

Chapter 1: Introduction

Is it possible for an Australian government to be humane towards asylum seekers, and what part do the people of Australia have to play in the process? In order to answer these questions, this thesis explores Australia's responses to refugee and asylum seekers by government, media, and citizens, through a particular focus on Afghan Hazara refugees who settled in Murray Bridge, South Australia early this century. It presents an in depth exploration of the 'boatpeople crisis' faced by the government of Prime Minister John Howard, and in so doing provides new insights into the problem of asylum seekers faced by subsequent governments.

The thesis examines one of the measures developed to prevent and deter arrivals of the 'boatpeople' introduced by the Howard government, the Temporary Protection Visa (TPV). Other studies have examined the effects of the visa on its holders, but this study focuses on the effects of the visa subclass on Australian attitudes towards TPV holders and asylum seekers. The main problem studied is how the integration of TPV holders played out in the face of legislation designed to prevent it. It examines the process of integration of TPV holders in the Murray Bridge community, tracing the transformation of attitudes amongst the residents until they were accepted as 'mates' and the town united with them to struggle against the severe conditions imposed by the visa. The results of the study show the power of face-to-face contact to overcome xenophobia, one of the major drivers of anti-asylum seeker policies in the developed world. It is expected that the findings from this research will

provide useful insights for the government and human rights and refugee advocacy organisations in dealing with the issue of asylum seekers in Australia.

Although asylum applications lodged in industrialised countries have dropped somewhat since 2001 (UNHCR 2010b), ‘the political significance of migration far outweighs its numerical significance’ (Koser, 2007, 59), particularly concerning matters of asylum. It gives rise to intense and often bitter debates over social acceptance, competition for resources, and cultural identity. For asylum seekers themselves, the need to move clandestinely causes vulnerability to human rights abuses. The responses of states can mean the difference between life and death (International Council on Human Rights Policy 2010, v-vi)

1.1 Background

Much of the public discourse around asylum seekers in developed countries, especially in those which have refugee resettlement programs, centres on whether they are as ‘deserving’ as those refugees who remain in refugee camps until they are resettled by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR). In public discourse in these countries, refugees resettled through the UNHCR resettlement program are automatically considered to be ‘deserving’ of their places as new residents. Those who arrive without authorisation in order to claim asylum are suspected of being ‘economic migrants’ whose movement ipso facto is voluntary. They must earn the classification as ‘deserving’ by proving that their movement was indeed ‘forced’.

People who enter a state without the proper authority are ‘irregular migrants’. These include people who remain in a country in contravention of their visa status, people moved by smugglers, victims of human trafficking, people seeking asylum who are subsequently found to have valid refugee claims, and also those who set out to deliberately abuse the asylum system (Koser 2005, 6). The classification of the movement of irregular migrants as ‘forced’ or ‘voluntary’ can have significant and often devastating effects on their lives, but in most cases it is impossible to tease out the two. The International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) describes forced migration as ‘a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects’ (FMO n.d a.). ‘Trafficking’ is an extreme form of forced migration, in which victims are ‘treated as merchandise’ and ‘owned by their traffickers’ (UNHCR 2006a, 3). Voluntary migrants on the other hand are those who are able to freely choose to stay or go, and to make the decision based on personal preference, such as tourists and traders. Richmond (1993) and Van Hear (1998) are among scholars who recognise the inadequacy of discrete classifications of forced and voluntary migration, and propose a continuum of proactive and reactive migration, of force and choice.

Table 1.1 Force and choice in outwards and return migration

	Voluntary migration	Involuntary
Outward movement	Labour migrants, professional traders, tourists, students	Refugees, IDPs, development displacement, forcible relocation, disaster displacement
Return movement	Returning migrants, returning refugees, voluntary repatriates, voluntary returnees	Deported or expelled migrants, refugees subject to refoulement, forced repatriates, forced returnees

Source: Van Hear 1998, 42

Table 1.1 provides a matrix of ‘involuntary’ and ‘voluntary’, locating as ‘involuntary’ the forcibly displaced and relocated, IDPs (people forcibly displaced within their own countries), refugees, those deported or expelled, refugees subject to refoulement and forced returnees and repatriates. Labour migrants, professional traders, tourists, students, returning migrants, returning refugees, voluntary repatriates, and voluntary returnees are classified as voluntary migrants. The division represented by the matrix is not wholly satisfactory since in almost every situation there are varying degrees of choice and compulsion. Despite the impossibility of making a definitive decision in many cases, popular opinion towards asylum seekers often depends on these classifications.

Each ‘type’ of forced migrant is recognised in legislation and policies and finds its legal and operational definition in a different instrument, and in several cases is provisioned by different instrumentalities (Forced Migration Online n/d b). Despite these definitions, it is often impossible to disentangle free from forced decisions. Migrations that *prima facie* appear motivated by economic reasons often involve a forced element (UNHCR 2000c, 112). Further complications arise when forced movement occurs along routes formerly established for the purposes of labour migration or trade. For example, Afghan Hazara asylum seekers, who have constituted the largest proportion of refugees in the world for the past decade, use the routes otherwise used to reach seasonal work in coalmines in Pakistan (Monsutti 2005, 101). Moreover, the degree of ‘force’ and ‘choice’ varies among individuals in almost every category and indeed, people may change categories over the course of their movement (Global Commission on International Migration 2005). Finally and most tellingly, the application of the categories varies depending on the perspective of the user. Governments which are called upon to offer protection have an incentive to classify undocumented

migrants as 'voluntary' in order to avoid obligations under international human rights treaties, whereas the same migrants may consider that they were 'forced' to leave their home countries, as may international humanitarian organisations. Government instrumentalities describe irregular migrants as 'undocumented' or 'unauthorised' and political and media rhetoric sometimes labels them as 'illegal'. Rather than 'irregular' migrants, Castles and Miller (2003, 283) have coined the term 'unwanted immigration', which more aptly describes the situation.

Virtually every country is now experiencing increasing manifestations of hostility and violence against irregular immigrants, including asylum seekers and refugees (Taran & Geronimi 2003, 8-9). The current hardening of attitudes towards asylum seekers across the developed world had its origins in the late 1980s and early 1990s when widespread economic restructuring caused growing unemployment levels which raised insecurity among workers. After the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington in September 2001, politicians and the media of developed countries began to portray all people crossing national borders, whether migrants or refugees, as potential terrorists and security threats. As well, the growth in migration from developing countries has given rise to notions of 'floods'. Source nations have diversified and arrivals are no longer similar ethnically or culturally to resident populations, eliciting xenophobic responses. A decline in overall migrant skill and education levels, a result of the changing source countries (Williamson and Hatton 2004), provided yet another goad to negativity.

Formerly, to most people in the developed world 'refugee' meant people far away in refugee camps, a few of whom, the most 'deserving', were resettled in developed countries

like Australia. Over the past four decades, however, increasing numbers of refugees have sought asylum in Europe, North America, and Oceania, whereas very few asylum seekers arrived in developed countries before that (Richmond 2002, 719). Refugee claimants use their own resources to reach developed countries and seek asylum. They do not fit the old frame of ‘refugee’, and are seen as ‘undeserving’. Moreover, the mixture of refugees and others in irregular migration flows has further confused the public, which has also fuelled vilification of asylum seekers (Jacobsen 2006, 274). Governments have increasingly encouraged this antagonism for political gain (Thränhardt 1995, 3-4). In December 2007 the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Antonio Guterres, when convening a ‘Dialogue on Protection Challenges’ said,

The debate about mobility and migration is not always a rational one. Electoral opportunism, political populism and the sensationalist media have combined to poison the debate on this issue, promoting a sense of fear, intolerance, and rejection.

(UNHCR 2008b)

1.1.1 Deterrence and prevention of asylum applications

This thesis studies the effects of a method intended to deter arrivals of asylum seekers in Australia, the Temporary Protection Visa, introduced by the Howard government. Methods to deter and prevent arrivals have multiplied in all developed countries (Newland 2005). Koser (2005, 14) provides a typology of measures utilised to prevent arrival.

Table 1.2 Pre and post arrival measures to prevent and deter arrival of irregular migrants with examples

	Measure	Country example(s)
Pre-arrival measures	Carrier sanctions	Most developed countries
	Information campaigns	Australia, in Indonesia & Pakistan, among other places
	Interdiction and interception	US, Australia & Canada, interdiction at sea; Europe, interception in EU

		countries bordering irregular migrant producing regions; US interception near the US-Mexico border
	Regional processing	EU; Australia under Howard government
	Punitive measures against human smugglers	Most developed countries
	Strengthened physical borders (fences, electronic surveillance)	US-Mexico border
	Enhanced document security features	Most developed countries
Post arrival measures	Workplace and other internal ID inspections	Most developed countries
	Employer Sanctions	Most developed countries
	Detention	Mandatory in Australia; restricted use in other developed countries
	Dispersal	UK
	Restrictions on mobility	Some EU countries
	Denial of the right to work	Some EU countries
	Access to benefits	Restricted in many developed countries

Source: Based on Koser 2005, 14

Table 1.2 presents this typology, with country examples. Pre-entry measures include carrier sanctions, interdiction and interception, regional processing, punitive measures against human smugglers, strengthened physical borders (fences, electronic surveillance), and enhanced document security features. ‘Post entry measures’ are the instruments used to detect persons who are present in the country without the required documentation and to deter further arrivals through imposition of sanctions on those already arrived. These include workplace and other internal ID inspections, employer sanctions, dispersal, restrictions on mobility, denial of the right to work, restrictions on access to benefits, and detention. The arrivals of asylum seekers have prompted many of these restrictions because, unlike the case of migrants without claims to refugee status, international instruments prevent their arbitrary return.

Table 1.2 illustrates that most developed countries utilise methods to prevent arrival, including carrier sanctions, punishment of people smugglers, and fences at land borders and

interdiction at sea to defend physical borders. Countries such as Australia claim that their methods to prevent arrival are aimed at stopping human rights abuses at the hands of smugglers, and the risk of death on many journeys (International Council on Human Rights 2010, 2). Fewer use measures enforced once the migrant has entered. Once migrants are in the country, most impose visa inspections, sanctions on employers, and restrict rights until claims are determined. Some countries use restrictions on rights to movement, employment, and benefits, including detention. Only in Australia is detention mandatory for all undocumented arrivals.

Regional agreements seek to manage movements and deter arrivals. Current regional agreements include the OAU Refugee Convention, the Kampala Convention, the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) Protocol, the Cartagena Declaration, the Mexico Plan of Action, the Brasilia Declaration, and the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). Initiatives such as the Dublin Regulation, an EU law intended to prevent so called 'asylum shopping', have not in the main succeeded (Collyer 2004). Australia has attempted control of arrivals through regional agreements such as the Bali Process, with little success.

Despite the efforts of destinations to deter arrivals, variables inherent in source and destination societies are the most powerful influences on the number of applications, while in contrast, asylum policies have a minor influence. Studies including those of Böcker and Havinga (1997), Koser and Pinkerton (2002), Robinson and Segrott (2002), Koser and Van Hear (2003), Hatton, (2004), Thielemann (2004), and Neumayer (2004) have sought to evaluate the efficacy of prevention and deterrence measures. The results indicate that variables in source regions are the strongest determinants of the decision to seek asylum, and

that asylum policies of destinations have a lesser effect (Hatton 2004, 51). The key destination country variables are unemployment rate, the existing stock of foreign nationals, the country's reputation for generosity (Thielemann 2004, 60-64), income per capita, politics and common language and historical ties (Neumayer 2004). This means that for a country such as Australia, its political system, its economy, and reputation for generosity are the most powerful influences on increasing numbers of asylum applicants.

1.1.2 Asylum seekers in Australia, the US and Canada

While this study is of asylum seekers in Australia, the development of asylum seeker policies in the US and Canada provides a useful comparison, since all three countries were built through immigration and all have refugee resettlement programs.

Refugees compose about one-tenth of the total annual immigration to the United States. Like Australia and Canada, the US has been a partner in the UNHCR resettlement program since its inception. The US stance in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s was that of implicit acceptance of people fleeing communist regimes (McBride 1999), acceptance that supported US foreign policy. Many other refugees were rejected. When a 1991 court order prevented the forcible return of asylum seekers to Haiti, the US created the world's first off-shore detention centre for Haitians and Cubans claiming asylum in the US (Levy 2004, 11), preventing the asylum seekers from accessing the judicial appeals process. This gave rise to the 'sanctuary movement', in which human rights groups provided shelter, material goods, and legal advice to Central American refugees who entered the US illegally.

In recent years the U.S. has accounted for 15 to 20 per cent of all asylum-seeker acceptances in OECD countries (OECD 2009), despite a reduction of the total number since 2002, 'likely due to the more stringent interdiction and interception methods employed by the US government' (Frelick 2005). Although the US does not have mandatory detention of all irregular arrivals, 95 percent of asylum seekers are detained, and in 2002 spent an average of 10 months in detention, with the longest period being 3.5 years (Physicians for Human Rights & Bellevue/NYU Program for Survivors of Torture 2003).

In Canada, private citizens and groups may sponsor the resettlement of refugees over and above the numbers in the UNHCR sponsored resettlement program. Asylum seekers are provided for under the Immigration Act of 1976 which created an inland refugee determination program (Kelly & Trebilcock 1998: 404). Asylum seekers, once accepted as refugees by the Canadian government, are awarded 'protected person status' and may immediately apply for permanency (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010).

An unprecedented increase in asylum applications during the 1980s and the first arrivals of boats carrying asylum seekers caused attitudes to harden, however (Hamlin 2008, 13). The 1988 'Immigration Deterrence and Detention' Bill allows for detention during processing of asylum claims, but detention is not mandatory if asylum seekers have valid identity documents. In 1999, boats arriving with asylum seekers from China led to the 'Immigration and Refugee Protection Act' of 2002, which includes harsher penalties for people smugglers, restriction of access to the Federal Court, and an agreement between the United States and Canada that asylum seekers must apply for refugee status in whichever of the two nations they first land (Hamlin 2008), contravening the spirit of the duty not to

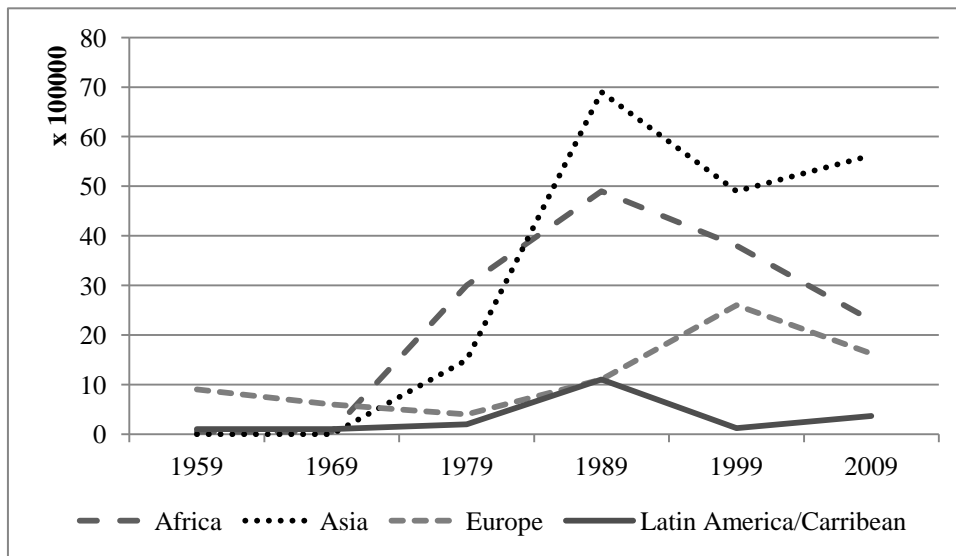
refoule (Macklin 2004, 373; Cutler 2005, 132-135). The Canadian government is currently considering a Bill that would provide for mandatory detention of all asylum arrivals and prevent them, even if accepted as refugees, to apply for permanent residency or sponsor their families for five years (Frelick & Egsgard 2012).

The US, Canada, and Australia all pride themselves on their humanitarian response to refugees. They have all, however, proved to be capable of inhumane responses when acceptance of refugees does not suit their foreign and or domestic purposes. The US and Canada resiled from relatively liberal policies towards refugees and asylum seekers once numbers of in-country asylum claims increased and those seeking asylum no longer represented foreign policy advantage, as did Australia. Canadian policies currently in train may see that country mimicking the harshest of Australia's strategies.

1.1.3 Numbers and origins of refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular migrants

It is important to set discussions of treatment of asylum seekers in the context of the size and nature of flows of all irregular migrants and refugees. The International Organization for Migration (IOM 2009) estimates irregular migrants now make up 10 to 15 per cent of the nearly 214 million migrants worldwide. The UNHCR acknowledges that many of these irregular migrants are 'persons of concern', including refugees, asylum seekers, IDPs, and the stateless. These 'persons of concern' numbered more than 36 million in 2009. Since WWII, numbers of refugees in the world have increased dramatically, and source regions have changed. The total number of persons recognised as refugees in 2009 was 15.2 million, of which UNHCR protected and/or assisted approximately 66 per cent (10.4 million) (UNHCR 2010b).

Figure 1.1 Estimated number of refugees worldwide by major source regions, 1959–2009: Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America/Caribbean



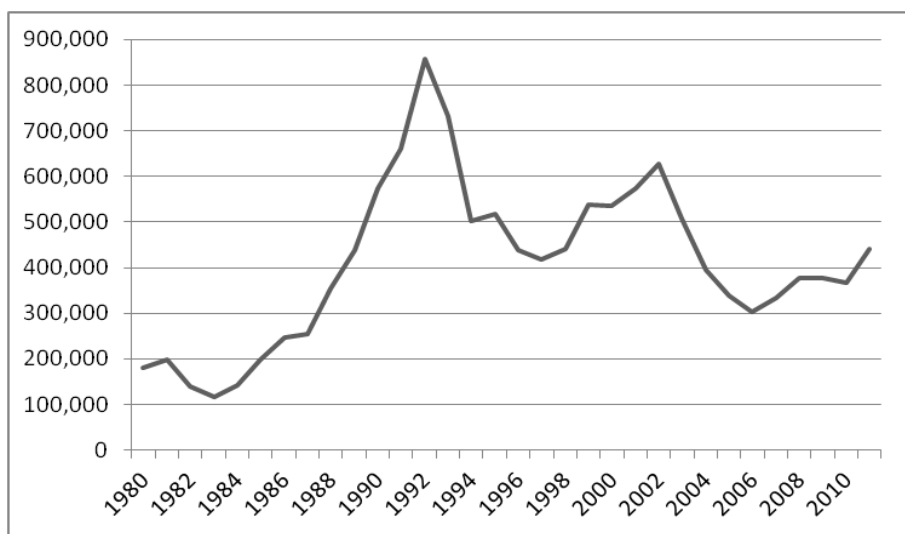
Source: UNHCR 2000b; UNHCR 2009c

Note: Numbers include total refugees and people in refugee-like situations

Figure 1.1 illustrates the increase in overall numbers and the fluctuation of major source regions for refugees between 1959 and 2009. It shows that numbers of European refugees decreased from 1959 onwards, but with the collapse of the soviet regime and resultant ethnic conflicts, increased again from the 1980s. Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Colombia increased the overall numbers from Latin America and the Caribbean from 1975 onwards. From the late 1980s on, except for the few remaining socialist countries such as Cuba, Vietnam, and Cambodia, refugees mainly originated from nations of little geopolitical significance to developed countries (Teitelbaum 1984, 430). As the figure shows, Africa overtook dominance in numbers in 1969, and Asia became the dominant source from the early 1980s onwards. During the 1980s the major Asian sources were in South East Asia, particularly Vietnam and Cambodia, while the increase from 1999 onwards has mainly constituted people from South Asian nations.

Determining numbers of asylum seekers is challenging, since measures generally rely on records of asylum applications which do not necessarily reflect the actual numbers of those seeking asylum. In addition, comparison across years is problematic since the UNHCR, the main source of data, has recorded asylum applications in varying numbers of countries, from 29 in 2001 to 44 in 2010. Nevertheless, fluctuations in numbers have been large enough to give a general picture of fluctuations over time.

Figure 1.2 Total asylum applications all industrialised countries of destination 1980-2010



Source: UNHCR Statistical Yearbooks 2001- 2011

Figure 1.2 shows that there was a peak in asylum applications in all industrialised countries in 1992 (856,506 applications) which decreased by nearly 50 per cent by 1998 (440,086 applications), and spiked in 2002 to approximately 73 per cent of the previous highest level (628,660 applications). By 2010 numbers were approximately 60 per cent of 2002 levels, and lower than 1998. These numbers solely reflect claims made in the year under review, and do not include numbers awaiting decisions, which by the end of 2009 was close to one million individuals worldwide (UNHCR 2010b). It is impossible, however, to

determine from this to what degree the fluctuations in applications are due to reducing numbers in need of asylum or reflect the increasingly efficient measures to prevent arrivals.

1.1.4 Destinations

The UNHCR recognises three ‘durable solutions’ for refugees: voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement to a third country (UNHCR 2009b). Resettlement has been available to less than one per cent of the world refugee population, a proportion that decreased dramatically after September 11 2001 (Smith 2004, 42). In 2010 there were 28 countries offering resettlement offering fewer than 80,000 resettlement places annually, approximately 10 per cent of those eligible for the program (UNHCR 2009b).

Table 1.3 Ratio of resettled refugees to host population as of December 2007, in order of ratio of resettled refugees per head of host population

Host Country	Refugees Resettled	Host Population	Ratio of Resettled Refugees to Host Population
Australia	10,722	21,000,000	1:2,000
Canada	11,079	32,900,000	1:3,000
Norway	1,397	4,700,000	1:3,000
Sweden	1,848	9,100,000	1:4,000
New Zealand	697	4,200,000	1:6,000
United States	48,281	302,200,000	1:6,200
Finland	724	5,300,000	1:7,300
Denmark	472	5,500,000	1:11,700
Ireland	144	4,400,000	1:30,600
Netherlands	518	16,400,000	1:31,700
United Kingdom	498	61,000,000	1:122,500
Argentina	83	39,400,000	1:474,700
Chile	32	16,600,000	1:518,800
Brazil	153	189,300,000	1:1,237,300
Italy	40	59,300,000	1:1,482,500
TOTAL:	76,700		

Source: (USCRI 2008)

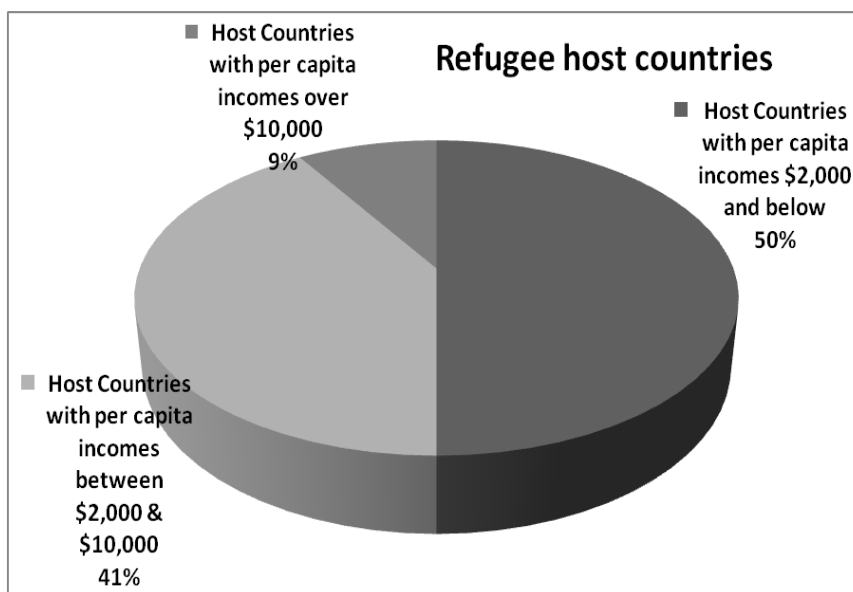
Table 1.3 shows that in 2007 Australia ranked third after the United States and Canada for numbers accepted for resettlement. Although the US resettles the greatest number of refugees (48,281 in 2007), Australia accepts the greatest number in proportion to its population (1:2000) compared to the US ratio of 1:6,200 per head of population.

