibit discrimination on the grounds of race.
- I want us to continue to be a State of "firsts".
- It is this courage and attitude of cooperation and solidarity that we now need.
- If you think back, the seventies and eighties were a period of extremely high activity around multiculturalism and migration.
- This is something that I clearly remember from my childhood.
- In fact, I personally witnessed how things changed thanks to that activity.
- There was an almost unstoppable momentum in society for greater inclusion, acceptance and acknowledgement of the benefits of our cultural diversity.
- This period was characterised by a common and concerted effort from the majority to act under the guidance, leadership and pioneering multicultural vision of the likes of Don Dunstan, Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser, and, in South Australia, the great policies introduced by names such as Chris Sumner and Lynn Arnold.
- I believe we must recapture that momentum and work together to promote the enormous contribution of our migrants and refugees.
- **Our second objective** should be to establish the best possible conditions for our migrants and refugees to feel welcomed and accepted in order for them to reach their full potential.
- This includes providing effective settlement services so that migrants and refugees can begin fully participating in their new life as quickly as possible.
- While the State Government does not determine how many migrants and refugees enter Australia, we do play a vital role in their settlement.

- The South Australian Government is working closely with communities and service providers to establish a better coordinated and efficient settlement service.
- We have undertaken thorough consultation and have identified gaps and needs in services.
- And a two-day conference earlier this year resulted in a targeted action plan devised by all parties on how to best address these gaps.
- We must also continue to fight actively and vocally against racism.
- Racism denies a person's or a people's right to exist, it denies fair treatment and it simply has no place in our society.
- And yet, as we have already seen, it persists.
- It never ceases to amaze me that people can have such short memories.
- Racism is still a reality for the majority of Aboriginal Australians.
- And of all the ethnic groups, it appears that currently Muslims are the focus of the majority of racist attacks.
- It is no more acceptable today than it was in the past when racism was targeted at others, such as Italians.
- Cav. Prof. Desmond O'Connor, in his 2004 book "Memories and Identities", reminds us of some of the treatment of Italians. He wrote:
- *Since the most numerous non-British arrivals were the Italians, they were the group most often targeted for criticism. The following is an example of letters published in the Adelaide Advertiser:*
- *[...] While I do not say that all Italians are unfit to become good Australian citizens, we are up against the fact that quite 80 p.c. of them are illiterate, and therefore, unable to use their brains as educated people in assisting to make Australia a country to be proud of with people of British and the best of European stock, such as Scandinavian, Swiss and French. [...]*
- Well, I guess I am living proof that such notions are as ridiculous as they sound.
- Despite what people may say, racism is most definitely not a question of freedom of speech or the exaggerated use of political correctness.
- There is simply no such thing as the freedom to vilify.
- Racism is most likely to occur where individuals have not fully understood the benefits of multiculturalism.
- And this, again, is an area of responsibility for us all.

- Each and every one of us is responsible for promoting the principles that underpin multiculturalism – respect, equity and a fair go for all.
- Our particular brand of multiculturalism is unique.
- It is based on an active policy that celebrates and encourages diversity and an adherence to Australian law in equal measures.
- And it has been successful.
- It has resulted in an above average uptake of Australian citizenship – more than 90 per cent among most communities.
- This is a clear indication of the commitment on the part of new arrivals to this nation.
- I am not fazed when other nations' leaders state that "multiculturalism is dead" as the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, recently did.
- We must remember that what they are referring to are their unsuccessful (or non-existent) policies rather than ours.
- Some people have said we live in a lucky country, but our community harmony is not about luck.
- It is about the way we have worked together to create the right environment for diversity to exist and multiculturalism to thrive.
- It is about our willingness and courage to not shy away from combating things like racism while fighting for the rights of all South Australians.
- That must be our template for the future.
- Ladies and gentlemen, I have given you my vision of the future of migrants and refugees in South Australia:
- They must be valued for the integral part they play in making South Australia great and we must do everything we can to ensure that they are.
- I look forward to continuing to work with you all to make this vision a reality.
- Before I finish, I would like to commend the Don Dunstan Foundation for organising this important conference. And I sincerely hope it will be the first of a long-lasting tradition.
- I would also like to acknowledge the great contributions made to this cause by two of the people intimately involved with this Conference: the Hon. Lynn Arnold and Professor Graeme Hugo, thank you to you both.
- And I would like to congratulate you all for bringing my vision one step closer to reality.

Notes

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