Resettlement enables refugees identified and selected by the UNHCR to transfer from a state in which they have sought protection to a third state that undertakes to admit them as refugees with permanent residence status and with the opportunity to eventually become naturalised citizens (UNHCR 2011b). ‘Refugee settlement is ... aimed at an enormous social transformation’ (Haines 2007, 50), since refugees arrive from extreme situations of danger and poverty into the wealthiest nations and therefore need assistance in coping with daily life in their new homes. Australia and other resettlement countries provide settlement support programs for resettled refugees. Immigrant settlement policies are directly linked to admissions policies, however, and Gibney and Hansen (2005, 423) note that asylum seekers, who originate from the same situations as resettled refugees, face ‘disintegration’ policies, that is, policies designed to deter claims and discourage integration. The refugees who lived in Australia on the Howard government’s TPVs faced just such barriers to integration.

While resettlement does assist thousands of refugees every year, it does not represent equitable ‘burden sharing’. The Preamble to the 1951 Convention states that granting asylum ‘may place unduly heavy burdens on certain countries’, implying that those ‘burdens’ should be shared, and expressly recognises that ‘international cooperation’ is the only means to a ‘satisfactory solution’ to the problem of refugee flows. Nevertheless, nations in the developing world host the great majority of the world’s refugees, but do not offer asylum –

asylum seekers simply flee across their borders. In these nations ‘asylum seekers’ are either residents of refugee camps run by international agencies, or illegal residents who may live or work there, sometimes for generations, without legitimate status. In many cases these reluctant host nations may themselves be adding to refugee flows. Countries like Pakistan, Syria, and Iran, which between them had nearly three million refugees in 2009, do not offer official asylum, nor are they able to effectively close their borders. Not only do developing nations host by far the greatest number of refugees, they also carry the greatest burden on their economies and way of life. Figure 1.3 below illustrates the discrepancy in burden sharing.

Figure 1.3 Refugees to GDP per capita



Source: USCRI 2009

Figure 1.3 shows that host countries with per capita incomes of \$2,000 and below host 50 per cent of the world’s refugees, while host countries with per capita incomes over

\$10,000 host only 9 per cent. Table 1.4 (below) sets out the refugee burden per GDP per capita in selected host countries in 2007.

Table 1.3 Indicators of host country capacity and contributions, 2010

Country	Refugees to GDP (PPP) per capita	Ranking in world
Pakistan	709.7	1
Democratic Republic of the Congo	475.0	2
Kenya	247.3	3
Chad	224.5	4
Syrian Arab Republic	191.1	5
United States of America	5.6	47
Canada	4.2	54
Australia	0.6	74

Source: UNHCR 2011a

Table 1.4 shows that Pakistan had the largest number of refugees to GDP per capita in 2007, followed by the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The US hosted 5.6 refugees to GDP per capita and ranked 47th, Canada hosted 4.2 refugees to GDP per capita, ranking 27th among all nations, and Australia ranked 74th, with less than one.

Czaika (2005) developed a means of producing a more complete picture of refugee burden. The Refugee Burden Index measures burden on four scales: utilising economic capacity, (for which income per capita serves as proxy), politico-institutional performance, that is, how well democratic channels and governance institutions perform, socio-political acceptance of immigrants, and population density per arable land which is proxy for the capacity of a country to absorb new-arrivals. For 2003, sixteen of the twenty most burdened countries were African, three were European (Armenia, Serbia and Montenegro), and the two from the CASWANAME group (Central Asia, South West Asia, North Africa and the Middle

East), Iran and Pakistan, were strongly overburdened. The Asia-Pacific and Americas were under-burdened and Europe slightly under-burdened.

While refugees are ‘resettled’ in developed countries, ‘warehousing’ occurs in less developed countries which in many cases border the source country. Refugee ‘warehousing’ has emerged as a de facto fourth ‘durable solution’. ‘Warehousing’ is the term that the United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) (2008) uses to refer to the situation of millions of refugees across the world who are living in camps or segregated settlements which UNHCR terms ‘protracted refugee situations’. Most are denied freedom to move, and in the few situations where they may move they are still routinely denied rights to work, practice professions, run businesses, and own property. Refugees in these situations are dependent on humanitarian assistance (Smith 2004). In addition, governments in developing countries are often incapable of enforcing laws against the self-settlement of undocumented migrants in their urban areas, or choose to turn a blind eye. Only one-third of the world's 10.5 million refugees now live in camps, while many of the rest are ‘urban refugees’ (UNHCR 2011c). It is difficult to determine exact numbers of urban refugees, however, since people living illegally are not likely to cooperate in census activities, and indeed after years of life on the margins in protracted refugee situations, may no longer consider themselves to be asylum seekers. Almost half of the world's 10.5 million refugees now reside in cities and towns without rights of residence (UNHCR 2011c). The US Department of State estimated that in 2011 there were 10.3 million people in ‘protracted refugee situations’ which occur when ‘25,000 or more refugees originating from the same country have sought asylum in another country (or countries) for at least five consecutive years’ (US Department of State 2011).

Since this study focuses on the settlement of Afghan asylum seekers in Australia, it is important to note that Afghan and Iraqi refugees account for almost half (45%) of all refugees under UNHCR's responsibility, and constitute many of the 'urban refugees'. In 2011 for example, there were 1.7 million Afghans, many of whom would have qualified as Convention refugees, living in urban areas in Pakistan alone (UNHCR 2011c).

Whereas under-developed countries cannot in most cases prevent asylum seekers and refugees settling within their borders, increasing pressure on very limited fiscal resources, the developed countries are investing millions of dollars in attempts to prevent asylum seekers arriving. Resettlement benefits a very small minority of refugees, but constitutes almost the only 'burden sharing' by developed countries to the millions of refugees both recognised and unrecognised in the world.

1.1.5 Asylum seeker challenges to the international system of human rights

In order to understand the status of refugees and asylum seekers today, it is necessary to understand the development of the modern international refugee regime under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The Charter of the United Nations is the basis for the Charter of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the foundation of the Convention on the Status of Refugees 1951 (Refugee Convention). The United Nations Charter, which is binding on all member states, speaks of 'fundamental freedoms' and 'human rights'. The UDHR, the first global expression of human rights, was explicitly adopted for the purpose of delineating the meaning of those words. It consists of articles binding on all members, elaborated in subsequent international treaties, regional

human rights instruments, national constitutions, and laws, including the Convention on the Status of Refugees.

At the time these Charters and definitions were created, an estimated 30 million people were displaced in Europe alone, in addition to those in other areas (Duiker & Spielvogel 2008, 760), a problem so large that it displaced political agendas, foreign and domestic. It was conceived as a temporary measure and accordingly ‘refugees’ were limited to those displaced ‘as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951’ (UNHCR 1951, Article 1 B1). The definition has not changed over time except for the elimination of the restriction to those displaced by events prior to 1951. As a result it has excluded increasing numbers of people in need of protection.

Developed countries’ attitudes towards acceptance of refugees have changed since the inception of the UNHCR. In the 1950s, refugees were not significantly different to the cultures of the receiving countries, and, adding to the ease of acceptance, the receiving countries believed that there would, within a few years, be an end to their commitment. While the 1960s and 1970s saw growing numbers of refugees in the African continent, they were resettled locally, out of sight of the developed nations and so out of mind. The 1970s and 1980s witnessed the first refugees travelling by unauthorised boats to claim asylum in developed countries. Soon after the first waves of Indo Chinese, the UNHCR oversaw cooperation between many nations which enabled orderly resettlement in developed countries. The waves of asylum seekers arriving in the late 20th and early 21st centuries not only impinge on developed countries and present cultural challenges to them, but represent

seemingly endless numbers of people. There are ‘no solutions in sight’ to refugee situations in the 21st century (Crisp 2003b).

Adding to the complexity of the challenges to the Refugee Convention, grounds for flight have become increasingly complex while the causes defined in the Convention remain the same. Regional instruments such as the Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (OAU Convention) and the Cartagena Declaration have included aspects such as ‘massive violation of human rights’ (Cartagena) and ‘events seriously disturbing public order’ (OAU 1969). Nevertheless, the Refugee Convention remains the only basis in international law to prevent refoulement (the forced return of a person to a country where he or she faces persecution) of persons at risk. In recognition of these limitations, Objective 3 of Goal 1 of the Agenda for Protection urges

...states to consider the merits of establishing a single procedure in which there is first an examination of the 1951 Convention grounds for refugee status, to be followed, as necessary and appropriate, by the examination of the possible grounds for the grant of complementary forms of protection.

As a result, many states have legal mechanisms for protection of people who fail to meet the Convention definition, but this is at their discretion. Australia is currently the only developed country which does not have a legal process in place to protect such persons. The only protection available to persons in Australia who have failed in their refugee claims is the Immigration Minister’s non-appealable discretionary power to intervene in decisions regarding immigration status made by the Refugee Review Tribunal and other courts. The applicant must have exhausted their rights to review (Parliament of Australia 1958). The only exception is that protection from removal is explicitly available for individuals at risk of receiving the death penalty.

Asylum seekers in the 21st century are at the mercy of receiving countries which perceive them as an ever-increasing burden.

1.1.6 Challenges to the system of nation states and the control of borders

The basis of the modern system of immigration control is the concept of territorial integrity of sovereign states, the so-called Westphalian system, originating in the 18th century. The French and American Revolutions showed that not only a state but a nation could be based on sovereign power (Perry et al. 2008, 461), and ‘states’ became ‘nation-states’ with people identifying with their state and giving loyalty to it rather than to a monarch. Geopolitical borders came to provide the marker for determining who belonged to the ‘nation’ and who did not, dividing ‘us’ and ‘them’. When nation states began to provide national education and welfare systems in the 19th century, hostility towards foreign residents grew, based on the notion that they would dilute the rights of citizens (Morris-Suzuki 2006, 11).

From the 20th century onwards, states began to legislate control of immigration. Countries have instituted increasingly harsh measures in response to perceived threats to national security. The fear of infiltration by enemy agents during World War 1 was the catalyst for the use of passports for all persons who wished to cross national borders in Western Europe. After the War, the huge numbers escaping the revolutions in China and Russia and the fear of communism elicited further border and immigration regulation (Morris-Suzuki 2006, 11-14). In the 1990s, the massive exodus after the collapse of the Soviet bloc, which also effectively removed restrictions on Europe’s eastern borders (Zetter et al. 2003), brought about increases in type and severity of restrictions on asylum in countries of the European Union. The formation of the European Union, and specifically the

Single European Act of 1986, the Schengen Convention of 1987, and Schengen 'II' of 1990 (which legislated free movement for nationals of EU Member states within the Union), simultaneously increased entry controls for third country nationals (Geddes 2000, 63). From the late 1990s on, most developed countries have used terrorist attacks as justifications for further restrictions on immigration (Loescher, Betts & Milner 2008, 60).

In recent decades, the phenomenon of globalisation, the lessening and removal of barriers between national borders in order to facilitate the flow of goods, capital, services, and labour (ESCWA 2002), has challenged state sovereignty. The ubiquity of cross-border travel and almost instantaneous information transfer across the globe has facilitated an accelerating growth of social interconnectedness, catalysing a 'transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents' (Held et al. 1999, 15). While freedom of travel for the talented and the affluent has been welcomed, the same globalising forces have led to the increase in irregular migration and asylum seeking in developed countries, which is definitely not welcome. Since the processes of globalisation transcend the territorial borders of states they have weakened state governance (Collinson 1999), but nevertheless, territorial borders controlled by states persist, as does the problem of protection of the human rights of asylum seekers, people who lack the civic protections of a state. While globalisation has introduced a move away from the state and strict notions of sovereignty, states still 'hold the key to asylum and to permanent, durable solutions' (Mertus 1998, 86).

1.2 Various definitions of key terms used in the thesis

1.2.1 Refugees, asylum seekers, and persons of concern

The definition of a refugee used in the 1951 Refugee Convention provides the legal basis for the international protection of refugees. The Convention defines a refugee as a person who,

...owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.

On the other hand, most usages of the terms ‘refugees’ and ‘asylum seekers’ are driven by policy and operational concerns to delimit populations and to spell out obligations towards them. Zetter (2006, 174) says that bureaucratic ‘fractioning’ used by governments to manage mixed migration has fractured our ideas of who is a refugee. The term ‘refugee’ has no analytical coherence in research literature, and as yet does not have utility as a theoretical concept (Black 1991; Bascom 2001). The ‘refugee’ is an imagined category with no real life correlative (Malkki 1995, 496) which ‘divides the indivisible and/or lumps together the unrelated and the inessential’ (Sayer 1992, 138). Nevertheless, it persists and limits conceptualisations of refugees.

The UNHCR recognises asylum-seekers, stateless persons, the internally displaced (IDPs), ‘people in IDP-like situations’, and ‘other people who do not fall under any of the above categories but to whom the Office extends its protection and/or assistance activities’ as ‘Persons of Concern’ (UNHCR 2010a). Both persons who are seeking international protection and those who have sought refugee status but have not yet had their status

determined by the country in which they submitted the claim are defined as asylum seekers (UNHCR 2010a). ‘Persons of concern’ generally do not have access to most of the benefits of those recognised as Convention refugees and are usually not issued UNHCR identity cards, and they are not qualified for resettlement under UNHCR’s mandate.

1.2.2 Integration

‘Integration’ may be understood as an intermediate solution for refugees, as well as a final, ideal state, ‘the ability of the refugee to participate with relative freedom in the economic and communal life of the host region’ (Banki 2004, 2). The term ‘integration’ has fallen into disuse in policy and academic discourse because of confusion with the term ‘assimilation’. Integration in the country of first refuge or ‘local integration’ is one of the three durable solutions promulgated by UNHCR (2003b), and occurs almost without exception in developing countries. Neither ‘integration’ nor ‘local integration’ has a formal definition in international refugee law. The UNHCR now uses integration to mean ‘a mutual, gradual, and multi-faceted process, with inter-related legal, economic, social, and cultural dimensions’ (UNHCR 2009a),

...a process which leads to a durable solution for refugees of three interrelated dimensions: accessing rights and entitlements; accessing economic self-reliance, and living amongst or alongside the host population, without fear of systematic discrimination, intimidation, or exploitation, and a process that involves both refugees and the host population.

(Crisp 2003a: 2)

The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) also conceptualises integration as a dynamic process which affects many aspects of the social lives of both host and refugee communities (Zetter et al 2002, 128).

The provision of settlement services in Australia, as in other nations, was traditionally based on the assumption that migrants arrive intending to make Australia their permanent home, but there is a growing recognition that the 'settlement' experience applies to all migrants and that in many cases temporary migrants become integrated into the community in which they live as much as the so-called 'permanent' (Millbank, Phillips, & Bohm, 2006). 'The old dichotomies of migration study' have been blurred as well, and it is now possible to speak of the settlement and integration of 'temporary' versus 'permanent' migrants (King 2002, 89), and in the case of this study, the integration of the recipients of temporary protection.

1.3 Aims and objectives of the thesis and the research questions

The clash of vilification of asylum seekers under the Howard Liberal/National party regime on one hand, and the support provided by community organisations on the other is the basis of this investigation.

Any rights that asylum seekers may claim depend upon humanitarian principles, but these rights clash directly with the sovereign rights of nation states to regulate and control their borders. The primary aim of this thesis is to document and critically examine the manner in which the conflict between humanitarian and sovereign right played out in the responses of the Australian government, media, and citizens to the arrivals of 'boat people' between 1998

and 2002. The thesis aims to present and examination of the reception of refugees who arrived as undocumented boat arrivals in Australia as a whole and by individuals and groups in rural and regional Australia through analysis of the responses of media, ethnic groups, state governments, political parties, and civil society. It presents a case study of the settlement and integration of Afghan Temporary Protection Visa holders in Murray Bridge, South Australia, set in the wider context of their dispersal as refugees in the world, their flight from Afghanistan, and their relocation across Australia, 2001-2005. In so doing, it aims to untangle the paradox of how the surge of generosity and hospitality from community members towards asylum seekers arose in the midst of demonization of them in government, media, and public discourses, and describe the actions of the CSOs involved.

The central question addressed in the thesis is: ‘In the light of the regulation of migration, and in particular attempts to deny on-shore asylum seekers full rights as residents, how has the integration of refugees in Murray Bridge played out?’

Associated with the main question are the research questions:

1. What have been the policies regarding refugee and asylum seekers in Australia?

How did they develop?

Sub questions:

What are the specifics of the Australian policy on refugees and asylum seekers?

How and why did the Australian asylum seeker policy develop?

Who are the refugees and asylum seekers in Australia?

Present a critical examination of methods of deterrence: prevention of departure and interdiction, offshore processing; immigration detention; temporary protection

Present a critical examination of regional solutions including the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA); the Bali process; Malaysia Solution

The thesis examines the influence of the following on Australian policy:

The nature of the nation state

International human rights instruments

International politics

History of Australian immigration

2. What is the relationship between Australian government policies regarding refugee and asylum seekers and the Australian people?

Sub questions:

How did electoral pressures and Labor and Liberal approaches to asylum seekers play out?

How did Australian citizens respond?

Critically examine the results of opinion polls

Critically examine racism in Australia

How did individual supporters respond?

How did Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) respond?

How did Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) respond?

3. How did the integration of Hazara Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders progress in Murray Bridge?

The examination of this question is based on:

Media resources

Direct access to organisations and movements

Published reports and other documents that the organisations/movements have produced

An analysis of integration: a qualitative study, based on information provided during in-depth interviews

The effect of the nature of the location

The effect of the TPV conditions on integration

1.4 Significance of the study

The actions of nation states are increasingly open to scrutiny and criticism, and therefore more easily held to account on the grounds of human rights. On the other hand, refugees and asylum seekers have lost symbolic political value, and the ever-increasing numbers have also contributed to the diminishing willingness of developed countries to

practice hospitality. These factors, combined with the predictions of vast increases in displaced persons because of climate change and the recent worldwide financial crisis (UNHCR 2010b), make a deeper understanding of the forces at play in refusal of refuge ever more urgent.

Refugee and asylum seeker issues are now ‘matters of high international politics, engaging the attention of heads of states, cabinets, and key ministries’ (Weiner 1992, 91). While they are issues of the highest significance both for domestic politics of the receiving nations and in international politics, political science, including its sub-discipline international relations, has paid relatively little attention to them. On the other hand, studies of refugees and asylum seekers often pay little attention to the macro-political sphere. This study is contextualised in the political philosophy of liberal democratic processes, and provides examples of tensions between sovereign rights and human rights as played out in a community grappling with the effects of the Australian Temporary Protection Visa. The thesis contributes a new understanding of the necessary interplay of state and civil society in refugee and asylum seeker protection.

The thesis provides a new model of integration which incorporates the influence of civil society. The often unspoken purpose of refugee settlement programs is avoidance of community conflict. The two central causes of social conflict are identity and relationships (Lederach & Maiese 2003). This study adds important insights to how positive relationships develop between refugees and the host community as they grapple with the settlement process, and shows how the cornerstone of integration, a ‘sense of belonging’, develops. It shows how integration into a host community can occur even under conditions designed to

thwart that integration. The research also complements the existing body of knowledge about the integration of culturally and linguistically diverse communities in Australia, and is unique in that it focuses on a community who lived under a policy designed to exclude them. The thesis also provides a critical analysis of the asylum seeker policy and its provisions.

The study has implications far broader than for Australia alone because comprehension of the processes of integration and the various forces involved are important in the face of one of the greatest challenges of our time, ‘the increase in ethnic and social heterogeneity in virtually all advanced countries’ (Putnam 2007, 137). It is an important area of study because integration has the potential to create stability in an era of globalisation. Studies such as this one that examine processes as they occur in the settlement of refugees, and in particular for the most unwanted, the in-country asylum seekers, can test the robustness of theories of integration.

The Australian government has promoted policies to encourage settlement of migrants and resettlement of refugees to regional areas since 2001 (DIMIA 2005a). This research provides a case study of the integration of migrants in a regional centre, adding to the limited available information. It contributes a fresh understanding of integration of refugees and asylum seekers in rural and regional locations and thereby offers a source of information for policy decisions around locations of settlement.

Previous research on TPVs has focussed on the negative effects of the visa sub class and the violation of the human rights of its holders. There has been less examination of the role of supporters and support groups. This study provides a unique understanding of the role

of asylum seeker support groups in Australia. It also provides insight into faith-based groups as mediating structures in a democratic community.

The study is exceptional in its examination of the process of integration as whole of community transformation. Most immigration research has focused on individual and group differences in the rate of integration or on structural barriers, and opportunities to identify cooperative efforts between newcomers and the established community are missed (Bach, et al. 1993, 156-158). The study brings together the voices of the TPV holders, the people who assisted them, and the general community in which they settled. By including both refugees and the host community in almost equal measure, the study also avoids the tendency in the literature to treat the host community more or less as background (Chambers, 1986, 246). It also contributes a new method of understanding the process of integration through applying the principles of frame transformation. The use of frame transformation to conceptualise the course of integration is unique, and provides a means of describing and analysing integration as a dynamic process which is acknowledged in many definitions, but rarely honoured in the practice of refugee research. The thesis demonstrates how government, media, and civil society influence framing of asylum seekers with particular meaning within a society.

1.8 Summary of chapters

Chapter 2 provides an examination of the literature regarding the regulation of migration in modern nation states, focusing on forced migration in the context of the clash of human rights and state sovereignty, and analysing the manner in which refugees test both human rights regimes and the sovereignty of national borders. Particular attention is paid to asylum seekers and the use of temporary protection arrangements. The chapter continues with

an examination of the literature regarding the place of civil society in refugee and asylum seeker protection. The chapter also provides a critical examination of theories of integration and provides a theoretical framework for the study based on the examination. It critically examines literature assessing the integration of Muslims and refugees in Australia, and settlement on the TPV, with particular attention to the effect of location on integration.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the sources of data and information for the research. Interviews with Hazara TPV holders who lived in Murray Bridge between 2001 and 2005, with volunteers who provided English lessons and other assistance to them during that time, a census of texts appearing in the local newspaper, archival records and the researcher's own experience form the empirical evidence for the thesis, and the methods employed to collect and analyse these data are described and justified in Chapter 3. Particular attention is paid to cultural issues in the interview process. The researcher was also a participant in the processes that form the focus of the study and an examination of the advantages and pitfalls of this role are examined. The Chapter includes the timeframe for the research and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 examines immigration in Australia since Federation. It surveys the history of efforts to develop and preserve Australia as an outpost of Britain, and how internal and external demands have both thwarted and mitigated those endeavours. It provides a detailed examination of the attempts of the Australian government to deter and exclude asylum seekers who arrived in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when the Australian government, led by Prime Minister Howard, instituted measures designed to stem the so-called 'flood' of unauthorised arrivals of asylum seekers. It focuses on one of the measures, the Temporary

Protection Visa (TPV), that was intended to exclude holders from fully belonging in the Australian community and to create conditions unpleasant enough to deter future arrivals. The government's rationale for the TPV is presented and analysed. The chapter ends with an examination of the place of electoral advantage in public policy, and the appropriation of the so-called 'national interest' as a justification for exclusion.

Chapter 5 presents an overview of the settlement and integration of Afghan TPV holders in the wider Australian community. This exploration is set in the context of settlement in Australia and in particular settlement of refugees in regional and rural areas. The conditions of the TPV meant that holders were denied many services that other refugees in Australia enjoy, and this chapter also examines the effect of those exclusions on them, and gives a glimpse of some unintended effects. Community responses to the asylum seeker legislation of 1999-2001 are presented, including evidence from public opinion polls, academic literature, and the media. The responses from ethnic communities, secular civil society organisations, and faith-based groups are described, and several that serve as exemplars are examined in detail. The support of rural communities for the TPV holders was an exceptional aspect of their acceptance in the Australian community; therefore this is also examined in some detail.

Chapters 6 and 7 give an analysis of the data collected and present the findings from the study. Chapter 6 narrates the story of the Hazaras from their time in immigration detention to their arrival in Murray Bridge in 2001. It provides a description of the town, its socio-economic background, and ethnic mix, and the importance of the local meatworks to settlement in the centre to set the stage for the fieldwork. This is compared with the results of

studies of two other regional centres that experienced settlement of TPV holders. The Hazara participants described the intense suffering that they experienced on the TPV during the interviews, and this is depicted. The Hazaras saw themselves as ‘unwelcome strangers’ on their arrival in Australia, and the transformation of this frame through their interactions with ordinary Australians in Murray Bridge and elsewhere is portrayed. The volunteers also experienced transformation of their perceptions of the Hazaras, and the chapter describes the development of a frame of the Immigration Department as the common enemy. The analysis of the findings shows the importance of the community volunteers in leading their successful integration in the wider community.

Chapter 7 portrays the change of the community frames of the Hazaras from ‘illegals’ to ‘mates’ through an analysis of texts in the local bi-weekly newspaper and the state-wide daily newspaper. Evidence for the success of the integration of the Hazaras is also provided. The chapter then draws together the threads of the particular case of the integration of asylum seekers into the Murray Bridge community, the integration of asylum seekers across Australia, the policies and intentions of the national government, and the context of international migratory forces, and furnishes the conclusions drawn from the study and implications for policy. The chapter also presents the conceptual framework of the study amended in the light of these findings.

Chapter 8 summarises the major findings of this study and gives indications for further research and recommendations for policy directions.

Chapter 2 Asylum seekers, refugee protection, and integration

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature relating to sovereign and human rights as it relates to the protection of refugees and asylum seekers. It critically reviews literature from scholars, refugee advocate groups, and the Australian Immigration Department concerning refoulement and penalties for illegal entry based on the Articles of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (the Refugee Convention). It reviews primary and secondary literature relating to the role of the UNHCR and Civil Society Organisations in refugee protection. The chapter critically examines integration as a concept in refugee research and a factor in the conceptual framework for the study. It provides an evaluation of the use of frame transformation as a tool for analysis of refugee integration through a review of the relevant literature. The chapter concludes with a review of literature on the settlement and integration of asylum seekers as holders of the Australian Temporary Protection Visa (TPV), cited in literature about the integration of migrants, refugees, and Muslim refugees in Australia. It also examines the literature concerning the residents who supported the TPV holders and the effects of place on integration.

2.2 Sovereign right and human rights

This section outlines the sovereign rights of states, the human rights of individuals, and how these rights influence the destiny of asylum seekers. Understanding of both the rights of the state and the human rights of individuals is indispensable in understanding the

condition of asylum seekers who claim their human rights from states that assert their sovereign right to refuse their claims.

There is a fundamental conflict in the Refugee Convention. Human rights are inherent to all human beings, regardless of 'nationality, place of residence, sex, national, or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status' (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2011). The principle of universal human rights is the basis of international refugee protection treaties, including the Convention. The Refugee Convention, although based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reflects Kantian cosmopolitan right rather than universal human rights. Kant's 'cosmopolitan right' defines duties of human beings to each other across bounded communities (Benhabib 2004, 30-31), beyond the reach of kinship, friendship, and nationality, but extends a bare minimum of rights to aliens. They have the right to be treated without hostility on entering a foreign land, but the host society also has a corresponding right to turn an alien away, however, 'only if this can be done without causing his death' (Kant 2005, 18).

This understanding of hospitality is based on an assumption of sovereignty and is binary – there are people who hold the legal right to residence in a state and those who do not; the stranger is admitted or is excluded, the admission or exclusion is bounded temporally and spatially, and the host has absolute authority (Dikeç 2002: 239). Refugees and asylum seekers are 'homo sacer' (Agamben 1998, 8) that is to say, persons who are excluded from the protections of law, while being included at the same time under that law as the excluded. They embody the demand for human rights simply as bare human life that does not belong to

the system of sovereign states. As such, refugees and asylum seekers have delineated the crisis the modern human rights system (Agamben 2000, 15-17).

Advocates propose universal human rights as the basis for the treatment of asylum seekers, therefore 'constitut(ing) asylum seekers as people with rights' (Every 2006, 253). Universal rights become problematic, however, when the human beings under discussion are asylum seekers. Persons arriving uninvited and claiming asylum demand the hospitality of 'visitation' (Derrida 2005, 7), that is, that the welcome has no bounds. Nonetheless, the act of hospitality is impossible without boundaries and control. Hospitality of any kind, even well intentioned, depends on a host who has the power to bestow hospitality and who therefore also exerts control (Derrida & Dufourmantelle 2000, 151-155). The question therefore must be the balance of control and openness. Even among so-called 'cosmopolitans' there is dispute over the duty to the universal community compared with the duty to help locals or compatriots. 'Strict' cosmopolitans, for example philosophers such as O'Neill (2000) and Singer (2002), argue that there is no special or stronger reason to serve compatriots than to serve a set of human beings outside of the nation, while others acknowledge the tensions between these claims and other important ethical values (for example, Beitz 1979; Sandel 1998; Scheffler 2001).

States face an insoluble contradiction when dealing with asylum seekers. The administrative control of borders is the primary feature of the nation-state (Giddens 1985, 121), and sovereignty is at its most absolute in matters of 'emigration, naturalization, nationality, and expulsion' (Arendt 1973, 278). As an agent unto itself the state has a

necessary interest in its continuation per se (Gibney 2004, 199), which is of primary importance among its reasons to protect its borders.

On the other hand, domestic and international factors condition sovereign right. For all states, sovereign rights are dependent on the preservation of international relationships (Morgenthau 1967, 266). As well, transnational advocacy networks are ever more salient in domestic and international politics (see Keck and Sikkink 1998, especially Chapter 1). In human rights law, nations are called on to justify their actions and are sometimes even held to account for them (Dauvergnen 2004, 611). Individuals and non-state groups are progressively more able to sue states for the enforcement of certain human rights through instruments such as the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and legal bodies such as the European Court of Human Rights and the International Criminal Court. These bodies serve to entrench human rights ever more firmly as the duty of democratic states (Held et al. 1999, 69). Consequently, developed countries have accepted their humanitarian obligations towards aliens in the form of the UNHCR refugee resettlement scheme. The crucial difference between this response and arrivals of asylum seekers is that this scheme sites the power of acceptance with the state.

As globalisation progresses conceptions of sovereignty are diffusing. Scholars, including Robertson (1992), Hobsbawm (1994, 576), and Albrow (1996, 131; 2009, 2), note a progressive disaggregation of state functions to economic organizations and other non-state actors. Some even predict a transnational civil society developing across national borders and overcoming the power of the nation state (Falk 2000; Wapner 1996; Boli & Thomas 1999), extending democracy and human rights to the international sphere (Falk 2000). Sassen

(1996), taking a moderate view, suggests a ‘partial denationalising of national territories’ along with a ‘partial shift’ of some dimensions of sovereignty (1996, xii). On the other hand, the inroads of globalisation may in fact have increased the salience of control of immigration to states, as a tool of the renationalising of political discourse (Sassen 1996, 67). In the end, despite international treaties, covenants, and intervention, refugees and asylum seekers remain ‘beneficiar(ies), beholden to the State’ (Goodwin-Gill 2004, 6), since the civil law of the sovereign state provides the only enforcement of the protections of cosmopolitan right (Arendt 1973, 293).

Whereas countries under totalitarian rule are able to impose almost absolute control, countries that have long-standing cultures of individual liberty struggle to enforce restrictions on asylum seekers (Howard and Donnelly 1986; Massey 1999, 314). The very nature of liberal democracy with its checks and balances constrains attempts at restriction of human rights (Benhabib 2004, 44-45). Benhabib (2006) argues that liberal democratic states derive their authority from the foundation of human rights for all, and therefore they are by their nature committed to human rights. They cannot, however, close their boundaries democratically (Benhabib 2006, 35). Benhabib concludes that this paradox can never be finally resolved, but must be approached through iterations and renegotiations (Benahabib 2006, pp 45-81).

Gibney, like Derrida, places the resolution of the problem of sovereign versus human rights at the site of individual human beings. Gibney (2004) argues that entrance policy needs to incorporate the ethical demands of liberal and utilitarian approaches. He argues from Nagel (1991) that morality allows compartmentalisation of individual pursuits, but ethical

considerations set bounds to them. Rather than seeking the primacy of one point of view over the other, individuals are able to hold both, and Gibney therefore concludes that ‘to be socialised is to contain these different points of view in some sort of internal harmony’ (2004, 25). A state and its citizens by their natures contain different points of view. Gibney’s ‘internal harmony’ is not a static state, but one constantly ‘iterated and renegotiated’ within the citizens themselves and between the citizens and the state, echoing Benhabib’s ‘iterations and renegotiations’ (2006, pp 45-81).

Whereas human rights are the foundation for democracies, hospitality located at the level of the individual is the engine that drives the democratic state to make human rights-based responses to asylum seekers. The necessity for the state to protect its borders provides the counterbalance to individual hospitality. These inherent tensions allow a dynamic response to asylum seekers which takes into account both universal human rights and the host’s need for control. To seek to ‘win’ the debate between those who espouse shutting the doors to immigration and those who advocate for acceptance of all asylum seekers on the grounds of universal human rights misses the point. The defence of human rights for refugees and asylum seekers at the border of liberal democratic nation arises from the debate between the state and its citizens. The responsiveness of the state to its citizens, and the civic freedoms of the citizens who support universal human rights protect the debate which is never-ending.

2.2.1 UNHCR and the influence of states

While international refugee law, grounded in the Refugee Convention, is based on universal human rights, much of the debate during the formulation of the Refugee Convention focused on the interests of states (Hathaway 1997, xi). In addition, unlike most

other areas of human rights, states have largely regressed in their commitment towards protecting refugees in favour of the interests of states (Human Rights Watch 2000). For instance, whereas the 'right to leave' was originally the dominant discourse and driver of UNHCR policy, General Assembly Resolutions from 1986 onwards show the discourse around forced human movement moving to prevention rather than response to the needs of refugees (UNHCR 2002). This paradigm of 'preventive protection' foregrounds the needs of receiving nations (UNHCR 2002), and focuses on preventing displacement through early warning, preventive diplomacy and crisis management (Gilbert 1997, 209-210; Hammerstad 2009, 20).

UNHCR is entirely dependent on donations, mostly from states, with some additional funds donated by groups and individuals. The United States is the UNHCR's largest donor, and a major driver of its policy (Loescher 1994; Chimni 1998). In the 1960s and 1970s, refugees from behind the 'Iron Curtain' were able to invoke refugee status in the West and were welcomed as trophies in the propaganda war (Hathaway 1997), symbolically asserting the superiority of the US system (Loescher 1993, 21). The recent increasing restrictions on asylum have developed because of the few foreign or domestic policy advantages in accepting refugees once the Cold War ended (Loescher & Scanlan 1986, 23; Newland 1995, 193). As 'security' gained dominance in state discourse in the 1990s, the UNHCR increasingly framed refugees as symptomatic of threats to the societal or identity security of nations (Buzan & Ole Wæver 1998, 119; Loescher 2001, 13-15). This 'exception' to democratic norms enabled states to develop new regulatory measures that undermined the more liberal aspects of the international migration regime (Joppke 1998, 292). The 2001 attacks in New York and Washington served to strengthen the view that refugees are

primarily security threats (Gibney 2002, 41). The UNHCR began routinely to describe itself as a 'central cog in the UN's international security mechanism' (Hammerstad 2009, 10-11), a position it is unlikely that the UNHCR would have taken without the belief that this resonated with the perceptions of core donor states (Ibid 2009).

Refugee protection under the auspices of the UNHCR has always reflected the interests of states (Hathaway 1997, xi), primarily those of the US. In recent decades this has meant that refugees have lost their place as persons in need of assistance and instead are framed as problems to be prevented.

2.3 Irregular migration and refugee protection: matters of interpretation

Asylum seekers are part of the phenomenon of 'irregular migration' to developed countries. Among irregular migrants, which include people seeking work, people trafficked for exploitation, and asylum seekers, the motivation to cross borders is often a mixture of fear and aspiration, impossible to disentangle (UNHCR Working Group 2000, 112). Categories among irregular migrants have developed mostly as an expedient for policy makers. Whereas it is both logically and morally absurd to choose one arbitrary category for protection and to deny others (Van Hear 1998, 348), the UNHCR maintains the position that it is possible to make a meaningful distinction between refugees and other people who are on the move (Crisp 2008, 5), thus imperilling protection.

At the same time that globalising forces increase denationalisation in other spheres, political discourse uses immigration as a tool to renationalise (Sassen 1996, 67). Governments use the incidence of irregular migrants to restrict immigration and justify inordinate measures to restrain asylum claims (Martin 2001), citing the incidence of persons

who opportunistically claim asylum (UNHCR 2006). In addition, governments now routinely describe all irregular migrants including asylum seekers as ‘illegal’. Contrary to this rhetoric, the right to claim asylum is protected under international instruments, and with or without valid documents all migrants possess fundamental rights whatever their status (Committee of Ministers, Council of Europe (CDMG) 2004, 29). The UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Non-Citizens recommends that they ‘should not be treated as criminals’ (United Nations 2003). Moreover, Koser (2005) asserts that labelling asylum seekers who find themselves in an irregular situation as ‘illegal’ mobilises public sentiment against them and thus may jeopardise their asylum claims.

The Australian Government under John Howard (1996-2007) argued for the validity of the word ‘illegal’ or ‘unlawful’ to describe asylum seekers on the grounds of Article 31 (1) of the Refugee Convention. Article 31 (1) of the Convention provides as follows:

The Contracting States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened in the sense of Article 1, enter or are present in their territory without authorization, provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence.

On the other hand, the then Department for Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) argued that ‘Neither asylum seekers nor refugees have a right to enter, without authority, a country which is not their country of nationality’, citing the mention of ‘illegal entry or presence’ of refugees who arrive in the territory of a country ‘without authorisation’ in Article 31 (1) (Foster 2004). The Refugee Council of Australia responded, however, that the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: ‘Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution’, and that in Australia

arrival to claim asylum is not illegal under any Australian domestic law, including the Migration Act 1958. The Refugee Council also cautioned the media that using the descriptor 'illegal' is a clear breach of journalistic ethics (RCoA n.d.). No matter how refugee law is interpreted, however, it is clear that the use of such terms harms the prospects of asylum of many of the dispossessed.

2.3.1 Refoulement and state responsibility

One area of concern that is at the crux of the asylum seeker debate is the duty not to refoule. It is therefore important to briefly examine the status of this concept and its interpretations in various instruments. Even states that are not signatories to the Refugee Convention are required not to refoule (forcibly return people to countries where they face persecution) because the principle of non-refoulement is part of customary international law and is binding on all states (UNHCR 1997). Consequently, in order to meet the letter of the requirements of the Convention Articles, states have come to rely on prevention of arrival, using measures that may not at first glance appear to be refoulement (Goodwin Gill & McAdam 2007, 267).

On the face of it, the 'refoulement Article', Article 33 of the Refugee Protocol, does not seem to make any positive requirements of states:

No Contracting State shall expel or return ('refouler') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

Nevertheless, the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties directs that a treaty 'shall be interpreted in good faith in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to the terms of

the treaty in the light of its object and purpose' (United Nations 1969, Article 31.1). Goodwin-Gill and McAdam (2007, 8) interpret the protocols of treaty interpretation as recourse to supplementary materials, including the work done in preparation (*travaux préparatoires*), limited to cases where the original is ambiguous, obscure, or leads to a manifestly unreasonable result. Steinbock (1999, 16) provides a concise key to interpretation: the interpretation of the Refugee Convention must rest on its basic purpose – the protection of the innocent. Indeed, arbitrary application of the letter of law may mean that a person who is in fact someone who would meet the criteria based on the Convention may be forced to go back home to face deadly persecution (Human Rights Watch 2002), and because of this UNHCR (n.d.) requires that procedures be thorough and fair with the benefit of the doubt given to the applicant. In addition, Field (2010) asserts that the right not to be refouled means not only abstaining from refouling people directly but may also entail a duty to avoid indirect refoulement, that is, actions or omissions causing other states to expel or return refugees. Field summarises her arguments in declaring that 'what matters is not that people enjoy the legal right of non-refoulement, but rather actual freedom from being refouled' (Field 2010, 537).

On the other hand, states and policy makers have made liberal use of interpretation to construct meaning to suit their purposes (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam 2007, 9). Australia's 'Pacific Solution' of detaining and processing asylum seekers away from Australian territory, for example, has been criticised by Amnesty International (2002), UNHCR (2008) and other refugee rights groups which claim that, by so doing, Australia was failing to meet its international obligations not to refoule. Hyndman & Mountz (2008, 256) call this practice 'neo-refoulement', because the deterrent that is applied outside the territory prevents the

possibility of asylum. The intention is to strip asylum seekers of ‘the capacity of becoming political’ (Isin and Rygiel 2007, 181). This de facto refoulement is even more apparent when asylum seekers are sent on to countries that have not signed the 1951 Convention (Hewett 2002). It is clear from the above that, whatever the interpretation, a country’s agreement not to refoule is increasingly of little use in providing protection from actual refoulement, and depends on how the political leaders enact various domestic laws.

2.3.2 Temporary protection and the rights of refugees and asylum seekers

The use of temporary protection visas to deter asylum seekers is another area of contention deserving close examination. The UNHCR originally developed temporary protection as a category of response that would enable countries to cope with sudden and very large influxes of asylum seekers, where a full determination would be practicably impossible. ‘Sudden and very large influxes’ mostly occur in developing nations bordering the home states of asylum seekers (Human Rights Watch 2003a). UNHCR (2004a) describes it as an ‘emergency measure of hopefully short duration’, which should provide for basic human rights but with ‘a more limited range of benefits in the initial stage than would normally be accorded to refugees granted asylum under the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol’. Temporary protection formally moved to developed nations in the 1990s when the UNHCR invoked temporary protection as a means to provide a quick response during the Civil War in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At that time different levels of applicability of the Convention according to ‘sojourn or residence’ in the host nation were identified. Distinction was made between the Convention Articles applying to all refugees regardless of circumstances, to those ‘lawfully in’ the country, and to those ‘lawfully staying’ (UNHCR

1996), in effect establishing different levels of rights for those offered temporary protection. Despite the differing level of rights, the UNHCR defined ‘respect for the principle of non-refoulement and basic human rights, with treatment in accordance with internationally recognised humanitarian standards’ (UNHCR 2004) as one of the basic elements of temporary protection.

Australia is the only country that has used temporary protection for individuals determined to be Convention refugees and entitled to protection under its civil law. Moreover, the Australian Temporary Protection Visa did not conform to previous human rights standards. Debate about the TPV in Australia turned on the interpretation of the term ‘penalties’ in Article 31(1). Article 31(1) of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees specifically obliges states not to impose penalties on refugees:

The Contracting States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened in the sense of article 1, enter or are present in their territory without authorization, provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence

The Immigration Department (2002b) argued that ‘penalties’ is not defined in the Convention, but that it ‘seems clear from the record of debate’ that the drafters intended only to exclude the criminal and civil penalties usually imposed for illegal entry, and quotes in support the Belgian delegate’s comment that ‘the purpose of paragraph 1 was to exempt refugees from the application of the penalties imposable for the unlawful crossing of the frontier’ (2002, 143). The Department extrapolated from this that ‘adverse consequences’ other than those are not prescribed, and also claimed that there is nothing in the travaux préparatoires to suggest that the founding states intended the word ‘penalty’ to include

differential treatment. This narrowing of the definition contravened the finding by the Commonwealth Legislation Review (2002, 16) that 'treaties should be interpreted in a more liberal manner than that ordinarily adopted by a court construing exclusively domestic legislation'.

In their analysis of the meaning and intent of Article 31 (1), Goodwin-Gill and McAdam cite the records of negotiations over the draft Convention and conclude 'that the record of negotiations confirm the 'ordinary meaning' of Article 31 (1), and that therefore the meaning of 'penalties' is not limited (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam 2007, 520). Field (2006, 6) also argues that Article 31 of the Refugee Convention prohibits the penalisation of refugees and asylum seekers on account of their illegal entry or presence. Penalties such as ineligibility for many social programmes, denial of family reunion, non-issuance of a Convention travel document as described under Article 28, and no automatic right of return if they had need to leave Australia appear to have been imposed by reason of their illegal entry, contrary to Article 31 (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam 2007, 23). In addition, Goodwin-Gill and McAdam assert that limitations on rights should only be 'such as are necessary in a democratic society, to protect national security, public order, and the rights and freedoms of others' (2001, 228), conditions which were not apparent risks associated with acceptance of the asylum seekers. Moreover, Australian Lawyers for Human Rights (2003) argue that the TPV system violated the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, article 2.1, which extends the same rights protection to every person within a nation.

The Convention urges receiving states to prioritise reuniting families separated by refugee flight (Fiske 2006). Nonetheless, holders of the TPV could not leave Australia

without losing the visa and they could not sponsor their families to join them, thus denying them the right to family reunion. In its submission to the 2005 inquiry into the Australian Migration Act, UNHCR (2005b, Para 17) stated that foremost among its concerns about the TPV were the conditions that prevented family reunion. While family reunion is not specifically protected under the Refugee Convention, and thus not a 'rule book' requirement, it is more than a matter of individual interpretation. Multiple sources support this right. The Council of Europe Recommendation (2000) on Temporary Protection (UNHCR 2000a) states that persons provided with temporary protection should be treated with full respect for their human rights, including the right to family reunion. In addition, UNHCR notes that it is difficult to imagine in what way the public interest could be served by separating a family for years on end (UNHCR 2005b, Para 27). In 1999 the Australian government itself, as a member of the Executive Council of UNHCR, passed a Conclusion that re-emphasised the position of the family as the natural and fundamental group unit of society, entitled to protection by the society and the state, and stated that the unity of the refugee family should be protected by, among other things, reunifying family members separated as a result of refugee flight (RCoA 2003b, 12). Despite numerous submissions to the Senate Inquiry into the Administration and Operation of the Migration Act 1958 in 2005, the National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention conducted in 2003, and research commissioned by the parliament itself (Phillips 2004), this visa condition was not to change until the visa itself was discontinued in 2008. This survey of refugee protection literature indicates that this curtailment of TPV holders' rights was unjustified and indefensible.

The conditions of the TPV required that holders reapply for protection, in effect re-proving their claims to asylum, after expiry of the initial visa at three years. There is no

justification in international law for requiring refugees to reprove their status. UNHCR (1992) and Human Rights Watch (2003a) argue that once a person's status as a refugee has been determined, it is maintained unless he or she comes within the terms of the 'cessation provisions' of the Refugee Convention. 'Cessation' occurs when

...a refugee has voluntarily resumed the protection of his or her country of nationality or of a third country; has voluntarily re-acquired a lost nationality and/or has voluntarily resumed living in his or her country of nationality; or because the circumstances in connexion with which he or she has been recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist

(Article 1C)

Goodwin-Gill & McAdam (2007, 140) assert that the onus of proof that 'the circumstances in connexion with which he or she has been recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist' should rest on conditions that make it safe to return (Goodwin Gill 1996, 143), and case law confirms this view (Human Rights Watch 2003a). UNHCR claims as its prerogative the determination of whether conditions have changed in a manner to allow return (UNHCR 1999, Para 35), and the issuance of 'cessation notices'. UNHCR did not issue cessation notices for Afghanistan nor for Iraq, the main source nations of the Australian asylum seekers in the period under study (Human Rights Watch 2003b, Part 2a). In requiring refugees on TPVs to submit fresh claims for refugee status in the absence of a UNHCR notice of cessation, Australia was acting contrary to the internationally agreed framework for determining when a refugee ceases to be in need of international protection (RCoA 2003b).

The requirement that they reprove their refugee status after three years jeopardised the well-being of TPV holders. The withdrawal of refugee status is very serious, a matter of life and death in many cases, which therefore should be approached with gravity and caution

(RCoA 2003b; Australian Lawyers for Human Rights 2003; A Just Australia n.d.). In addition, cessation clauses 5 and 6 state that persons who have been subject to gross human rights violations should never be returned to their country of origin, no matter what changes in circumstances there may be (Human Rights Watch 2003a). Nearly all TPV holders have suffered severe trauma, and a sense of permanency and security is fundamental for a person who has had to flee their home to regain their sense of control and self-worth (RCoA 2003; Amnesty International Australia 2005; A Just Australia n.d). While Australia fulfilled the letter of the law that a state is obliged merely not to refoules, in so doing it violated the whole spirit of the Convention because the TPV had a ‘profound and negative impact on the present and future lives’ of holders (Sengchanh 2001, Para 4).

Hoad (2006) is one of the few academic voices supporting the TPV legislation. She argues that Article 5, which states ‘Nothing in this Convention shall be deemed to impair any rights and benefits granted by a Contracting State to refugees apart from this Convention’, implies that it is ‘clearly permissible to create and apply various different visa categories’ and that the Article therefore permits limitations on rights (Hoad 2006, 62). In support of her argument, however, Hoad references only Immigration Department documents and statements by Phillip Ruddock, the then Minister for Immigration. It is unfortunate that Hoad attempts to justify the TPV by arguing international law based solely on interpretations provided by the Immigration Department, since state rights and security are important issues in the refugee debate.

The Howard government claimed that the anti-asylum seeker policies were grounded in the ‘need to maintain territorial and policy integrity’ (Hoad 2006, 50). By insisting on clear

distinctions between “us” and “them”, such realist rhetoric fabricates threats that otherwise would not exist (Nadig 2002, 21). McNevin (2007) argues that the realist security stance taken by the Howard government was an obfuscation, and that the overtly severe policing of asylum seekers was in fact intended to ‘soothe’ those who had been made vulnerable by Australia's ‘neoliberal economic trajectory’ (2007, 611). Scholars such as Maley (2001), MacCallum (2002), McMaster (2002), Marr and Wilkinson (2004), Sawyer (2004), and Maddox (2005), among others, argue that the primary reason for the asylum policies was to support the electoral strategies of the Howard government.

The Temporary Protection Visa was unique to Australia. It lacked support in international refugee and human rights law. Despite its claims, the Howard government’s asylum seeker policies were based on advancing positive public opinion and bolstering its chances of electoral success. While asylum seekers have no political power themselves, they represent a potent weapon for political leaders and parties in the fight for votes.

2.4 Civil society organisations in refugee and asylum seeker protection

In Australia, at the same time that anti-asylum seeker legislation and public discourse were hardening, there was also robust support of asylum seekers from Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), both global and Australian. CSOs form the ‘organisational infrastructure of global civil society’ (Anheier & Themudo 2002, 191-216) that ranges from the international to the local and the formal to the informal. Many large CSOs, including international groups, became embroiled in the asylum seeker issue and unintentionally reinforced public stereotypes and labels by arguing against them, thus reiterating the negative frames. For example, Amnesty International (2010), the Edmund Rice Centre for Justice and

Community Education (2002), the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre (2011) and A Just Australia (2009) all published documents listing common frames of asylum seekers as ‘cashed up’, ‘not real refugees’, ‘illegals’ and ‘queue jumpers’, thus spreading and reinforcing these descriptors. In contrast, many CSOs could speak of the people they helped as individuals rather than anonymous members of asylum seeker groups and thus avoid perpetuating negative frames. These CSOs were mostly local, small, and unaffiliated with larger groups, formed in the most part in response to meeting individuals who, in the case of TPV holders, became part of shared everyday life. They represent a form of organisation that arises out of ‘collective action expressing a conflict’, individuals responding to a system issue and coalescing into groups at the level of the logic of the system (Melucci 1981, 176). This section examines the motivations and justifications of those individuals and groups who contested the anti-asylum seeker legislation and rhetoric in Australia in the period under study.

As argued in Section 2.2 in this chapter, the hospitality of ‘visitation’, the necessary basis of welcome for asylum seekers, is an affair of individuals who alone can experience ‘an essentially non-linguistic feeling about the dignity of man, qua man’ (Gearty 2010). It ‘necessitates a state of ‘non-savoir’, a place of not-knowing, which is only available to individual human experience (Jacques Derrida quoted in Dikeç 2002, 230). Individual residents and citizens are therefore central to the issue of asylum seeker protection, but despite this the citizens and residents of nations are absent from most discourses around international human rights (Sassen 2006, 346). Additionally, CSO literature largely focuses on international bodies, overlooking the fact that the cross-border activists in those organisations do not spring into existence *de novo*. Tarrow (2001) points out that domestic

political opportunities and constraints frame and reframe the interests of the members of international groups. Individuals are also absent from international relations literature, even though local struggles of asylum seekers supported by citizens affect broader global relations (Sassen 2006, 292) and offer an opportunity structure through which immigrants can challenge the terms of their integration (Bauböck 1996, 117). In contrast, they are a major focus in this study.

Despite espousing high-minded positions, CSOs have come in for criticism. Civil society actors that champion a position of uncompromised support for cosmopolitan values (Jochnick 1999, 76-77) accuse states of callous self-interest. Day-to-day problems necessarily absorb governments and consequently they must often respond to events rather than values (Sankey 1996, 270). This leads to governments dismissing positions taken by CSOs that do not have to face the realities of the political process. In addition, CSOs and NGOs stand accused of being unaccountable because they are unelected (Simmons 1998, 82; Colás 2002, 62; Hilhorst 2002, 196-197), a charge to which CSOs have recently responded through more rigorous reporting and systems to monitor their effectiveness (Van Tuijl & Jordan 1999). Whereas large CSOs may have the attention of governments, a self-satisfied stance that is unavailable to governments weakens the impact of their arguments.

International CSOs have also been criticised as agents that ‘unconsciously legitimise’ the ‘dominant world order that holds no promise for most people’ (B.S. Chimni, quoted in Gidley 2003, para. 6). CSOs, particularly global entities, customarily act from the outside in, ‘armed very often with their own ideas of what is wrong and what should be done to remedy the situation’ (Chandhoke 2002, 46). This tends to alienate ordinary human beings who live

with the injustices they contest. Whereas established refugee and asylum organisations may have the ear of government and the media, they contest the problem in the terms of bureaucratic labelling, created by governments for their own purposes in which ‘stereotyped identities are translated into bureaucratically assumed needs’ (Zetter 1991, 39). As a result, refugees and asylum seekers experience ‘de-selving’, a loss of agency in the face of stereotypes that focus on victimhood (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008, 37). NGOs working in refugee source countries and camps as well as governments of receiving nations coin and perpetuate these stereotypes. On the other hand, people meeting refugees and asylum seekers in the course of their everyday lives, as they did in Australia when they met TPV holders, have the opportunity to ‘frame their responses in their own terms’ (Chandhoke 2002, 46). When these people coalesced into informal CSOs to support asylum seekers, these CSOs avoided the criticisms that weaken the influence of large and formal organisations.

Chapter 5 will examine the role of faith-based organisations in the settlement of asylum seekers in Howard’s Australia. Asylum seeker protection in liberal democratic states relies on citizens to promote the rights of aliens, but citizens, unlike the state, have no imperative to do so. Citizens are typically ill informed about refugees and asylum seeker issues (Freeman 1995, 883), and hold frames of asylum seekers as illegal opportunists, frames that are promoted by a mass media that is overwhelmingly xenophobic (ter Wal 2002, 42). The nature of faith-based action, however, generally does not rely on information from politicians and the media, but on adherence to the principles underlying the faith. Members were therefore able to respond to asylum seekers from religious beliefs unaffected by government and media rhetoric.

McSpadden (1987) argues that refugees settled by voluntary workers through a religious group have better settlement outcomes than those settled by official services. She describes the special characteristics of the Ethiopian refugees whom she studied which, even in the case of the highly educated and experienced prevented them from obtaining employment in the US. Voluntary workers who are more intimately involved with the Ethiopians are able to recognise and assist with diverse characteristics that pose problems in settlement because of their personal involvement.

As well as providing advocacy for refugees, CSOs that are faith based (Faith Based Organisations or 'FBOs') have the potential to strengthen democratic societies (Wood 2002, 265). Religious faith 'carves out an autonomous public realm' in which action can be taken that is free from constraints of politics, commerce, and secular ambition (Hart 2001, 152), providing a critical standard against which the established social system can be measured (McGuire 2002). This freedom from constraints can lead to movements that seek to overthrow the political system but can also defend the principles underlying democracy. Equality of human rights is the basis of the democratic system. Whereas the language of religious traditions is not the same as secular declarations, across all major world religions there is a consistent language of human rights (Lauren 1998, 5) which has the potential to contest state injustice and thereby strengthen the democratic basis on which the state rests. There has been a scarcity of research concerning FBOs and other aspects of faith in recent decades, however, because, researchers in the area are regularly presumed to have religious convictions which are 'antithetical to the proper performance of objective social science' (Dawson 1996, 28). As well, faith-based service groups have been met with the suspicion that they may harbour coercive moral agendas (Bartkowski and Regis 2003, 7; Dedayan 2004),

but this has not been borne out by research (Wiktorowicz 2001; Green and Sherman 2002; Clarke 2005).

2.5 Integration

Whereas refugee integration was originally a strand of migration theory, other disciplines are now contributing to refugee literature. Anthropologists are challenging the view of refugees as passive victims of external events and dependent on aid (Harrell-Bond 1986; Waldron 1987). Psychologists focus on the individual as affected by displacement, trauma, and resettlement (Keller 1975; Roe 1987). Political scientists analyse immigration policy around asylum and administration of assistance and the place of international institutions in relation to the state, (Loescher and Monahan 1989; Stein 1993; Schuck 1998; Honig, 2001; Loescher 2001; Zlotnik 2006). Geographers have shifted from spatial studies to human studies of refugees (Black & Robinson, 1993; Hyndman, 2000; Bascom, 2001). Sociologists conceptualise interpersonal processes of flight and resettlement in terms of acculturation and adaptation (Berry 2003). All of these conceptualisations have contributed to contemporary refugee integration theory.

While general migration theories do not account for movement not motivated by economic interests (Zlotnik, 2006, p. 304), the ‘push- pull’ theories of economic migration (Ravenstein 1976; Lee 1966) led to an early conceptualisation of refugee movement: the ‘kinetic’ theory of forced migration (Kunz 1973). Kunz’s models of movement (1973) and resettlement (1981) incorporate refugees’ relationships with the population of the home country and ideological-national orientation towards it and their attitude to flight as pre flight determinants of integration. Kunz also included the population policies and attitudes of the

host society as determinants, and categorised them as ‘augmentive’ (encouraging of new settlers), desirous of preserving the community as is (‘monism’), integrationist (‘pluralistic’), or ‘sanctuary’ (1981, 46).

It is now accepted as a given in the literature that refugee integration is a two-way process (Castles et al. 2002; Threadgold & Court 2005), representing a transformation effected by immigration on the receiving society as well as on the new settlers themselves (Bauböck 2001, 47). Definitions of integration such as that from ECRE (Zetter et al 2002, 128) emphasise the dynamic and ongoing nature of integration, a process that starts from the very first moment of arrival in a new country (Strang & Ager 2010, 595), and is an ongoing process of negotiating new identities (Lewis 2010).

While refugee integration is conceptualised as a two-way process in refugee literature, most studies still focus almost entirely on the refugees themselves, representing them as the subjects of a set of forces that impede or facilitate integration. Previous theoretical frameworks (Kunz 1973; 1981; Goldlust and Richmond 1974; Harrell-Bond 1986; Wijbrandi 1986; Kuhlman 1991; Montgomery 1996; Zetter et al. 2002; Taylor 2004; Atfield, Brahmhatt & O’Toole 2007), among others), posit outcomes only for the refugees despite espousing the notion of integration as two-way, thus operationalising integration as a one-way process.

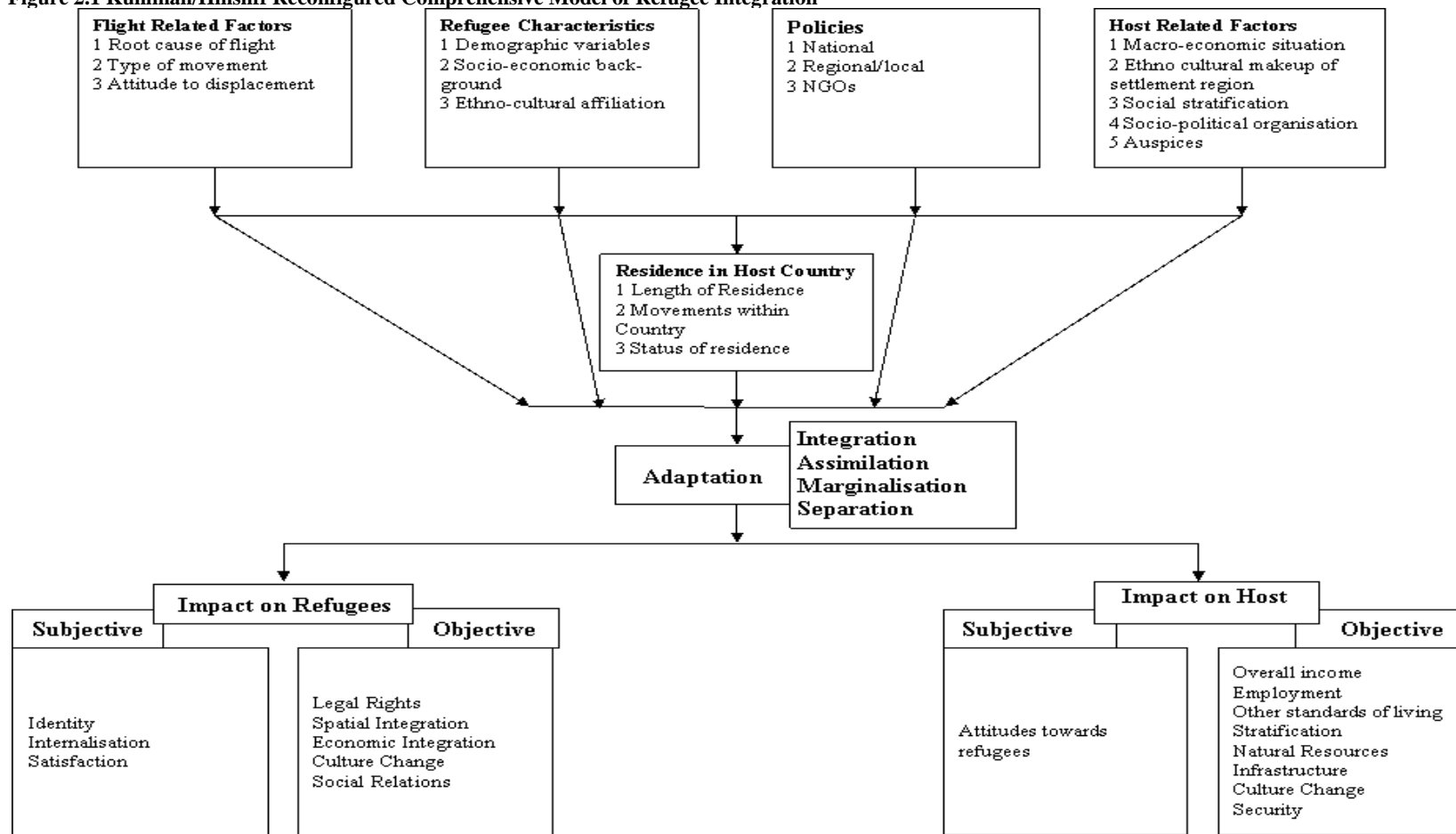
2.5.1 Integration: Theoretical framework for the study

Kuhlman (1991) draws upon the work of Harrell-Bond (1986) and Wijbrandi (1986) to develop his definition of integration as one form of adaptation. Kuhlman also draws on

concepts of integration from migration studies, and in particular Goldlust & Richmond's *Model of Immigrant Adaptation* (1974) in which 'adaptation' is conceptualised as the mutual interaction of groups and individuals and their particular physical and social environments (1974, 195). His 'Comprehensive Model of Refugee Integration' was developed as a tool to conceptualise refugee integration in developing countries and while some dimensions are less applicable to developed countries, overall the Model provides a means to conceptualise integration that takes into account subjective and objective effects on both host and new settlers.

Hinsliff (2006) reworked Kuhlman's Model to include 'status of residence'. She found that this variable had a significant impact on the integration of refugees who held Temporary Protection Visas. Figure 2.1 (below) shows Kuhlman's model as revised by Hinsliff, including Hinsliff's addition of 'status of residence' to the Model.

Figure 2.1 Kuhlman/Hinsliff Reconfigured Comprehensive Model of Refugee Integration



Sources: Kuhlman 1991; Hinsliff 2006

The model is useful for this study and I will use it in later chapters to explain some of the findings. Two groups of determinants in this Model relate to refugees, namely Flight Related Factors and Refugee Characteristics, while Policies and Host-related factors account for characteristics of the host society. Section 5.2 of this thesis discusses ‘flight related factors’ and ‘refugee characteristics’ as background to the main study. ‘Residence in host country’ combines both refugee and host factors and accounts for post flight events, including the dimensions of ‘movements within country’, ‘length of residence’, and ‘status of residence’. Research Question 1 of the study, the nature of the policies regarding refugee and asylum seekers in Australia and how they developed which are examined in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 and in Chapter 4, relates to ‘socio-political organisation’ in this Model. The nature of the TPV affected the dimensions of ‘movements within country’ and ‘status of residence’ and forms part of the discussion of the fieldwork data addressing Question 3.

While the Model shows ‘integration’ as a sub category of ‘adaptation’, it presents the framework as a model of ‘integration’. (For a discussion of definitions of integration see Section 1.2). This study will disregard the other subcategories and use ‘integration’ as the dependent variable. There are many dimensions to integration; for example, the ‘Refugee Integration Evaluation Tool’ currently under evaluation across the Central European region lists more than 200 indicators (Nationella temagruppern asyl & integration (NTG) 2010). As well as mainstream civil rights, refugees have unique rights to the provision of social protection and access to social services to facilitate settlement and integration. Government policy around these issues is the major driver of research, and thus these aspects have primacy in the literature (Castles et al 2002, 124). The Model, however, categorises both objective and subjective effects of ‘integration’, and as effects on refugees themselves and on

the host country. The objective dimensions are political, social, cultural, and economic, while the subjective dimensions are the degree to which the immigrant identifies with the host society, internalises its norms and values, and experiences satisfaction.

The response to research question 3, ‘How did the integration of Hazara Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders progress in Murray Bridge?’ primarily addresses the subjective dimensions of integration. The ‘sense of belonging’ among both hosts and refugees has primacy as an indicator of integration in this study. Whereas most refugee settlement research is concerned with objective rather than subjective factors, objective aspects are not, however, necessarily related to subjective satisfaction (Cummins 2000). Adverse effects, including anxiety, depression, and other forms of mental problems, and physical problems are associated with adapting to a new cultural context (Schwartz et al., 2008). Despite this, overall life satisfaction results from the relationship between the individual’s expectations and their ‘objective’ circumstances, rather than being a direct function of the objective circumstances (Colic-Peisker 2009, 177). Ager and Strang found that a ‘strikingly common thread’ among refugees’ evaluations of the success of their integration was the nature of relationships (2004b, 3), especially feeling part of the community and having friends. This finding is supported by a report of an investigation commissioned by the Immigration Department (Australian Survey Research Group Pty Ltd 2011) which found that, whereas the Department had defined successful outcomes in terms of systemic results (social participation, economic well being, level of independence, and personal well being), the humanitarian entrants themselves defined settlement in terms of personal happiness and community connectedness (2011, 1).

Ager and Strang found that the key to integration is ‘a feeling of ‘belonging’, the sense of ‘being at home’ (2004a, 5). The ‘sense of belonging’, which is ‘the feeling, belief, and expectation that one fits in the group and has a place there, a feeling of acceptance by the group’ (McMillan and Chavis 1986, 10), is engendered when one is in a space where ‘one recognises people as one’s own and where one feels recognised by others as such’ (Hage 1997, 103). Many of the benefits ascribed to belonging to a community come from this internal sense of community, which may be more or less independent of external factors (McMillan & Chavis 1986) and indeed may be realised despite adverse external circumstances (Losi & Strang 2008, 43). The ‘sense of belonging’ is employed in the analysis of the data from the fieldwork in this study because of its importance in assessing integration, and because it may be evaluated independently of other external factors.

The study uses the principles of frame transformation in order to conceptualise integration as a dynamic process in which attitudes that influence group acceptance change over time. To claim that one has a ‘feeling of belonging’ is to frame one’s subjective experience. In order to develop a feeling of belonging, refugees must undergo transformation of frames from ‘feeling like a stranger’ to feeling that one belongs in the new society, and the receiving community must reframe itself as a community that includes and is re-created by the new comers. Frame transformation theory, developed in social movement studies which use framing to understand how social attitudes are mobilised (Benford & Snow 2000), provides a means to describe the changes in the way that both long-term and new group members frame themselves and the group. Through frame transformation it is possible to study the process of change itself.

Framing offers a means to bring hegemony to the foreground and challenge the very notion that common sense just “is.” What hegemony constructs as common sense is something that can be seen, and framing provides the illumination (Holstein 2003, 12).

The notion of framing began with Goffman (1974), who used ‘frame’ to mean the ways in which we make meaning from experience, the organising principles of understanding situations.

I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events [...] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify.

(Goffman 1974: 10f)

The most widely accepted definition of frames (Matthes & Kohring 2008) is that of Entman

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

(1993, 52)

Frames always draw on already existing cultural codes (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, 2; Snow & Benford, 1988, 204). The process of framing involves a selection from among perceived data that may be conscious or unconscious.

When individual frames become linked in congruency and complementarity, ‘frame alignment’ occurs, and produces ‘frame resonance’, which is the ground for transitioning from one frame to another (Snow et al. 1986, 464; Snow & Benford 1988, 198). Frames

become aligned through four processes: frame amplification, frame extension, frame transformation, and frame bridging (Snow et al. 1986).

‘Frame bridging’ involves the ‘linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem’ (Snow et al., 1986, p. 467). ‘Frame amplification’ refers to ‘the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem, or set of events’ (Snow et al., 1986, p. 469). ‘Frame extensions’ occur when a movement ‘portray(s) its objectives or activities as attending to or being congruent with the values or interests of potential adherents’ (Snow et al. 1986, 472).

Frame transformation provides the theoretical basis for the analysis of the process of integration in this study. Frame transformation takes place when extant frames give way to new frames that do not resonate or even appear antithetical to them (Snow et al., 1986, 473). It requires what Goffman (1974, 43–44) calls ‘keying’; there must be a fit between the new frame and one already present, but these need not necessarily be frames of the same type. In order for frame transformation to occur, ‘new values may have to be planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or ‘misframings’ reframed’ (Tarrow, 1992,188). The new nonresonant or antithetical frame succeeds in ‘keying’ to an existing frame (Snow et al. 1986, 473) through at least one of the following conditions: being salient in the larger belief system, fitting with existing narratives, or having empirical support (Snow & Benford 1988).

Table 2.1 Conditions for keying of a nonresonant or antithetical frame with an existing frame and effecting transformation of the frame

Core framing tasks	
Problem	Diagnosis of issue/assignment of blame

Solution	Proposal for change
'Call to arms'	Justification for action
Appeal of new frame (power to transform old frames)	
Saliency	Centrality Empirical support Narrative fidelity
Fit with existing narrative	Hierarchical significance Links to existing frames

Source: Adapted from Snow & Benford 1988

Table 2.1 shows the major dimensions of framing that impact upon frame transformation. The power of a new frame, the 'success of participant mobilization' (Snow & Bedford 1988, 199) begins with three 'core framing tasks'. Snow and Benford (1988) characterise the three tasks as the diagnosis of an issue as problematic and in need of change, or the 'problem', proposal for the change needed to solve the 'problem' or the 'solution', and a 'call to arms' or justification for what needs to be done (Snow & Bedford 1988, 199). These core framing tasks may be addressed consciously, as in social movement mobilisation, or may be unconsciously used to influence others.

The appeal of a frame, and its effectiveness to mobilise an audience, also depends on external factors including the saliency of the proffered frame. The three dimensions of saliency are centrality, empirical credibility, and narrative fidelity (Snow & Benford 1988, 208-210). 'Centrality' refers to how central the beliefs, values, and ideas are to the lives of the audience. It depends on the importance of the frame among other frames in the lives of the audience, emotional weight of the frame content, and how valued it is (Carroll & Ratner 1996; Evans 1997). How well the referents fit with what the audience accepts as valid and factual and the degree of match of the proffered frame with the experience of the audience determines empirical credibility. The frame gains influence the more empirically credible it is (Zuo & Benford 1995; Maniscalco 1997). 'Narrative fidelity' refers to the extent to which

the proffered frames resonate with the audience's cultural narratives (McGuire 1985; Fisher 1999). Frames gain influence the more the proffered frames resonate with these narratives. The status and knowledge of the persons promulgating the frame also positively correlate with persuasiveness of the frame (McGuire 1985). This study uses the dimensions of core framing tasks, centrality of frames, and relevance of frames to analyse the hegemonic asylum seeker frames in Australia during the period under study, and also to critically examine the transformation of frames in the study participants and in the media of the time (see Chapters 6 and 7).

2.5.2 The integration of refugees and migrants in Australia

Overall indicators of integration in Australia are positive. The Immigration Department (DIAC 2010b) has conducted a Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) surveying migrants (including refugees) who arrived (or were granted a permanent visa) in Australia between 1993 and 2006 (DIAC 2010b) on three occasions. LSIA results show overwhelmingly positive views about life in Australia. Ninety eight per cent of LSIA respondents in the most recent survey said that mainstream Australians had made them feel welcome and 96 per cent said that they felt that they were settling well into Australian society. Other indicators of integration are also very positive: 93 per cent said that they spoke with people who lived in their street or near them and more than 30 per cent said that they speak with more than five of their neighbours. Moreover, surveys show that Australians support migrants being among them. The Challenging Racism Project (University of Western Sydney 2011) surveyed more than 12,500 Australians over ten years and found that almost 90

per cent of respondents supported cultural diversity and nearly 80 per cent felt comfortable around people of different ethnic backgrounds.

Although as a cohort migrants and refugees seem to be accepted and integrate well in Australia, people from refugee backgrounds do not establish themselves as easily as other migrants, are unemployed longer, are poorer, and have more prior psychological damage (Jupp 2003, BB7). Torture and trauma impact both physical and mental health (Boehnlein & Kinzie, 1995; Kaiser, Katz & Shaw 1998), and separation from extended family and anxiety about relatives overseas are additional factors that negatively influence the settlement of refugees (Iredale et al 1996). Moreover, psychological distress due to post migration feelings of powerlessness can outweigh the impact of pre-migration trauma (Sundquist et al 2000). In addition, people fleeing persecution cannot exercise choice of destination (Zetter, et al. 2002, 128), which for asylum seekers is likely to be chosen by smugglers or determined by asylum policy in the destination country (Bloch 2000, 82). As a consequence, social supports are often unavailable in the new location (Koser 1997, quoted in Bloch 2000, 82). In Australia, refugees and other immigrants provided permanent residency on humanitarian grounds have the lowest English language proficiency (Chiswick, Lee & Miller 2006), have poorer health than other immigrants (Khoo 2002), experience the worst labour market outcomes (Macdonald et al. 2004), and have lower levels and relative growth of earnings (Chiswick, Yew & Miller 2005). Despite these handicaps, people from refugee backgrounds in Australia also report high levels of satisfaction with their lives. Colic-Peisker found that, in spite of unemployment and loss of occupational status, the life satisfaction of the refugees in her study was not dramatically lower than that of the general population (2009, 194). Participants in a study of refugees from the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East and Africa reported

overall positive well being, and ‘low-level dissatisfaction’ rather than serious dissatisfaction with life in Australia (Fozdar & Tomezani 2008, 58).

On the other hand, the Challenging Racism Project (quoted above) concluded that about 40 per cent of Australians believe that certain cultural groups do not fit into Australian society (University of Western Sydney 2011). Nonetheless, the Australian results compare favourably with eastern and western Europe and the US where rates of racism are much higher. Indeed, Australia ranks only slightly higher than the least racist country, Canada (Kevin Dunn, quoted in Coslovich 2011).

Every wave of migrants to Australia has encountered negativity of varying degrees from the established population (Innes 2010). All groups that differ from the mainstream encounter discrimination and even hate crimes, and world events such as the Gulf War have caused an increase of racial violence towards Muslim, Arab, and Jewish Australians (Nemes 1997). Since white settlement, however, Aboriginal Australians have been the main target of prejudice, discrimination, and racial violence. A study of social distance in the late 1980s found that Muslims and Aboriginals were consistently placed on the margins, and indeed placed each other on the margins of ‘acceptable groups’ in Australian society (Commonwealth of Australia Office of Multicultural Affairs quoted in Jacobowicz (2007), 161). The popularity of Pauline Hanson, member of Federal Parliament from 1996 to 1999, is evidence of the prevalence of these views. Hanson managed to target all minority groups in her maiden speech to Parliament, claiming that ‘mainstream Australians’ were subject to a kind of ‘reverse racism’ through ‘taxpayer funded industries’ that service ‘Aboriginals, multiculturalists, and a host of other minority groups’ (Hanson 1996). Hanson, although

politically successful for only a brief period, was successful enough to influence the policies of the major parties (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of her influence). While racism in Australia may not be as great a problem as in other developed countries, it is prevalent and persistent.

2.5.3 The integration of Muslims in Australia

The following section examines Muslim settlement and acceptance in Australia in order to provide a context for the integration of the Muslim asylum seekers in this study. Settlement of Muslims in significant numbers began in Australia when, after WWII 'white' Muslims from Cyprus, Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Russia came to Australia as refugees (Akbarzadeh & Saeed 2001, 24). The largest and most recent waves have come from Lebanon between 1967 and 1981, Iraq, Bosnia, and Somalia from the 1990s on, and Afghanistan and Sudan in the late 1990s and early 21st century. Whereas immediately after WWII Muslims represented only 0.04 percent of the population, by the time of the 2006 census they comprised approximately 1.71 percent.

Since the 1970s, mainstream Australians have learned most of what they know about Islam from the mass media, mostly negative reports including Ayatollah Khomeini's strident anti-Western views and the US hostage crisis of 1979-1981, Saddam Hussein's occupation of Kuwait in 1990 and the subsequent Gulf War, and the rise of terrorism in the 1990s, which culminated in 9/11 and the Bali bombings (Kabir 2004, 69-70). These events have contributed to negative views of Muslims in Australia, and indeed 9/11 was a catalyst for increased prejudice and vilification (HREOC 2004a).

Literature on discrimination specifically directed towards Muslims in Australia has increased in the past decade. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2004a) found that Muslim experiences of discrimination, racial vilification, threats of violence and actual violence have escalated over recent decades. Issues Deliberation Australia/America (IDA) (2007) found that while stereotypes and prejudice are fuelling a widening of the divide from both sides, this breaks down when people from the 'sides' learn about the other, and that the majority of both the mainstream Australian community and the Australian Muslim community are willing to reach out in friendship. Dunn and colleagues (2010) found that many Australians identify Muslims as the group of most concern in Australian society, ranging from a high of 52.8 percent in New South Wales, to a low of 41.5 percent in the Australian Capital Territory. Markus (2011) however, notes that these results were obtained from a single question: 'In your opinion how concerned would you feel if one of your close relatives were to marry a person of Muslim faith', Jewish faith, Asian background, Aboriginal background', and so on (2011, 197). As well as relying on this single question, the possible meanings of responses were not explored, rather, 'a straight line was drawn to "racist attitude indicators" (ibid, 197).

From the mid to late 1990s onwards, there was a series of outbreaks of racism in Sydney and Melbourne, where the great majority of Muslim first and second-generation migrants settled (Poynting 2007a, 63). Extreme sections of the media directly encouraged abuse and even racist attacks (Collins 2007, 67), such as in 2005 when approximately 5,000 people gathered in the Sydney suburb of Cronulla to protest what they believed to be incidents involving men of 'middle eastern appearance'. A Sydney radio 'shock jock', Alan Jones, encouraged 'Aussies' to go to Cronulla to 'defend' Australia from the 'enemy within'.

A riot ensued, and rioters targeted anyone of Muslim appearance (Poynting 2007b, 88). As ugly as the riots were, they were a very unusual event in Australia. Collins (2007, 62) argues that, because riots are so atypical, it may be taken as an indication of the success of multiculturalism in Australia rather than the reverse. The attacks of 11 September 2001 (HREOC 2004a, 43-44) and the subsequent terrorist attacks in Bali in which many Australians lost their lives, caused an escalation in anti-Muslim vilification (Collins 2007, 66). An analysis of two major Sydney newspapers published between 2000 and 2002 found that reports in both a politically conservative tabloid and a more centrist broadsheet portrayed Arabs and Muslims as 'violent to the point of terrorism' (Manning 2004, 45).

In many cases it is difficult to disentangle discrimination that originates solely from anti-Muslim sentiments from general xenophobia. Visible difference is a strong factor in acceptance; colour of skin and other physical features are most closely associated with experiences of racism and discrimination (Pittaway 1991; Waxman 2001; Colic-Peisker 2005, 2009; Fozdar & Torezani 2008). Visible differences mark categories of 'strangeness' (Valtonen 2004, 86). Colic-Peisker (2005; 2009) and Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) found that Bosnian Muslims settled more successfully and were more satisfied with their life in Australia than other Muslim groups. Bosnian Muslims are 'white', and 'white' Muslim men are largely 'invisible' (Gale 2000), and therefore do not present as targets of 'strangeness'. This does not apply to Muslim women, however. Sparrow (2005, 100) notes that 'Afghans' have experienced 'many instances of racism and hostility in Australia', but the specific instances he cites all relate to women and their headscarves. No matter their ethnicity, when female Muslims wear religious dress, their 'strangeness' becomes visible. Muslim women regularly report physical and verbal abuse with comments and threats based on their head

coverings (Mansouri Leach & Traies 2006, 399; Whitten 2007, 5). Casimiro, Hancock, and Northcote (2007) found that experiences of discrimination and vilification based on religious affiliation evident in their dress were negatively affecting the settlement of recently arrived Iraqi, Sudanese, and Afghan women (2007, 64-66).

Based on the small amount of evidence, it is apparent that Australians are more prejudiced against Muslims than other groups that visible difference affects the amount of discrimination and vilification directed at Muslims, and that Muslim women in religious dress suffer the most from discrimination and vilification. These findings are important in assessing the integration of the Muslim Hazara men in Murray Bridge.

2.5.4 Integration of TPV holders

There were various indicators that integration on the TPV would be problematic. Studies of refugees and TPV holders have found that visa eligibility category is related to outcomes of settlement (Bloch 2000, 83; Hinsliff 2006, 255). The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2004b) and Human Rights Watch (2002; 2003) are among many sources documenting the sufferings caused by the asylum seeker and TPV regime. Several studies evidence the deleterious effects of the stress on TPV holders' mental and physical health (Harris & Telfer 2001; Proctor 2004b; Steel et al. 2006; Austin, Silove & Steel 2007; Briskman, Latham & Goddard 2008). Uncertainty about the future resulted in anxiety, self-harm, restlessness, an inability to make decisions, and suicidal ideation and attempts (Fernandes 2002), at least one of which resulted in an Afghan TPV holder death (Proctor 2004a). Torture and trauma services throughout Australia found that TPV holders were non-responsive to standard treatment interventions because of their heightened level of

anticipatory stress (Steel 2003). Studies of life on the TPV document the distress caused by the restrictive visa conditions (Brotherhood of St Lawrence 2002; Barnes, 2003; Mann 2001; Mansouri & Bagdas 2002; Marston, 2003). Policies of deterrence such as prolonged detention and temporary protection visas were found to perpetuate and exacerbate mental illness (Mansouri & Cauchi 2007, 143). All studies found that the sources of the severest stress were the enforced separation from family and the uncertainty of living on a temporary visa. TPV holders felt that the imposed lack of services, even English tuition, were ‘second order issues’ compared with the ‘terrible insecurity’ they felt (Marston 2003b, 22). Some refugees described the state of enforced powerlessness as ‘secondary detention’ (ibid, 3).

While the visa restricted access to services and the stress imposed by the TPV was egregious, these were not the only influences on the integration of holders. TPV research, however, has mostly neglected other influences and focuses solely on the ‘structures of exclusion’ (Hoffman 2003, 10), an emphasis that may have been a result of the political conditions at the time of writing. Nevertheless, studies that focused on the strictures of the TPV also routinely reported positive relationships with mainstream community members (see, for example, Gosden 2005; Mansouri, Leach and Traies 2006). Studies of TPV holders situated in the communities they settled in (see Section 5.3 ‘Hazaras and their supporters in Albany and Young’) have noted very close relationships.

There is minimal literature examining community members’ experiences with asylum seekers. A report by Reynolds (2004) analysed responses to a United Nations Association questionnaire and provided a sketch of the many Australians who welcomed refugees, and Surawski, Pedersen, and Briskman (2008) studied the stress that people who became asylum

seeker advocates during the Howard years underwent, their coping strategies, and their positive experiences. In most studies, however, community members serve as a backdrop rather than as participants in the integration process. *Acting from the Heart: Australian Advocates for Asylum Seekers Tell Their Stories* (Mares & Neumann 2007) and a book section providing a narrative account of supporters of asylum seekers (Curr 2007) are the most notable exceptions.

This study takes the ‘feeling of belonging’ as the primary indicator of integration of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge. Mansouri, Leach and Traies (2006) claim that the social ties formed between TPV holders and mainstream community members were of a temporary nature, and thus caution against interpreting these contacts as an indicator of successful integration (2006, 409). It is, however, too great an assumption to label the ties that developed as ‘temporary’ or ‘unstable’. Even if Australia had returned the TPV holders to their home countries, those ties may well have continued, nurtured by letters and internet contact. Indeed, the ties proved to be more than temporary, because nearly all of TPV holders eventually achieved permanency and many continued in these relationships.

Watan is a Pashtu and Arabic term usually translated as ‘home area’ or ‘home land’ but which is much closer to the German notion of Heimat:

...a geographical and social area where I feel at home, where I belong, where my family and my relatives live, where I can rely on the people, where I feel security and social warmth.

Glatzer 2001, 3.

It offers a sense of identity and belonging (Braakman & Schlenkhoff 2007, 13). It is not so much an actual place but the feeling of belonging, and as such can create a space of belonging within another country. For Afghans, 'watan' expands physically with the distance between a person and his or her watan, and can thus encompass a new community in a new country (Glatzer 2001, 3). This notion of watan will be used in the analysis of frame transformation as evidenced in the fieldwork data.

2.5.5 The effect of location on integration

The milieu for the fieldwork for this study was an Australian regional centre, and the following section provides a brief review of the literature relating to the effect of location on integration.

Size of municipality of residence has a significant inverse correlation with community engagement (Putnam 2000, 206). Rural and regional residents display higher ratings on the Psychological Sense of Community scale (PSOC) than their urban counterparts, including frequency of neighbour interaction (Doolittle and MacDonald 1978; Prezza and Costantini 1998, 190). Smaller settlements do not have extensive ethnic community groups, and contact with one's ethnic social network is inversely related to subjective adaptation, that is, those who have less involvement with their ethnic network are more satisfied with life in the host community (Montgomery 1996, 697).

Most regional centres in Australia have a strongly 'augmentive' population policy, a positive factor for integration into a new life (Kunz 1981). A study of Displaced Persons resettled in Australia showed that significantly more respondents resident in rural areas

reported having Australian friends and membership of Australian associations and concluded that ‘one needs to study the context in which immigrant adaptation takes place as thoroughly as one studies the immigrants themselves’ (Martin 1965, 110-101).

Overall, the outlook for settlement of refugees in Australian regional areas is positive. Poor access to intensive services such as torture and trauma counselling, specialised health services, and limited tertiary educational opportunities are problematic in regional areas (Taylor and Stanovic 2005), but welcoming communities, ready employment, safety, and ‘a good place to bring up children’ outweigh these concerns (2005, 52). Women and others whose life centres on the home may be at risk of isolation if there is a lack of an easily accessible common language group (McDonald, et al. 2008). Other issues in settlement in some regional areas are suitable long-term housing, poor or absent public transport, and negative attitudes amongst some of the receiving community (Sinha and Dobric 2006; AHRC 2010). These factors vary from place to place, however, and also exist in some metropolitan areas. Refugees perceive rural and regional areas in Australia as safer than cities, and some refugee families are resettling to escape peer pressure on youth and drug issues (McDonald et al. 2008). Respondents in a study of settlement of Sudanese refugees in Murray Bridge, South Australia, said that given a free choice they would like to live in Murray Bridge, or a place like it, because it is quiet, the city is too crowded and polluted, and ‘life is easier there’ (Taylor-Neumann & Balasingam 2009, 6). Piper and Associates (2007) evaluated the settlement of families from the Democratic Republic of Congo in the regional centre of Shepparton in Victoria as a great success, and noted the importance of the involvement of volunteers in the success of settlement, and doubted whether the same involvement would be

found in urban settings. Indeed, the rate of volunteering is higher outside capital cities (ABS 2001).

There have been few studies capturing the milieu in which TPV holders and their supporters acted, apart from those of Stilwell (2003) and Stilwell & Grealis (2003) which examined the economic impact of TPV holders on the community of the town of Young, New South Wales, and the studies of Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar (2007) and Tilbury (2007) of Albany in Western Australia. Other studies of settlement in regional areas (Taylor and Stanovic 2005; Piper & Associates 2007; Shepley 2008) have not provided results that account for TPV holders separately to other persons from refugee backgrounds. This study will add to this very limited literature around the influence of place of settlement on integration.

2.6 Summary

This overview and analysis of the literature has shown that sovereign nations are unlikely to act on cosmopolitan principles unless such action serves to advance their interests. The review examined ways in which international obligations and treaties, globalising forces and domestic imperatives nevertheless condition sovereign right. The UNHCR is dependent on the good will of donors and refugee host nations, and as such must tread a fine line between protection of the rights of refugees and the requirements of nation states. To a significant extent, refugee protection under the auspices of the UNHCR reflects the interests of states and therefore protection suffers. The literature demonstrates that, unless they represent foreign policy advantage, asylum seekers are practicably disenfranchised from the international system of protection.

The chapter reviewed the Australian government's interpretation of the Convention Articles concerning refoulement and penalties for illegal entry, and provided the points of difference in interpretations of the meaning and intent of the provisions. The review of the interpretations concluded that the arguments proffered by the Howard government to support the Temporary Protection Visa legislation did not meet the intentions of the Articles and were motivated by vote seeking.

The review demonstrated that the impulse to and defence of cosmopolitan right is sited at the level of individuals. The humanitarian basis of liberal democracies relies on the dialogue between state and citizens, constantly 'iterated and renegotiated'. CSOs have an important place in the asylum seeker discourse, and can influence the action of nation states, but intervention by established CSOs is problematic because they are unrepresentative and out of touch with the day-to-day realities of government. In addition, established groups tend to stifle responses sited at the individual level. Local individual action and local CSOs are important in support of the rights of asylum seekers, but they are mostly absent in the literature. This study will address this gap.

The nature of liberal democracies enables citizens to influence policy in humanitarian directions, but in order to do so they must have the will. The motivation to humanitarian action on behalf of asylum seekers is often dependent on knowledge, and the mass media tend to promulgate anti-asylum seeker information. The case of action motivated by faith overcomes this impasse because it relies on religious principles rather than affiliations based on rhetoric.

The minimal amounts of research around Muslims and Muslim refugees in Australia, while focussing on problems of settlement and acceptance, show that in general they have integrated well, and that overt discrimination appears to affect mostly the ‘visible’, especially women in religious dress. While the Australian government and the mainstream media vilified asylum seekers, the available research indicates that once they were met ‘face-to-face’ they were accepted.

There is a dearth of literature about the settlement of TPV holders, and most focuses on the severe stress that the visa caused, neglecting other influences on integration. The literature that is available has almost entirely ignored the influence of the citizens who supported them on integration of the TPV holders. The effect on the citizens of the TPV holders in their midst is almost entirely absent. There is almost no literature examining the effect of the place of their settlement on their integration. This study will address these deficits.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Topic, aim, and research questions

This chapter elaborates the focus, aims, and research questions of the thesis and presents an overview of the sources of information and data. It provides justification for the choice of methods and approach and describes the limitations. The chapter discusses the ethical issues involved in the interviewing process, the design of the interviews, and issues.

The focus of the thesis is rights of refugees, in particular those of asylum seekers, and their vulnerability to the multidimensional challenges of mixed migration, as evidenced in the Australian context. The focus is important because it is currently once more presenting the Australian government with a seemingly insoluble problem: how to reconcile its duty as an international citizen and a democracy based on human rights with asylum seekers arriving on its shores. This is not only a significant problem for Australia, but for the international community, and of overwhelming consequence to the millions seeking asylum in the world.

An examination and analysis of government legislation and rhetoric in the face of arrivals of ‘boat people’ between 1998 and 2005 delineates the Australian context for this study. The examination is set in the broader context of migration to Australia and the changes in Australian migration policies from 1850 on, and the ways in which the Australian community has responded to migrants and refugees. The case study of integration of Hazaras in Murray Bridge elucidates the issues.

The primary research question, in particular for the analysis of the case study, is:

‘In the light of the regulation of migration, and in particular, attempts to deny on-shore asylum seekers full rights as residents, how has the integration of refugees in Murray Bridge played out?’

The research questions employed in the thesis are:

1. What have been the policies regarding refugees and asylum seekers in Australia? How did they develop?

2. What is the relationship between Australian government policies regarding refugee and asylum seekers and attitudes of the Australian people?

3. How did the integration of Hazara Temporary Protection Visa holders progress in Murray Bridge, taking into account the impact of the visa category and the role of Murray Bridge community volunteers?

3.2 Sources of information and data for the research

In order to gain an accurate and nuanced understanding of the situation of asylum seekers in Australia, it is crucial to include information reflecting the full scope of the subject including longitudinal and cross-sectional perspectives. This includes data at international, national, regional, and individual levels.

The researcher gathered relevant international and national historic data as well as legislative and policy information pertaining to systems of refugee admission and protection. The chief sources of information about standards of treatment of refugees and asylum seekers were international Conventions, Protocols, and agreements, especially those of the United

Nations (UN) and UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Background information was collected from the extensive literature concerning refugees and asylum seekers held by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI), Forced Migration Online (FMO) and the Migration Information Source. These bodies, as well as UNHCR, were the sources of global socio-demographic data and refugee rights discourses. In addition, information from country sources including nations of the European Union, Canada, and the United States, helped to set Australia's refugee policy and response to boat people in an international and human rights perspective, and to enable a critical examination of the origins and features of the policy regime associated with the Australian Temporary Protection Visa (TPV).

At the national level, the baseline information collected takes into account Australian socio-economic data, the history of the country in relation to immigration, and immigration and refugee protection policy. The Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), (which was named the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) and then the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) during the period of this study), was the major source of demographic data relating to refugees and asylum seekers, immigration and protection visa categories, and relevant legislation and policy. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) also was a source of socio-demographic data and the Australian Parliamentary Library provided many background documents. These sources were useful for the review of Australia's refugee policy, an examination of Australia's response to boat people, and a critical assessment of the origins and features of the policy regime associated with TPVs.

The mass media was a prime driver of opinion about asylum seekers. Print and electronic versions of the national paper the *Australian*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (which provided an alternative national perspective), news and commentary items from the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), and local state-level newspapers, the *Adelaide Advertiser* and the *Sunday Mail*, were surveyed for the period 1999 to 2005 and provided data and commentary, enabling a nuanced examination of Australia's response to boatpeople, set in the broader immigration context. Thirty-nine news texts from the state newspaper, the *Adelaide Advertiser*, which related to the arrivals of asylum seekers from 1999 to 2005 were collected, six of which related specifically to the Hazaras in Murray Bridge, as did six four of those collected from the national paper, the *Australian*. These sources contributed to understanding the relationship between Australian government policies regarding refugee and asylum seekers and the Australian people.

A search of academic literature was made to find studies of TPV holders and community volunteers in order to provide points of comparison with the findings relating to the case study of the integration of Hazara Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders in Murray Bridge. This revealed a paucity of literature relating to the settlement of TPV holders in general and Afghan TPV holders in particular. Some studies did not distinguish Afghan Hazaras from Iraqis, the other main group of TPV holders during the period under study. The researcher exercised caution when using findings from these studies because the Afghan Hazaras who held TPVs often came from rural areas where they were working the land, had had little contact with the outside world, and had minimal if any education, whereas the majority of Iraqis were well-educated and had lived in a sophisticated modern environment. While there have been no direct studies comparing settlement experiences of refugees from

varying origins in Australia, country of origin studies have found significant impacts on political incorporation, that is degrees of integration into the host's political structures (Bueker 2005). Moreover, refugees' attitudes towards the conflict in their country of origin are a determining factor of their modes of settlement (Joly 2002). For this reason the researcher confined comparisons to studies of discrete groups of Afghan TPV holders and instances where they were identified as such in more general studies, unless there was general information which did not appear to be much influenced by country of origin.

Critically examining the impact of the visa category on TPV holders resident in Murray Bridge South Australia, and evaluating of the role of Murray Bridge community volunteers in the process of integrating TPV holders into the community, required collection of data from the field. The researcher conducted twenty-one semi-structured interviews with TPV holders and with community volunteers to gather information about how the community support proceeded and about attitudes of the community and the TPV holders and how those attitudes changed. The researcher conducted a census of articles and editorials published in the bi-weekly *Murray Valley Standard*, the local Murray Bridge newspaper, from the first mention of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge from February 2003 to 11 August 2005 when the last media items relating to the men as TPV holders appeared. This totalled 34 texts. The data collection also took into account nine items referring to refugees from 2003 to 2005 located in records of the proceedings of the local Council. The researcher's memories as one of the community volunteers and unpublished archival documents in her possession also provided primary data. The question 'to what extent have the Afghan Hazara TPV holders and the rest of the community of Murray Bridge developed feelings of 'belonging together?' drove analysis of the data from the local newspaper, archival materials, and reports of council

proceedings as well as that gathered from interviews and the researcher's own experience. These multiple sources provided triangulation and data input for a bottom-up microanalysis.

3.3 Data collection tools and limitations

Since this study relied on assorted and multi-level data, differing methods of collection and analysis were necessary. The study employed a search in administrative records and documents as well as media sources, analytical reading of many of those documents, the researcher's participant experience, and semi-structured interviews. The following section deals with their use and limitations.

3.3.1 Administrative records and documents

A survey of administrative records and documents to obtain quantitative and qualitative data is suitable for obtaining legislation, treaties, and protocols in the public domain, such as those held by the UN and UNHCR. Whereas most of this data is universally accepted, interpretations of and commentaries on these sources, even when produced by the originating organisations, may be conflicting, and/or open to conflicting interpretations, and must therefore be carefully analysed. Analysis in Chapter 2 addressed this. National level data is more prone to this difficulty, and therefore Chapters 4 and 5 provide a close examination of the information sourced.

Macro-level time series data from international and national organisations is dependent on the usually unstated worldview and intentions of the originating organisation, and therefore include the risk of the researcher unwittingly accepting that worldview and being blind to alternatives. For instance, the DIMA and DIMIA statistics regarding on-shore

protection visa grants routinely refer to ‘people who arrive in Australia unlawfully’ and ‘Unlawful Non Citizens’ whereas the UN, UNHCR, various other international bodies, and national governments strongly contest the usage, and argue that asylum seekers are not ‘unlawful’.

National policies, devised for local situations, assume local knowledge that is difficult, sometimes impossible, to obtain. In addition, specific purposes drive the collection of national data, which means that some information is limited or indeed missing. This problem occurred when the researcher attempted to find data reflecting the locations of settlement of TPV holders in Australia. The only official record of residential locations of TPV holders was that held by the Immigration Department, which, once they moved from the original point to which they were transported immediately after being released from immigration detention, relied on often-illiterate TPV holders to provide written self-initiated reports. Moreover, data about all people from refugee backgrounds in Australia who settle in regional areas is very scant, and data sets are often opaque because in most cases responses are classified by region of settlement rather than Local Council Areas (LCAs). Regions such as the Murraylands, for example, include locations of settlement that vary widely in services, environment, and socio-economic factors, in contrast to LCAs which provide a more accurate reflection of the location. Nevertheless, data from administrative records and documents are useful if these limitations are kept in view, systematically interpreted, and adjusted to yield the most accurate information possible (as was done throughout the first chapters of this study, and particularly in Chapter 5).

3.3.2 The local newspaper, the Murray Valley Standard

In the absence of a large-scale attitudinal survey of members of the Murray Bridge community, the local paper, the *Murray Valley Standard*, provided a picture of the transformation of community attitudes towards the TPV holders resident in Murray Bridge. While a survey and/or interviews with residents other than the volunteers and TPV holders may have provided a more direct picture, lack of funding was a limitation in the study. Additionally, the data collection was conducted several years after the period of settlement and, given that few residents could be expected to remember 'TPV holders', it was unlikely that information could have been obtained without any references to inflammatory phrases such as 'boat people' and 'asylum seekers', activating prejudices which may not have applied to the Murray Bridge Hazaras themselves.

It is reasonable to assume that the *Murray Valley Standard* represents Murray Bridge community attitudes. Although they must conform to demands of owners and shareholders, to be commercially viable, newspapers must reflect the views of their readers and advertisers, and local papers even more (Donahue, Olien and Tichenor 1997, 103). Additionally, while large circulation media rely heavily on syndicated news reports, small circulation local papers mostly print local stories garnered from local people, first hand. The lived experience of local people acts as a test of the veracity of stories. On the other hand, local papers tend towards positive reporting (Olien, Donohue and Tichenor 1968; Hindman 1996), not the least because they have a stake in economic growth in their locality (Kaniss 1991, 46).

All texts in the *Murray Valley Standard* census were analysed, and the study paid particular attention to headlines and editorials, the aspects of the newspaper that exhibit the

most editorial influence and which ‘encapsulate the newspaper’s ideological values and attitudes’ (Barker 1981,14). Headlines summarise, and in order to do so must omit some details, and those selections and omissions reflect the editorial ideology of the newspaper. The details that remain assume primary importance, are often the only part of the article read, and readers are most likely to remember details expressed in them. The relationships between words in a text conceal, suppress, or foreground meaning. The categories of ‘agent’ and ‘patient’ were used to analyse implicit meaning in headlines. The ‘agent’ is the actor performing an activity or bringing about changes of state, and has volition, active energy investment, and responsibility, and assumes a foreground position, while the ‘patient’ is the entity perceived as 'suffering' or 'undergoing' the process (Iwamoto 1995, 61-62). In addition, through the use of the first person plural, and to a lesser extent the third person plural, some of the audience is implicitly included and others therefore excluded. The headlines were also analysed in terms of ‘anonymising’: the use of descriptors that refer to groups but which are stripped of specific information about the individuals that comprise that group (Smart, Grimshaw, et al. 2005, 38).

The analysis also focussed on editorials, since they reveal the ideology of the newspaper which necessarily corresponds to their context and readership. Since editorials argue a case, the analysis also included some general principles of rhetoric, such as the use of logical fallacy, along with Van Dijk’s (1991, 133) three facets of editorial rhetoric: ‘definition’, which denotes opinion statements that summarise or recapitulate events, ‘explanation’ or ‘evaluation’ statements account for the events, and the statement of ‘moral’ is a prediction or recommendation resulting from the definition and explanation.

The primary analysis of the data used frame transformation (defined in Section 2.5.1) as the means. The body of the texts were therefore categorised using Ryan's scheme of categories, which are based on frame theory:

What is the issue?

Who is responsible? What is the solution?

How do symbols carry the frame?

Supporting arguments, especially in terms of historical roots of grievance

Who is the implicit audience?

(Ryan 1991, 6.2)

3.3.3 Participant-observation 2002-2005

A significant aspect of the fieldwork was the information the researcher had gained by observation as a participant who 'lived with and lived like' the community volunteers who were studied (Maanen 1983, 263), and who was also a participant in the process of integration of the Afghan Hazara TPV holders. Although the participant-observation did not occur as a part of the formal research process, the intensive involvement with people in their natural environment prior to the research provided 'practical and theoretical truths ...grounded in the realities of daily existence' (Jorgensen 1989, 142). The researcher was an 'insider' to the culture of the community of the Hazara TPV holders and their volunteer supporters, but also an 'outsider' to the Afghan Hazara culture. The intimate knowledge of the context by an 'insider' researcher offers insights that are at times difficult or impossible to

access by an outsider (Alzbouebi n.d.), because of awareness of and sensitivity to things both said and unsaid in the culture. On the other hand, an insider can also be blind to what may be obvious to an outsider. The insider researcher must cultivate the ability to see familiar settings as ‘anthropologically strange’ (Genzuk 2003, 3). Whether the researcher is an outsider or insider, however, presumptions and prejudices will affect all stages of the project, and it is important for the researcher to be aware of their personal characteristics and biases that may affect the findings (Gall, Borg & Gall 1996). In awareness of these difficulties, the researcher recorded her own experiences with Hazaras and the temporary protection system before the interview phase of the research in an attempt to make her presuppositions explicit.

The researcher separated description from interpretation and judgment as much as possible, while acknowledging that it is never possible to provide a perfect reflection of social reality (Miller and Glassner 1997, 99). The researcher was aware of some personal biases that may have affected the research. For example, she held very strong negative feelings towards the actions of the Howard government concerning refugees, and it was the intensity of these feelings that led her to volunteer to assist the people who she believed were being unfairly treated. As a consequence of her acknowledged bias, the researcher also placed emphasis on seeking evidence to support justifications that the government made for the asylum-seeker policy. The researcher did not have a positive bias towards Hazaras before the volunteering experience; on the contrary, her only knowledge of Afghans was through media reports of Al Qaida and the Taliban.

3.3.4 Interviews

The participants were selected and approached to participate in February 2007, and the interviews commenced in April and concluded in December 2007. Interviews were conducted with 14 of the Hazaras who lived in Murray Bridge between 2001 and 2005, and with seven of the volunteers who supported the refugees. The participants were randomly chosen from 36 Afghan Hazaras and 31 volunteers whose names appeared on lists produced by the Murray Bridge volunteer support group coordinator, dated 4 September 2004. One person, a Hazara, refused the request for interview, and another was randomly chosen in his place. The researcher conducted the face-to-face interviews with eleven of the Afghan Hazara respondents in Murray Bridge and two in Adelaide. One in Sydney was interviewed by telephone. When referred to in the text, participants are identified by letter (a., b., c., etc), accompanied by the date and place of interview.

The gender and age range of the Hazara sample was limited. They were all men and had a median age of 25. The overwhelming majority of Hazara refugees who received TPVs were male and of an age that made them fit to survive a dangerous and arduous journey to Australia, excluding the more vulnerable such as women, children, and the elderly. All Hazaras interviewed had arrived in Murray Bridge between 2001 and 2003.

The researcher carefully structured the interviews and conducted them in awareness of the influence of her personal experience and the resulting bias, and employed rigorous application of principles of analysis to overcome this.

3.3.5 Ethical issues

The University of New England Human Research Ethics Committee gave approval for the study in February 2007. A copy of the completed application form and related documents are in Appendix 1a and 1b. All interview participants were provided with the *Information Sheet for Participants*, as approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England, in English and/or Dari as appropriate. A copy of the *Information Sheet for Participants* is in Appendix 2. The interviewer, who had previously been a member of the Murray Bridge volunteer support group, was employed by a settlement support agency in Murray Bridge at the time, and on the advice of the Ethics Committee she made clear to participants that it was not that organisation that was conducting the research, but a private person engaged in academic research. The researcher was aware that many members of the community felt obligated to help her in return for her past assistance, and she therefore told the Hazara interviewees at the start of the interviews and at pertinent points throughout that she was acting as a researcher during the interviews, not as a friend or as a settlement worker. She explained that the best way that they could help her was to tell the reality of their experience, and not try to please her or show their gratitude. She also assured them that, as well as general confidentiality, she would not disclose what they said to the volunteers who had helped them, and neither would anything they said influence her work with them. Consent to proceed was only sought when the researcher was satisfied that the participants understood that there was no obligation on them to participate. The respondents were assured of anonymity, and names and any other information likely to identify the respondent was eliminated from the report.

The Hazara participants were not asked to recall events that the researcher believed could still have been traumatic to them. If, however, the subjects did mention events that took place in detention for example, this was included as part of the research evidence. For those individuals who may have appeared to experience re-traumatisation during the interview process, referral services were already established.

3.3.6 Interview design

Hazara participants were questioned to elicit the ways the TPV policy and community action had affected their integration into the Australian community. The topics used to guide the questions about integration were adapted from the guide developed by Ager & Strang:

Whether they have experienced any difficulties since living in the area and if so, what difficulties

Social support/networks

Whether they think they are integrated (using terms such as ‘settled’, ‘fitting in’, ‘belonging together’, etc. and others as determined through the Home Office mapping exercise) into the community

Whether they think their community is integrated

(Ager and Strang 2004a, 20)

Appendix 3 provides the interview protocol used for the Hazara informants.

The members of the community who had supported the Hazaras were interviewed to elucidate the following:

Their motivations in becoming involved with the Hazaras

Their reactions to the Australian refugee policy

How well they believe the Hazaras have integrated

Appendix 4 provides the interview protocol for the volunteer informants.

Interview questions were framed with particular attention to clarity and simplicity, avoiding negatives and especially double negatives, as suggested by Foddy (1994, 184). The author has had extensive experience in interviews and conversations with Hazaras, and this experience also informed the construction of questions. Most of the resulting interviews did provide 'thick' data.

3.3.7 Interview process

Participants were asked to recall their experiences of the period under study, with a particular emphasis on feelings and beliefs and how these changed over that time. The interviewer used cued recall to facilitate the interviews. Photos of the Hazaras and the volunteers over several years and at various important events as well as newspaper clippings were shown to interviewees to assist recall. At the stage of the interviews when opinions about integration and a 'sense of belonging' were the focus, the researcher provided photos of Murray Bridge street scenes, community facilities and landmarks from 2001 to 2005 in order to elicit more discursive and deeper responses. The informal semi-structured nature of the

interviews allowed interviewees to expand on different issues and recount pertinent experiences. When possible, audio recordings of these interviews were made, with the permission of the interviewee. When permission was not given notes were taken by the interviewer. Even when an interview was recorded, notes were also kept.

The researcher carefully structured the interviews and conducted them while being aware of the influence of her personal experience and the resulting bias. The researcher stated at the commencement of interviews that all memories and opinions, both negative and positive, were wanted, and reiterated this throughout the interviews.

The responses of the refugee participants were read through the lens of ‘belonging’ – their sense of belonging to the group of refugees and their supporters, to the Murray Bridge community, and to the wider community of Australians. An analysis was made of the data from the interviews to provide answers to the research question ‘How did the integration of Hazara Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders progress in Murray Bridge?’ Interview transcripts and notes were coded by using a combination of manual and computer-aided methods. The transcripts of interviews were put through an initial coding process which was made as inclusive as possible, in order not to pre-empt any possibilities in the analysis phase (Potter and Wetherel 1987). Units of meaning were compared across categories for inductive category coding and the categories were refined through exploration of relationships and patterns across categories, so ‘delimiting the theory’ and integrating the data to write the analysis and findings (Maykut and Morehouse 1994, 134-145).

The first phase of interpretation of the data utilised data mining software. The researcher used *Atlas.ti*, software that locates, codes, and annotates primary data material,

enabling evaluation of relative importance and visualisation of relationships. Since the amount of data was not huge, however, the researcher was able to become familiar with all of it, and much of the final analysis came from manual searches.

For all events there are influences from many sides, a complexity that can never be fully described and analysed, but that we can approach more closely if we step out of the binary, either/or system (Hodge 2003, 9). The researcher sought to build a complex picture of people and their motivations and avoid a simple depiction of the clash of government policy and volunteer attitudes as a battle between an insensitive government and volunteers motivated by humanitarian values. The analysis purposely noted and considered seemingly irrelevant or ‘accidental’ information. It was because of this approach that, despite the contradictory evidence from all other published work, the researcher attended to a comment from one of the Hazara respondents that the TPV period was a ‘good time’. This comment led to a new line of analysis that formed a significant part of the final picture.

The results of the coding and analysis of the interviews were reviewed in combination with the results of the analysis of the news texts, and considered also in the light of the researcher’s experience. It became apparent that the major theme emerging from the interview and media data was transformation in attitudes, and this realisation led to the selection of frame analysis, in particular the principles of frame transformation, to guide the final analysis of the texts.

3.3.8 Issues in the interviewing process

It has been the experience of the author, who has worked with Hazara TPV holders since 2002, that reflection on and evaluation of experience are often difficult to elicit. This may be due to past trauma which, because of the long-term arousal of the ‘flight or fight’ reflex, can make reflective thought difficult (Ansorge, Litz and Orsillo 1996). Moreover, most of the Hazara respondents had had little or no formal education, including education in critical thought. Traditional Hazara culture is based on story-telling; direct question and answer is very rare (Omidian 1994, 156). In order to address this difficulty cue materials (as described previously) were used to elicit specific memories and reflection upon them through telling the story of the picture.

Tape recording of the interviews presented specific cultural problems. Omidian (1994, 151) notes the distrust with which the Afghan participants in her study viewed note taking and tape recording, and assigns this distrust to their experiences of living in a police state. The subjects of Omidian’s research would have been particularly sensitised to this issue at the time, because they had fled the Najibulla regime and its secret police. The Hazaras represented a new wave of refugees from Afghanistan, this time fleeing the Taliban and not the Najibullah regime. Nevertheless, the author also found deep concerns about releasing personal information among the Hazaras. While living on the TPV they expressed anxiety about information reaching enemies they may have had in Afghanistan and also concern about risking their cases for permanent protection. The researcher noted, however, that once a refugee finally secured permanent residency, the concern about information reduced substantially. As well, since most of the respondents had lived in Australia for at least 5 years

by the time of the interview, their confidence in Australian practices had increased. Nevertheless the researcher was aware of the effect that tape recording could have, and even when explicit agreement was given, the machine was switched off if there was any reason to suspect that answers were being edited or curtailed because of it. As a result, three of the interviews were not taped.

Omidian notes that it is the habit in Afghan homes to conceal from visitors any problems that the family may be experiencing (1994, 158,174). The researcher also experienced this phenomenon when she was a guest in Afghan homes, but in addition has experienced the ability of Hazaras to adapt to different circumstances. The researcher had previously assisted approximately 50 Hazaras prepare their cases for interviews with officials from the Immigration Department to determine whether they still had need of protection (as part of the review process described in Section 4.3). As a consequence she had had to inquire about painful events and circumstances, some of which were on going at the time of interview. In that situation the Hazaras were able to discuss difficult subjects with openness, albeit with considerable stress. In recent times she has also been a confidant to Hazaras concerning family problems.

Interviewing minority ethnic group members is fraught with difficulties, not least the cost of professional interpreters. The constraints of the study meant that there was no funding to pay for professional interpreting services. The researcher considered asking a Hazara to accompany her during interviews in order to check her understandings with them as an observer, but decided that the effect of the Hazara observer would be counterproductive. The Hazara culture puts a great deal of importance on maintaining 'face', and individual Hazaras

are more free to express themselves in personal matters to people outside their culture (Omidian 1994). To have had a Hazara observer would, in the researcher's opinion, have made the social-desirability effect stronger. The interviews were therefore conducted in English. Such an approach can result in 'impoverished accounts' since 'when interviewees speak in a second language they perceive themselves as less confident, happy and intelligent (Murray and Wynne 2001, 158-159). Nevertheless, whether or not questions are translated they represent researcher concepts that may not have equivalents in the respondent's language, and as Word (1992) points out, when researchers are not immersed in the culture under examination, conceptualising questions introduces systematic error (1992, 30). Translation, even when carried out by a highly qualified practitioner, is still a practice of value judgement, since meaning cannot be adequately expressed through words which, while being the dictionary equivalent, may not carry the same sense as the user intended. As Simon, in her comprehensive study of feminist issues in translation theory and practice, says:

...the solutions to many of the translator's dilemmas are not to be found in dictionaries, but rather in an understanding of the way language is tied to local realities, to literary forms and to changing identities

(1996, 138)

The researcher did not share the Hazara participants' race, ethnicity or culture, and so the risk of cultural as well as aural misunderstandings was high (Minkler 2004, 685). Nevertheless, despite only a rudimentary knowledge of Dari (the Hazara language), the researcher had had five years' experience in conversing with the respondents in her role as a volunteer and later as a settlement worker, and had previously interviewed all but one to prepare their cases for immigration interviews. A *patois* had developed between her and the

Hazaras, in which they were accustomed to making themselves understood to each other – an argot tied to local realities. The semi-structured interview format allowed the researcher to rephrase questions and if necessary to use more simple and appropriate words, for example, ‘problems’ rather than ‘difficulties’. Care was taken not to use examples to clarify meaning since they may misdirect responses, and not to finish responses for the respondents. In addition, the researcher had previously qualified in the technique of ‘active listening’; a structured form of listening and responding that requires the listener ‘to hear the sounds and sense the shape of the other person’s inner world’ (Barrett-Lennard 1998, 96). This technique, which has been used in other investigations, including that of Marshall and While (1994) was employed to check meaning during the interviews. Transcripts of the interviews were shown to the respondents and read to them as necessary, and there were a few minor corrections requested. The researcher’s own experience and knowledge of the events under examination also helped to verify understanding.

3.4 Selection of the approach and methodology

According to Yin (2003, 3), there are three purposes of research: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. The fieldwork for this study has characteristics of all three, exploratory in that it examined a situation where not all of the parameters were known beforehand and descriptive in that the analysis of the field work provided a description of Murray Bridge and its people, but the major purpose was explanatory. Using Yin’s analysis of research strategy applicability by the question posed, the form of the research question indicated that it could be approached using an experiment, a history, or a case study. Since the study assumed no control over external events and instead took as its focus ‘more or less

naturally occurring phenomena in the social world' (Maanen 1983, 9), an experimental strategy was inappropriate. Histories, Yin says, generally apply when relevant persons are not alive to report, and the event is over. Since the subjects of this study are still alive, and indeed some aspects of the event under study were ongoing, the case study approach was appropriate.

Case studies bring together multiple sources of evidence in order to paint as rich a picture as possible of the subject of the study (Mitchell 1983). The case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, (when) the boundaries between the context and the phenomenon are not clearly evident...' (Yin 2003, 13-14), and this fuzziness of boundaries makes case study generally more amenable to qualitative rather than quantitative methods, although case studies may include both types. Merriam (1998, 27), however, says that if study is not 'intrinsically bounded', then it is not a case. For the criterion of boundedness to be met there must be a limit to the number of people who could be interviewed or observed. While the lines between the context and the phenomenon in this study do overlap, time, place, and possible numbers of participants bounded the fieldwork. The study therefore meets the test of boundedness.

Ethnographic and case study approaches are commonly confused, and because of the depth and methods of its investigation, this study could be confused with ethnography. In addition, the field of this study is situated in the larger world system, which a characteristic of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). Ethnology, however, is inward-looking, setting out to discover the workings of a culture in such intimacy that the result could be used as a manual for becoming a member of that culture (Cohen & Court 2003). This study, however,

uses an instrumental or issues-dominant case study approach, undertaken with the intention of illuminating the phenomena researched through individual cases and their contexts (Stake 1995).

A common criticism of case study research is that, since the ‘sample size’ is small, results cannot be generalised. This criticism results, as Yin (2003, 32) shows, from a confusion of analytic generalisation with statistical generalisation, which provides inferences about an entire group from a study of a representative sample of that group: a sample of cases drawn from a larger universe of cases. In case studies the case is not a ‘sampling unit’, but is a field from which a set of findings is developed and compared to previously developed theory. The case study approach is not a study of a ‘case of one’, nor a technique or group of techniques; ‘case study’ is ‘an approach to social data that attempts to preserve the unitary character of the focus of the study’ (Blaikie 2000, 217). Yin depicts the findings from case studies as ‘level one inferences’ along with and on the same level as survey and experimental findings. Inferences from case studies are logical, not statistical (Blaikie 2000), and reliability is therefore derived from the diligence of the analysis, not because the case is a representative sample. While reliability and validity are essential criteria for quality in quantitative projects, in qualitative research credibility, trustworthiness, consistency and applicability are the essential criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Johnson 1997; Seale 1999). The details provided in later chapters will substantiate the reliability of the findings from this case study.

Analysis of the evidence was conducted through the lens of frame transformation (Gitlin 1980; Snow, et al. 1986; Johnston 2002). (Frame transformation is described in detail in Section 2.5.1) The interview questions mostly focused on the response of individuals to

the effects of government legislation, responses that were individually motivated, based on values and emotion, and thus best explored through a fieldwork approach, providing 'thick description' (Geertz 1975, 4). The researcher also worked from the premise that integration of new migrants depends more upon individuals in the receiving society than on legislation, and that in a liberal democracy such as Australia citizens are able not only to contest legislation, but to work against the intentions of the legislators. The researcher believed that a detailed study of the process of settlement of Afghan TPV holders in Murray Bridge and the support of this process by the Murray Bridge community would 'exhibit the operation of (these) general theoretical principle(s)' (Mitchell 1983, 191).

3.4 Summary

In order to meet the objectives of this research, data was collected from administrative records and documents, semi-structured interviews, archival documents, newspapers, and the researcher's own experience. This chapter described the data collection techniques and the limitations of each method, and the ways in which these were addressed and overcome. The chapter showed that sufficient data was collected to provide a rich and nuanced source for the analysis. The chapter provided a defence for the use of the case study method and the use of frame transformation as the main means to assess the changes that occurred in the TPV holders, the volunteers, and the community over the period studied. Ethical issues affecting the project were enunciated along with the methods of addressing them. Overall, the data collected and the means of analysis enabled the author to address the specific objectives of documenting and understanding the processes of integration of TPV holders in the Murray Bridge community.

The next chapter presents the Australian political context and discourses in relation to immigration, refugees, and asylum seekers.

Chapter 4 Australia's migration policies and asylum seekers: The challenge to the culture of control

This chapter begins with an overview of the development of Australian migration policy from 1850 to the 21st Century. It examines the development of the current status of immigration and multiculturalism with particular attention to Australia's refugee policy. In 1976 the Australian government first had to contend with the arrival of asylum seekers, and the chapter delineates the development of asylum seeker policy from that time until the present. The Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) for asylum seekers recognised as Convention refugees was a major influence on the participants in this study, and this chapter examines its development in detail.

4.1 The development of Australian migration policy 1850 to the 21st Century

In order to set the situation of asylum seekers who arrived in Australia in the late 20th and early 21st centuries in the broader national context, this section provides an examination of migration to Australia and the changes in Australian migration policies from 1850 on.

Migration to Australia began with the arrival of the British in the 18th Century. They presumed ownership of the continent, and consequently instigated an often-violent suppression of the Australian aboriginal peoples. This began what was to be a continuing thread of persecution of and discrimination towards people of darker skins by the dominant Australian culture. Anti-foreigner rhetoric commenced when convict transportation ended and the resulting increased demand for workers necessitated immigration (Attard 2010). This

was compounded when, in the late 19th Century, William Lane warned that Asian nations were ready to ‘swarm’ to sparsely-populated northern Australia (Mares 2002, 29).

In the 20 years after the discovery of gold in 1851, approximately 49,000 Chinese men and women arrived to work on the goldfields (Markey 1996). Fierce disputes and riots involving all nationalities broke out on the goldfields, but authorities blamed the Chinese. In addition, the sheer numbers of Chinese migrants, which at one time constituted eight per cent of the population of Victoria, caused alarm amongst the white settlers (Jayasuriya & Pookong 1999, 6). Consequently, the Colonial governments imposed restrictions on Chinese immigration (Lockwood 1964), as well as special tax imposts on those already in the country. They were considered second-class residents and a threat to the preservation of the ‘British type’ (Intercolonial Government Conference 1880-1881, quoted in Price 1974, 169). Later in the century, Australian labour unions protested against Pacific Islander workers. Owners of plantations in north-eastern Australia had brought in the indentured workers from Pacific Islands, often through trickery and kidnapping (Markey 1996). However, just as for the goldfields riots, the ‘foreigners’ were targeted for approbation but the practices of the owners escaped union attention. Since then, the trope of foreigners who lower wages and working conditions has been an ongoing motif in Australian life.

In 1901 Australia became self-governing through the Act of Federation and the adoption of its own constitution. Despite its increased independence, Australia followed British economic and foreign policies (Zappala & Castles 1998). Eugenic theories of superiority of the white races were dominant in Western Europe at the time, and mixing of white Christians with other types was repugnant. As a consequence, exclusion of undesirable

foreigners was of such importance in Australia that the Immigration Restriction Act ('White Australia') was one of the first pieces of legislation passed after Federation. In contrast, the United States, also a nation formed by immigration, waited more than two decades longer to introduce discriminatory immigration policies, and while these gave preferential treatment to Northern Europeans they did not seek to exclude any nationality or ethnicity (Jones 1960). This difference was an example of an ongoing paradox in Australian immigration policy: whereas Australia's geographical isolation means that the country is under less pressure than most from unwanted migration, it pursues control of its borders with measures often imposed earlier and more severe than those of other nations.

After Federation, pressure to source more low-cost workers quickly overcame racial exclusionism. Soon after gazetting of the Immigration Restriction Act, Australia admitted work migrants from China and the Pacific Islands, a 'breach' of the white Australia regime. Such 'breaches' were to be repeated whenever there was a need for workers. Racism and the needs of the domestic labour market were to continue as rival influences on policy into the 21st century (Teicher, Shah and Griffin 2000, 216).

World War II and its aftermath caused significant changes to the Australian economy, its worldview, and the values of its people and leadership. The country's focus on the preservation of British heritage softened and groups other than northern Europeans gained acceptance, as long as they were white and Christian. Australia thus took numbers of persons displaced by the War from countries previously excluded. Moreover, the movement south of the Japanese during WWII unnerved Australians (Holdcroft 2008) and stripped away the illusion that geographical isolation protected Australia (Wesley and Warren 2000). The post-

war Australian government was thus determined to increase population for defence purposes as well as building the manufacturing sector to overcome Australia's reliance on primary industry (Time 11 August 1952). As a consequence, the first federal immigration portfolio was created in 1945, and between 1946 and 1952 migrants arrived at the rate of around 160,000 per annum.

The next two decades created ideal conditions for immigration. The 'long boom' of international post war economic expansion, along with increasing American investment and stable, full employment, sustained economic growth throughout (Attard 2010). The racial persecution at the heart of the European war caused a reevaluation of racially based attitudes, but even though Australia accepted migrants from Southern Europe for the first time, non-Europeans, particularly Asians, continued to be unwelcome. Australia increasingly emulated US policy, especially in foreign affairs, because, in the face of the dissolution of the British Empire, Australia turned to the US as its international protector (Castles 1992, 54).

To the Australian government, the newly independent states of Southeast Asia seemed poised to fall like 'dominoes' under the influence of communist China (Spender 1950, 623), a view promulgated by the US. As a consequence, Australia developed a view of its position in Southeast Asia as a sort of 'outpost' of Western democracy, and a bulwark against the threat of communism. Ironically, the imagined threat of Asian invasion from the north motivated policies that unintentionally launched a new era of Asian immigration. In the early 1950s the government devised the Colombo Plan, a package of economic and development assistance, including a program to bring Southeast Asian students to Australia on educational scholarships. The Plan proposed that the students would spend some years in Australia,

would learn to champion the cause of Western democracy, and return home at the end of their studies to spread Western values. Nevertheless, despite 'White Australia', many Colombo Plan students did not return home and became permanent residents once their studies ended (Kendall 2008).

Successive governments gradually removed the racial basis of immigration policy. Because of international pressure, especially from Asia (Tavan 2005), as well as a deeper awareness of the evils of racism because of the events of the War, in 1958 the Menzies' Government removed the Immigration Restriction Act and the infamous dictation test¹ which enabled authorities to refuse entrance on racial grounds. The new Migration Act introduced a simpler and fairer system of entry. Further liberalisation took place in 1959 and 1960 under Menzies and in 1966 under Prime Minister Holt (York 2003, Part 2). Governments persisted with the view that Asia was 'an arena of subversion and instability' (Camilleri 2005) and posed a direct threat to Australian security, but under John Gorton in the late 1960s that attitude began to soften, and by 1973 the Whitlam Labor government implemented a series of legislative amendments preventing the enforcement of racial aspects of the immigration law. The 1975 Racial Discrimination Act made the use of racial criteria for any official purpose illegal, but it was not until 1978 that all selection of prospective migrants based on country of origin was entirely removed from official policy by the Fraser Liberal government (DIAC 2009a), and in 1979, Australia established an assessment system that ensured all would-be immigrants would meet the same requirements (Jupp 2001, 64, 69).

Multiculturalism, rather than assimilation, became the basis for migrant settlement, welfare, and social-cultural policy. 'Multiculturalism' is now the accepted policy term. The

Galbally Report (Migrant Services and Programs), commissioned by Prime Minister Fraser in 1977, set out principles of multiculturalism that included equal opportunity, freedom to 'maintain one's own culture', and the provision of some special services and programs which should aim to have migrants 'become self-reliant as quickly as possible' (DIMIA 2003a, 28). The 1989 National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia included four principles for multicultural policy which affirmed the previous principles but added some limitations on expression of 'cultural identity' and included a sense of reciprocity between individuals, groups and the nation as a whole (DIAC 2012b).

Multicultural services now include strategies to ensure equality of access to government services, provision of ethnic broadcasting, support of ethnic schools, anti-discrimination tribunals, advisory committees, community language teaching, and inter-faith dialogues. As well, many new migrants are eligible to access the Translating and Interpreting Service (TIS) without cost. Most that arrive with little or no English ability are eligible for free English lessons through the Australian Migrant English Program, and humanitarian entrants and a few other migrants are able to access settlement programs.

Economic restructuring from the 1970s on increased the need for workers, and Asia became more important to Australia as a labour source (Castles 1992, 47). In the 1980s immigration became more politicised as source regions broadened and numbers increased (Betts 2003). Ethnic groups lobbied for more family reunion places, and refugees and their supporters advocated for increased intakes. The Fitzgerald Committee report of 1988 found that multiculturalism had helped to make immigration unpopular in Australia, and

recommended reductions in family reunion, which was a drain on welfare services, in favour of skilled migration (Fitzgerald 1988).

Despite the report, multiculturalism remained as the dominate paradigm under the Labor governments of the time. Numbers of skilled visas were increased and family reunion visa numbers were reduced accordingly. As well, the government appeared to be losing some control of immigration. The Migration Act of 1958 relied on ministerial discretion rather than legislation, and as a result of a new administrative law, increasing numbers of on-shore applicants were accessing the court system. Ministerial discretion was difficult to defend in court, and the government lost cases on many occasions (Betts 2003, 172). Thus it became harder to present immigration as an orderly, controlled system. In response, the Migration Amendment Act of 1989 instituted legally binding regulations which are much harder to dispute through the judicial system.

By 1996, anti-immigration feeling had built to the point that 71 per cent of the public thought that the number of immigrants was too high (Betts 2001). Just at this time, John Howard, as leader of the Liberal-National coalition, became Prime Minister. Howard had publicly raised doubts about Asian immigration some years before:

I'm not in favour of going back to a White Australia policy. I do believe that if it is -- in the eyes of some in the community -- that it's too great, it would be in our immediate-term interest and supporting of social cohesion if it (Asian immigration) were slowed down a little, so the capacity of the community to absorb it was greater

(quoted in Ray 2004).

Public opinion and the opinions of the nation's leader coalesced and led policy changes.

From 1996 onwards, the new Liberal-National coalition government changed the emphasis and direction of immigration in radical ways, implementing the recommendations of the Fitzgerald report and changing the culture of the immigration and multicultural regimes. The government redefined multiculturalism was in Anglo-Celtic Australian themes, such as 'mateship' and a 'fair go' (Hawley 2006). The 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia emphasised that multicultural policies and programs should not be targeted only to minority ethnic communities (DIMA 1999) and placed more emphasis on duties of residents. The Agenda update of 2003, as a response to increasing world terrorism, shifted focus to unity and social cohesion and added the expectation of 'loyalty of all Australians to Australia and its people, and to respect the basic structures and principles underwriting our democratic society' (DIMIA 2003a, 6). This emphasis on the rights of mainstream and in particular Anglo-Celtic Australians provided a philosophical basis for the government's concurrent vilification of asylum seekers.

The skilled component of the migration program boomed. In 1997 the government introduced temporary business entry visas which contributed significantly to increases in overall skilled migration numbers (Khoo 2002). Trade unions and the Australian Labor Party claimed that some sponsoring employers paid below market rates and that the program was taking jobs and training opportunities from Australian residents. On one hand, these complaints could be taken as merely continuing the anti-migration stance of workers' advocates that began in the 1800s, but on an analysis of the evidence Kinnaird (2006) found that there were indeed 'considerable grounds for concern' (2006, 63). In addition, in some cases the initial rules did not require any minimum English language skills. Temporary migrants do not qualify for the Australian Migrant English Program, and so low English

skills cut off many from participation in their receiving communities², as well as posing occupational safety risks (Kinnaird 2006).

Also in 1997, a two-stage process was introduced for spouse visas in order to limit attempts to defraud through fake marriages. The intake of overseas students increased considerably, especially when conditions were changed and student visas became a pathway to permanency. From 2002-2003, numbers nearly doubled to more than 320,000 in 2008-09. When permanent residency conditions were tightened in 2009-10, numbers dropped by nearly 16 per cent (DIAC 2011d).

Whereas in 1965-66, Asian countries did not figure at all in the top 10 source countries for settler arrivals in Australia, 20 years later four of the top 10 were Asian. Table 4.1 ‘Main Countries of Birth Australia 1954-2006 (‘000)’ below shows the change in composition of the population from the census in 1954 to that in 2006.

Table 4.1 Main Countries of Birth Australia 1954-2006 (‘000)

Main Countries of Birth (‘000)					
	1954(a)	1961(a)	1996(b)	2001(b)	2006(b)
United Kingdom(c)	664.2	755.4	1 164.1	1 126.9	1 153.3
New Zealand	43.4	47	315.1	394.1	476.7
Italy	119.9	228.3	259.1	238.5	220.5
China(d)	10.3	14.5	121.1	157	203.1
Vietnam	na	na	164.2	169.5	180.4
India	12	14.2	84.8	103.6	153.6
Philippines	0.2	0.4	102.7	112.2	135.6
Greece	25.9	77.3	141.8	132.5	125.8
South Africa	6	7.9	61.7	86.9	118.8
Germany	65.4	109.3	120.8	117.5	114.9
Malaysia	2.3	5.8	83	87.2	103.9
Netherlands	52	102.1	95.3	91.2	87
Lebanon	3.9	7.3	77.6	80	86.6
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	1.6	3.5	77.1	75.2	76.3

Source: ABS (2010)

Notes: na not available

(a) Census counts.

(b) Estimated resident population at 30 June.

(c) Includes Ireland in 1954, 1961 and 1971.

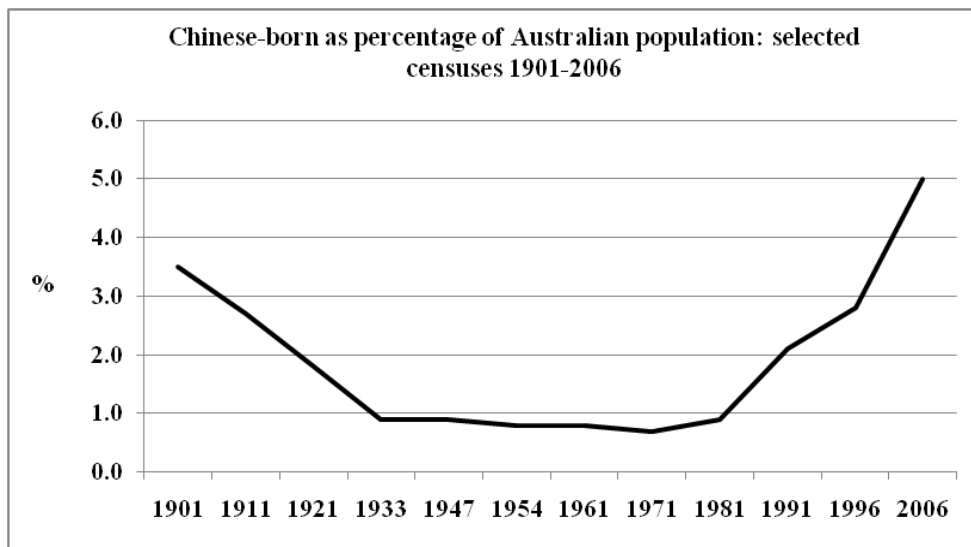
(d) Excludes SARs and Taiwan Province.

(e) Includes country of birth 'Not stated' and 'At sea'.

In 2006, whereas the United Kingdom remained the top country of birth of those born overseas, numbers of China-born were 220,500, an increase of more than 20 times from just over 10,300 in 1954. Also, from negligible numbers in 1954, by 2006 there were 180,400 Vietnam-born, the fifth most numerous. Other Asian nations which had figured in only a minor way in Australian population numbers in the 1950s, including India, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Malaysia, are now also among the top ten main countries of birth.

Whereas the percentage of persons born in the United Kingdom has declined from 58 per cent of the total overseas-born in 1901 in Australia to only 5.4 per cent in 2009 (ABS 2010), the proportion of those born in Asia has, since the early 1980s, moved in an opposite direction. The percentage of the Australian population born in China provides a statistical representation of the effects of Australian immigration policies and the influence of economic forces on the source of immigrants to Australia.

Figure 4.1 Chinese-born as percentage of Australian population: selected censuses 1901-2006



Sources ABS (2007a)

Figure 4.1 shows that whereas the China-born constituted 3.5 percent of the total population in 1901 (as a result of the gold rush), the percentage went into a steep decline after the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act, and the proportion remained under 1 percent from 1933 (during the Great depression) until the early 1980s. From then on there has been a steady increase to 5 per cent in 2006.

4.1.1 The current status of Australia's immigration regime

The current classification of immigration visas into two 'Programs': 'Migration' and 'Humanitarian', was instituted in 1993. Presently, the Migration Program consists of three streams: a 'skilled' stream for people who have particular occupation skills or business skills, or outstanding talents; a 'family' stream, for people sponsored by a relative who is an Australian citizen or permanent resident; and 'special eligibility' migrants, that is, former citizens or residents wanting to return to Australia, or certain New Zealanders. The rights of residents in Australia are dependent on their status as citizens, permanent residents,

temporary residents, or irregular immigrants. Permanent residents have similar rights to citizens, except that they cannot vote nor serve in certain sectors of the public service (Commonwealth of Australia 1999). Other than a few visa categories such as tourist, temporary residents in general have the right to remain as long as their visa specifies and have the right to work, although this right is limited under some visa categories. Most do not have rights to welfare benefits or other benefits such as Medicare, and if they wish to participate in tertiary study must enrol as international students.

The Immigration Department is currently emphasising settlement in regional areas ‘in order to address the demand for less skilled labour in regional economies and to assist humanitarian entrants to achieve early employment’ (DIMIA 2005a). State-Specific and Regional Migration (SSRM) programs provide ‘flexible policy provisions and threshold criteria’ to encourage skilled and business migrants to settle in regional Australia (DIAC 2010a, 49). The Department’s definition of ‘regional’ is complex and shifting, and areas are considered regional for one visa but not for another. In essence, all of the Australian continent is currently considered to be ‘regional’ except for the following cities and large towns: Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong in New South Wales, the greater Brisbane area and the Gold Coast in Queensland, the Melbourne metropolitan area in Victoria, and Perth and surrounding areas in Western Australia (DIAC 2010a). (Perth has since been reclassified as regional (DIAC 2011c).

These policies have had a significant impact on the numbers of new migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds in regional areas. Over the five years to 2006, in Australian regional centres the overall number of new arrivals increased by 39.1 percent

(DIAC 2007). Over the same five years, the number of people with low levels of fluency in spoken English, a significant indicator of locations of new arrivals from non-English speaking backgrounds, increased in regional centres by 24.6 per cent, while in contrast the number in major urban centres only increased by 4.9 per cent (Bureau of Rural Sciences 2008).

4.2 Refugees in Australia

The refugee regime introduced after WWII provided a means for Australia to present itself as a compassionate and non-discriminatory nation, while at the same time maintaining firm control of immigration. In the late 20th Century, the orderly migration program as well as Australia's view of itself as a country that valued human rights and British 'fair play' was challenged by the arrival of asylum seekers. This section traces that development.

Categorisation of migrants based on motivation for movement is a contemporary preoccupation, and it is therefore impossible to distinguish refugees from other migrants in early records. For instance, in the early years of the 20th Century most migrants from imperial Russia and Russian Poland were Jews fleeing pogroms, nevertheless while the statistics of arrivals compiled by the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics for 1904 to 1911 (Knibbs 1911) show 3,627 arrivals from Poland and Russia, there is no indication of religion or motivation for migration. Regardless of refugee status, they were white (Jupp, 2002 p. 6), an important factor in their acceptance. The First World War created an estimated 9.5 million refugees (Robin, Kushner & Knox 1999, 43) but Australia accepted insignificant numbers of refugees at that time.

After Australia ratified the 1951 UN Refugee Convention in 1954, refugee legislation was developed and became part of the Immigration Department portfolio. International human rights treaties are the basis of all Australian refugee policies, and the treaties of most significance are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and Protocol, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Second Optional Protocol, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children.

After World War II Australia accepted 165,000 Displaced Persons (DPs) under the Displaced Persons Scheme (York 2003). These were mainly Poles (63,394), Yugoslavs (23,543), Latvians (19,421), Ukrainians (14,464), and Hungarians (11,919). The Scheme serviced people who had been forcibly removed from their homes or had fled German occupation, and after the war were unable or unwilling to return (National Archives of Australia n.d.). The DPs benefitted from the positive economic conditions that eased competition for jobs, so facilitating acceptance of increases in immigration of all kinds (Gibney 2004, 168).

The apparent magnanimity of their acceptance by Australia hid behind-the-scenes discrimination. Not only were non-Europeans not accepted, the prejudice of Federal Government cabinet members towards Jews, white or otherwise, and a vicious racist media campaign forced Immigration Minister Calwell to put a cap on numbers against his wishes (Rutland, 2006), limiting them to 12,000 per annum (Jupp, 2001). As well, Australia admitted refugees who were fit for hard physical labour (Pittaway, 2002), but the old and infirm, as

well as non-Europeans, were screened out (Gibney 2004; Neumann 2004a). Thus began what would become the ongoing modus operandi of 'selecting the best' among refugees (Marr & Wilkinson 2003, 35).

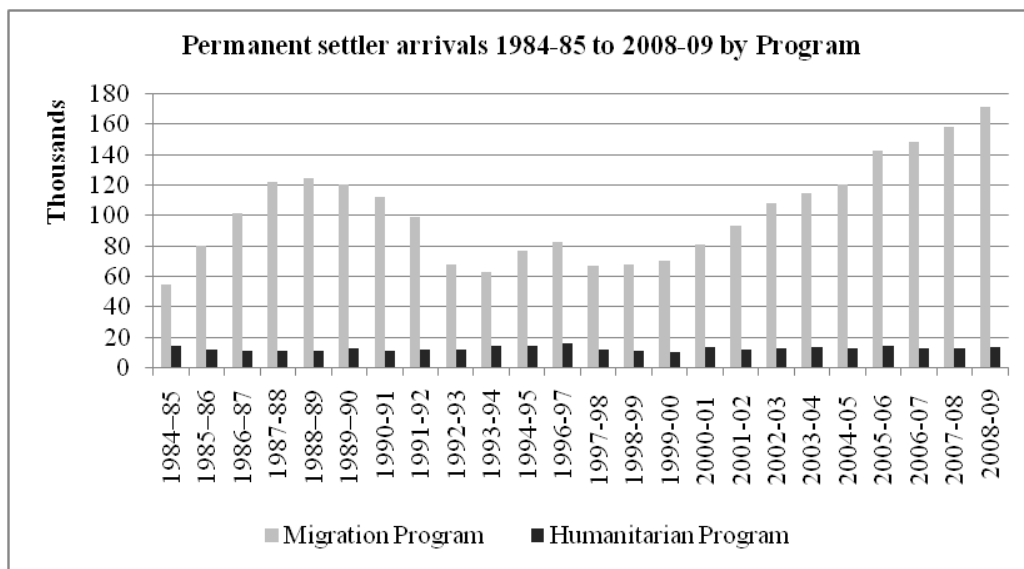
In 1956 Australia admitted nearly 10,000 Hungarians fleeing Communism, assessing the applicants' claims against the Refugees' Convention and Protocol. After the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, about 6,000 Czech and Slovak refugees were admitted and in the early 1970s thousands of refugees arrived from Chile and Cyprus. Acceptance of these refugees was in accord with their value as evidence of the superiority of Western democratic systems, in particular that of the US, over communism (see discussion of foreign policy influences on refugee policy in Section 2.2.1).

The refugee resettlement program began in the late 1970s, and from then on the composition of Australia's intake of refugees reflected the worldwide fluctuations in refugees as represented in Figure 1.1. From 1981 onwards, European refugees fleeing Soviet persecution arrived, but during the 1980s the major source was Asia, particularly Vietnam and Cambodia. Numbers of European refugees increased once more after 1989 because of ethnic conflicts that arose after the collapse of the soviet regime. In 1985 Australia accepted the first African refugees, a small number from Ethiopia. Between 1992 and 2002, 45 per cent of Australia's refugee intake was from Europe, mostly from the former Yugoslavia, and 25 per cent from the Middle East and North Africa. Vietnamese constituted nearly 13 per cent of the total. Six percent were from southwest Asia, principally from Afghanistan (York 2003). By 2009-10, 38.6 per cent of the intake was from Asia, refugees from the Middle East and South-West Asia constituted 31.8 per cent, and refugees from Africa 29.2 per cent

(RCoA 2011). In sum, over this period the geographic area of origin of refugees progressively widened, skin tones of those accepted darkened, but economic and political advantage strongly influenced their acceptance by Australia.

Australia was one of the original countries to provide resettlement through the UNHCR sponsored program (Newland 2002). The proportion of immigration places allocated to humanitarian entrants has barely increased over the 30 years that the program has been in place. Figure 4.2 (below) provides a graphic comparison of the numbers of humanitarian entrants compared with the overall increase in general migration over the last quarter century.

Figure 4.2 Permanent settler arrivals 1984-85 to 2008-09 by Program



Source: Phillips, Klapdor, & Simon-Davies 2010

Figure 4.2 illustrates that numbers of humanitarian visas granted have remained static and small since 1984-85. In contrast, numbers in other visa categories have increased, with the exception of the years 1988 to 2002, a result of collapse in domestic demand and high unemployment (Garnaut, Ganguly & Kang 2003, 8). The comparison illustrated in Figure 4.2

reflects the stated purpose of Australia's immigration program which is to source people who can provide an economic benefit to the nation (DIAC 2009b).

Government funded assistance for settlement of humanitarian entrants has increased over time. Before 1979, settlement assistance was limited to the provision of migrant hostels and some language tuition. The so-called 'integration' policy of the Immigration Department of the time was actually part of an assimilationist discourse (Foster & Stockley, 1984, 47), and based on the expectation that new arrivals would become indistinguishable from the Australian-born population as quickly as possible (Castles, 1993). In 1979 the Community Refugee Settlement Scheme (CRSS) was established, and funding grants to ethnic communities and to community agencies providing settlement assistance approximately doubled in size (Millbank, Phillips & Bohm 2006), a reflection of the new emphasis on multiculturalism. During the 1980s and early 1990s the Labor governments continued these policies, and they have not changed substantially since.

Currently, support of settlement for offshore humanitarian visa holders begins before embarkation, with delivery of the AUSCO (Australian Cultural Orientation) Program of five-day courses in orientation to Australia, including children's and preliterate classes. After arrival, humanitarian entrants receive intensive support for the first few months through the Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (HSS), which funds service providers to deliver an intensive program of on-arrival reception, counselling, and accommodation services, which lasts between the first six and 12 months, depending on the needs of the client. Once the first phase of settlement is completed, humanitarian entrants are entitled to support and education services from providers funded by the Settlement Grants Program until five years after their

arrival (Millbank, Phillips & Bohm 2006), as well as being entitled to the same services as any other newly arrived migrant. These provisions contrast with the lack of services for refugees who settled after seeking asylum in Australia between 1999 and 2008.

The Australian immigration regime has achieved its goals through careful control of numbers and types of migrants, constituting an ‘orderly migration program’ (DIMA 2000; DIAC 2008a). The resettlement system, while predicated on humanitarian ideals, is conducted pragmatically and entrants are chosen on assessments of ‘best fit’ to the general Australian population. These refugees come to Australia in an ‘orderly’ process of selection and arrival, and fit the ‘convenient images’ (Wood 1985, 1) of refugees in overseas camps. Gibney (2004, 192) sees the resettlement system operated by Australia as an attempt to compensate for other areas, and indeed governments have pointed to the system when facing criticism. Nevertheless, from the 1980s onward increasing numbers of asylum seekers made it clear that the orderly system could not continue.

4.2.1 Australian governments respond to asylum seekers 1976 to 1996

In 1976, the first real test of the ‘orderly’ immigration regime occurred when, because of East Timor’s proximity to Darwin (Mares 2002, 126), refugees from East Timor began to arrive by unauthorised boats to claim asylum in Australia (Jupp 2001, 75), and the term ‘boat people’ entered the Australian vernacular. At the same time as the East Timorese arrivals, Australia was also confronting the displacement of people from Vietnam after the defeat of the US-backed regime in South Vietnam. Although Australia initially accepted limited numbers of Vietnamese refugees for resettlement, the acceptance was grudging because the Whitlam Labor Government of the time supported a united socialist Vietnam (Cameron 1980,

230). After the transfer of government in late 1975, Malcolm Fraser's Liberal-Country Party Coalition government started admitting Vietnamese as well as Laotians and Cambodians on the sole basis of legitimate claims to refuge, ending the long-standing ban on non-European entrants.

The distinction between those arriving through the 'front door' (Indo-Chinese from refugee camps) and the boat people arriving by the 'backdoor', soon labelled 'queue jumpers' (Smit 2010), was established. Nevertheless, the mostly pro-refugee stance of the Fraser government continued and in 1978 Immigration Minister Michael Mackellar announced that it was not illegal to be a refugee, and that the 'boat people' were not 'illegal immigrants' nor 'queue jumpers' (ARA n.d.). As for the Whitlam government before it, a major driver of Vietnamese refugee policy for the Fraser government was its international alliances, and its actions served the anti-communist stance of Australia's major ally, the United States. Accepting the Vietnamese also strengthened alliances with the ASEAN nations that were feeling the pressure of the influx of refugees (Le 2001).

On the other hand, the government's actions were not in accord with public sentiment. In 1979 a Morgan Poll found 47 per cent of Australians believed that the Government should not accept the refugees arriving in Australia by boat from Indochina (Moran 2005, 192). The boats were arriving from Australia's Asian neighbours to the north, and old concerns about Australia's vulnerability to 'invasion from the north' contributed to ill feeling towards their passengers (Viviani 1985, 235; Jupp 2002, 187). Confidential Cabinet records show that the Government was well aware of the potential ramifications, noting that the situation had 'all the ingredients for one of the most controversial and divisive issues in Australia's history'.

Cabinet also accurately predicted that it ‘could well become the dominant political issue ...during the remainder of the century’ (National Archives of Australia 1979). Consequently, the government decided that it needed to be ‘seen to maintain control over entry of people’ (National Archives of Australia 1979). This resulted in the first of many attempts to restore Australia’s control of its refugee program.

The new policy delimited Australia's capacity to accept refugees and strengthened the Immigration Department’s Refugee Unit. It also provided refugee determination procedures for refugees nominated for resettlement under the UNHCR program, echoing the selection of the fittest refugees from the Displaced Persons at the end of World War II. Its key principles recognised Australia’s ‘humanitarian commitment’ but also affirmed that ‘the decision to accept refugees must always remain with the Government of Australia’ and that it ‘may not be in the interest of some refugees to settle in Australia’. Since then these principles have been the formal foundation for all refugee policy (York 2003, part 1) and, through their enunciation of the government’s right to decide and the principle that some refugees might be better suited to resettlement elsewhere than Australia, opened the way for the division of refugees into two ‘grades’ that was to come into force under the Howard government.

By 1989 Australia, among other countries, was increasingly reluctant to maintain resettlement opportunities for the continuing arrival of Indochinese boat people. As a consequence UNHCR, in partnership with 70 countries, developed the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA), ‘the first attempt to implicate all concerned parties – countries of asylum, of origin, and of resettlement – as well as the donor community’ to share responsibility (Feller 2001, 133). The Orderly Departure Plan instituted penalties for people assisting transport of

boat people, mandated the provision of aid to the South East Asian countries of first asylum to screen applicants and provide temporary refuge, provided for return to country of origin that all those determined not to be bone fide refugees, and the resettlement of bone fide refugees in third countries (Gibney and Hansen 2005, 114-115). As a partner to the Plan of Action, Australia settled around 130,000 of the total of approximately one million Vietnamese asylum seekers. The Plan was successful in stopping arrivals of asylum seekers by boat, served to strengthen international alliances, and met the Australian government's political objective of calming a public alarmed by boat arrivals. In comparison with boatpeople who were to arrive later in the century, it was an 'orderly' process, determined and controlled by the government, and although the numbers were large, they had a foreseeable limit.

The prospect of temporary humanitarian protection first arose when, because of the 1989 massacre in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, there was a sudden increase in onshore asylum applications from Chinese holding student visas (York, 2003). The Labor government under Bob Hawke responded by allowing Chinese temporarily resident in Australia to remain beyond the limit of their visas. Temporary extensions of stay were also granted in following years to other nationals who were temporarily prevented from returning because of conditions in their home countries. These temporary residence permit holders could access Family Allowance, Family Allowance Supplement, Medicare, labour market programs, English language training and education, and a welfare 'safety net', and were able to leave the country and return without affecting their visa rights. These rights were much more generous than those accorded holders of Temporary Protection Visas a decade later.

In 1989, Australian authorities detected the first unauthorised boat arrivals since 1981, and over the next nine years boats carrying asylum seekers from Cambodia, Vietnam, and southern China were to deliver about 300 people per annum. As a result, criteria to tighten control were added to the Migration Act 'to curb abuse of the immigration program by people seeking to come to Australia illegally' (Minister for Immigration, Robert Ray, quoted in York 2003). One decade later, the Howard government's rhetoric repeated this sentiment.

In June 1990, the Hawke government severed the obligation to offer protection from the practice of granting automatic permanent entry to those deemed to be refugees under the Act. This enabled the issuance of temporary protection entry permits within the refugee and humanitarian categories. In 1992, under the Keating Labor government, Australia legislated mandatory detention for all unauthorised arrivals, in order to 'facilitate the processing of refugee claims, prevent de facto migration, and save the cost of locating people in the community' (Millbank & Phillips 2005). In addition the Act denied courts the right to release detainees and considerably limited rights of appeal (Viviani 1996, 22-3) and Individual Refugee Status Determination replaced group assessments based on conditions in the country of origin. Whereas in comparison to the rest of the world Australia's irregular arrival 'problem' is minor, Australia remains the only country to make detention mandatory for all irregular arrivals.

In 1993, a two-stage administrative determination procedure was instituted, and most of the protocol developed is still current. Firstly, the asylum seeker must 'invoke protection'; in other words asylum seekers must convince immigration officers that they are making an application that would qualify them to 'invoke Australia's protection obligations' and that

they have a genuine fear of persecution if they are returned to their home country. If they do not clearly indicate their fear of persecution or mention the words 'refugee' or 'asylum', they may be returned to their country of origin without ever going through the formal application process (Amnesty International 2009). Applicants are not asked if they are applying for refugee status and are not made aware of their right to legal representation. If they pass this screening, applicants may lodge an application for a protection visa. A delegate of the Minister for Immigration reviews their case, usually through interview.

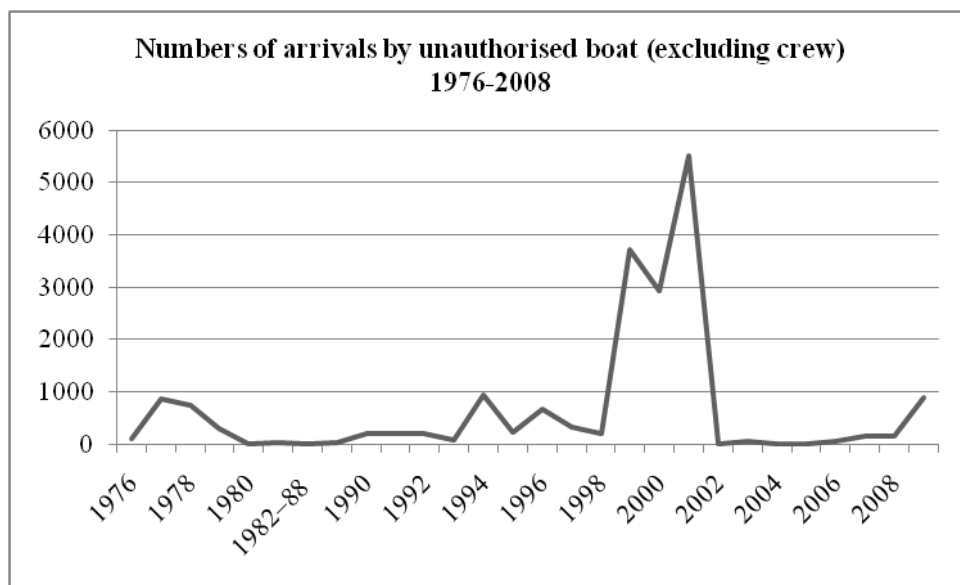
Asylum seekers may not understand the strict technical requirements of the Convention definition and not be aware of their right to asylum. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (1998) asserted that, of those who arrived by boat towards the end of the 20th century in Australia, many were ignorant of their rights, confused, and suspicious, and were often reluctant to reveal their full stories because of their experiences of authority in their home countries (HREOC 1998, 24-25). HREOC and Amnesty International also claimed that interviews were not always conducted fairly, asylum seekers who spoke little or no English were disadvantaged, and no legal or other assistance is provided at this stage (HREOC 1998; Amnesty International 2009). It is unclear whether this still applies to the asylum seekers currently arriving.

4.3 Australia's response to asylum seekers under the Howard government

The most far-reaching changes to the refugee program as it applies to asylum seekers occurred under the Howard government, and the following section will detail those changes in the context of national and international events, the political realities facing the government, and the public discourse.

The number of irregular arrivals by boat was minimal during the Howard government's first term. Between 1995 and 1998, a total of 1,434 people arrived by boat (Manne 2004: 5). Nonetheless, in 1997, the Minister for Immigration, Phillip Ruddock, began a reform of the asylum system to tighten legislation and the government relinquished the management of detention facilities to a private correctional facility company. In contrast to the low numbers arriving earlier in the decade, from 1999 to mid 2001 approximately 8,000 asylum seekers arrived in the country by boat. Figure 4.3 below illustrates the sudden and large increase in numbers of arrivals.

Figure 4.3 Unauthorised arrivals by boat 1976 to 2010



Source: Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA) 2011, 153

As shown in Figure 4.3, between 1976 and 1997 there had been small spikes, but in general arrivals were almost non-existent. In 1998-1999 there were 42 unauthorised boat arrivals carrying 921 people, and the total number of 'unauthorised arrivals' rose suddenly to a high of 4,175 in 1999-2000. In that year there were 75 unauthorised boat arrivals carrying

4,175 people, with about the same numbers arriving in the following year. In 2001-02, 3,047 asylum seekers arrived by boat and 600 others were intercepted at sea and returned to Indonesia. As well, for the first time ‘people smugglers’ assisted the passage of asylum seekers transiting through Indonesia (Phillips & Spinks 2011). Moreover, the origins of boat arrivals differed significantly from previous arrivals. Most passengers were from Iraq and Afghanistan (DIMIA 2005c). Those fleeing from Iraq were primarily Shi’a Muslim Kurds, and those from Afghanistan mostly Hazara Shi’as, fleeing the Taliban. The sudden increase in arrivals combined with the involvement of people smugglers and the arrivals’ Muslim religion fuelled a ‘moral panic’ (Mares 2002, 217). Unauthorised arrivals by sea virtually ceased in early 2002 (DIMIA 2002a).

The numbers of asylum seeker arrivals exceeded the capacity of the existing Port Hedland and Curtin Immigration Reception and Processing Centres. Table 4.2 (below) provides a comparison of numbers of detainees by years from 1998 to 2010.

Table 4.2 Numbers of persons admitted to Australian immigration detention 1998-2011

Year	Admitted to detention
1998-99	3574
1999-00	8205
2000-01	7881
2001-02	7808
2002-03	6602
2003-04	6196
2004-05	7 410
2005-06	6510
2006-07	4718
2007-08	4514
2008-09	3977
2009-10	8749
4.2.11	6659

Sources: DIMIA 2005b; DIAC 2011b.

Note: Figures include unauthorised air arrivals, irregular maritime arrivals, overstay, or breach visa, foreign fishers, and ‘other’.

Table 4.2 shows that, from 3574 detainees in 1998-99, one year later the number more than doubled to 8205 and remained high for the next three years. The figures also surged in 2009-10, with numbers for that year higher than those recorded for 1999-00, the previous highest year. In response to the surge in boat arrivals, new facilities were opened in remote areas of Australia, on Christmas Island (which was to be excised from Australia’s Migration Zone) and overseas in Manus Island, Nauru and the Cocos Islands.

Table 4.3 List of detention facilities known to have housed unauthorised boat arrivals 2001-2003 with locations

Facility	Location
Phosphate Hill Immigration Reception and Processing Centre	Christmas Island
Cocos Island Contingency Reception Centre	West Island, Cocos (Keeling) Islands
Curtin Detention Centre	RAAF Base Curtin, Derby, Western Australia
Northern Immigration Detention Centre at Darwin	Darwin, Northern Territory
Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre	Maidstone, Melbourne, Victoria
Manus Island Offshore Processing Facility	Manus Island Offshore Processing Facility
Nauru Detention Centre	Nauru
Perth Immigration Detention Centre	Redcliffe, Western Australia
Port Hedland Immigration Reception and Processing Centre	Port Hedland, Western Australia
Villawood Immigration Detention Centre	Villawood
Woomera Detention Centre	Woomera

Sources: HREOC 2004; DIAC 2008b; Global Detention Project 2011

Table 4.3 lists the centres that housed most asylum seekers who arrived by boat. Despite facilities located in or near metropolitan centres, facilities in Australia which housed them were far from centres of population: for example, Curtin Detention Centre is 28 hours by road from Perth and six hours from Port Hedland (HREOC 2004b; DIAC 2008b; Global Detention Project 2011). Other facilities such as those in Darwin, Melbourne, and Sydney

rarely housed asylum seekers other than those who had arrived by air, reflecting the unspoken policy of keeping boat people as far away from centres of population as possible.

While statistics of length of detention by ethnicity are not available, in 2001-2002 the average length of time spent in detention by people who arrived by boat was 155 days (HREOC 2004b). Between 1999 and 2003, 2184 children were in immigration detention, approximately 14 per cent of whom were unaccompanied minors (HREOC 2004b). Organisations such as UNHCR, HREOC, and Amnesty International pressured the government to get children out of detention and as a result numbers of children in immigration detention had reduced by 80 per cent at the end of 2002 (HREOC 2004b). They were placed in 'alternative detention', which included Residential Housing Projects (RHPs) in Port Augusta, Port Hedland, and Woomera.

From mid 2002 arrivals of asylum seekers by boat dropped significantly (see Figure 4.3), and several immigration detention centres closed, including Woomera in 2003, Pt Hedland in 2004, and Baxter in 2007. As at 4 February 2011, Maribyrnong, Curtin, Villawood, Northern IDC (Darwin), Scherger (far north Queensland), Perth and Christmas Island Immigration Detention Centres (IDC) are in operation, Immigration Residential Housing centres are in Sydney, Brisbane, Perth, Melbourne, and Pt Augusta (near the former Baxter IDC in South Australia) (DIAC 2011b).

4.3.1 The Howard government and temporary protection

The fieldwork for this study focuses on holders of the Temporary Protection Visa (TPV), and thus this section presents an in-depth discussion of the visa sub class.

‘Safe Haven’ visas for Kosovo refugees were the first provision by the Howard Government of visas, rather than permits, according temporary refuge. The Safe Haven visas resulted from a request from UNHCR, and Australia acted in concert with other developed countries to provide for persons affected by the Kosovo crisis. As in the case of the CPA, the numbers of prospective visa holders had an innate limit. The first visa providing temporary protection to persons recognised as refugees through the Australian determination system was introduced in October 1999, when the government introduced the subclass 785 Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) for undocumented arrivals who claimed asylum: in effect, for all claimants who arrived by unauthorised boat. The government intended the TPV as a deterrent to asylum seeking (Ruddock 1999).

The conditions of the TPV denied access to services enjoyed by permanent Australian residents, including government-funded job seeker support, and gave only restricted access to welfare services provided by the government. They could not access the Australian Migrant English Program (AMEP) or other settlement services. They had no rights to bring their families into Australia or to return if they left Australia (Phillips 2004). Holders were obliged, after 30 months, to reprove their refugee status at a new assessment interview, and if they were successful they could then be awarded a Permanent Protection Visa (PPV). The 30 months was a minimum, however, and many waited much longer for interview. By September 2004, for example, only one-third of TPV applicants who were seeking permanent protection had been processed (Colman 2004). (Appendix 5 provides a tabulated comparison of benefits for Permanent Protection Visa holders with those for the Temporary Protection Visa.)

If they were refused on the '30 month' interview, the TPV holders had recourse to the Refugee Review Tribunal and the courts. The Refugee Review Tribunal (the RRT) provides an independent and final merits review of decisions made in respect of protection (refugee) visas (Courts & Tribunals 2009). RRT Members are, however, not necessarily experts in international refugee law and international human rights law. TPV holders also had recourse to the Federal Court and the High Court, but the grounds of appeal were restricted to challenging an error of law the RRT might have made, and not matters relating to the actual claims or on issues of denial of natural justice. As a final recourse they could apply directly to the Minister for Immigration. As was noted in Section 2.3, Ministerial Discretion, a non-reviewable and non-compellable power of the Minister for Immigration, is the only means to prevent refoulement of persons not recognised as Convention refugees in Australia. The Minister does not have to examine all cases, nor substantiate refusals.

The requirement to reprove refugee status resulted in many costly RRT cases, most of which overturned the decisions of Immigration Department officials. In 2003- 2004, the RRT set aside the Department's decision in more than 90 per cent of cases (Migration Review Tribunal 2004; Project Safecom 2005), concluding that the major source countries, Afghanistan and Iraq, had not changed in a fundamental, durable, or substantial manner. Once their permanent visa was recommended, the applicants had to undergo a security check by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) and, these processes, along with appeals, meant that TPV holders were separated from their families for three, four, five, or even six years. By the end of the regime in 2008, of the 11,000 plus TPVs granted, 9,800 had progressed to permanent visas (Topsfield 2008).

There had been a few harbingers of the TPV in Australia, in the form of the ‘Kosovo’ and the ‘Chinese’ temporary permits, but never before had temporary protection been used except to address a specific and temporary situation, and never before had the visa conditions been so egregious. The Australian Human Rights Commission (2008) asserted that it had created ‘an unjust two-tiered system’ and ‘caused undue suffering and distress for many people trying to escape persecution’. Moreover, the TPV cost the government a great deal of money and achieved very little.

Table 4.4 provides a timeline of the changes to the temporary protection legislation from 1999 when it was first instituted under the Howard government to May 2008 when it was abolished by the Rudd Labor government.

Table 4.4 Timeline of TPV legislation 1999-2008

Date of changes	Policy changes
October 1999	Temporary Protection Visas (TPVs) for all undocumented arrivals claiming asylum
September 2001	Two classes of TPVs: Subclass 447 (TPV) for onshore asylum claimants Subclass 451 (THV) for asylum seekers apprehended in transit "7-day Rule" to exclude access to permanency for asylum seekers who spent seven days or more in a 'safe' third country
July 2004	Eligibility for TPV holders to apply for migrant visas under the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme with concessions for older applicants and those with limited English
August 2004	Return Pending Visa Rejected asylum applicants enabled to remain for a further 18 months
June 2005	Commitment to process all remaining applications that had reached 30-month mark by October 2005 Decisions to be made 'on the papers' Speedier resolution of post-approval security checks 90 day time limit for processing applications
May 2008	Abolition of TPVs & THVs

Sources: Phillips 2004; Phillips & Koleth 2011

Table 4.4 shows that in the first two years of its operation, the TPV did not change, but in September 2001 the '7 Day Rule' increased the severity of its conditions by preventing access to permanency for asylum seekers who had spent seven days or more in a 'safe' third country while in transit. Later in 2001, the government further tightened TPV legislation, including the creation of visa subclasses 449 and 451 to prevent people who had moved from a country of first asylum from ever gaining permanent visas (McMillan, 2002). From then on such people were only to be eligible for the Secondary Movement Offshore Entry (Temporary) visa. Holders of this visa were 'eligible for successive temporary protection visas' (DIMIA 2002b) but were excluded from ever being granted permanent protection in Australia. The Immigration Department did not enforce this rule and granted permanent visas in all but a handful of cases (Mansouri & Leach 2008). Nevertheless, the rule did cause added stress for the already anxious TPV holders. In July 2004 the Howard government offered TPV holders eligibility to apply for migrant visas under the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme without having to first leave the country (and thereby void their Temporary Protection Visas), and in August the Return Pending Visa enabled failed asylum applicants to stay for up to a further 18 months. Voluntary repatriation packages of \$2,000 per person, or up to \$10,000 per family were also offered.

Commentators believed that these changes were intended to quieten the protests that had been occurring in regional seats against the possible loss of TPV employees (Mansouri and Leach 2008, 116), whereas the official statement claimed that it was to acknowledge 'that some temporary visa holders have made strong contributions to regional Australia or have established strong links with Australians' (DIMIA 2004). In June 2005, following a minor revolt by backbenchers, the government made a commitment to speedier security clearances,

instituted a 90 day time limit for processing applications, and promised to process all remaining applications that had reached the requisite 30 month mark by October 2005 (Mansouri & Leach 2008). In 2008 the new Labor government abolished the visa subclasses.

4.3.2 The *Tampa*, 9/11, 'Children overboard' and the 2001 election

In August 2001, a freighter, the *MV Tampa*, rescued a boatload of asylum seekers in distress in international waters and attempted to dock at the nearest port which happened to be on Christmas Island, then in Australian migration territory. The Howard government refused permission for the *Tampa* to dock, ordered Special Forces to board the ship, and vowed that the asylum seekers would not reach Australia. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer, argued that Australia had no obligation under international maritime law to allow the rescued persons on to Australian territory (Marr & Wilkinson 2003, 84-85), although as putative refugees they could not be refouled (Newland 2003). New legislation was enacted as quickly as possible after the *Tampa* incident to ensure that actions taken were within the law. The Act overrode previous laws and treaties, such as the Refugee Convention, and meant that in circumstances such as occurred with the *Tampa* the legal system would be bypassed and military and government officials would make all decisions (Parliament of Australia 2001).

After a standoff between the Australian government and the master of the *Tampa*, the government brokered a deal with the government of Nauru whereby the asylum seekers would be taken there to have their refugee status considered, rather than Australia. This was the beginning of the 'Pacific Solution' of detention camps on small island nations in the Pacific. In order to avoid processing asylum claims on Australian territory, immigration

detention camps were set up on the Pacific Solution countries of Nauru and Manus Island in Papua New Guinea, because asylum claims assessed on other territories enabled technical avoidance of Australia's obligations under the refugee Convention. In addition, new legislation excised Christmas Island and thousands of other Australian islands from Australia's 'migration zone'.

The main planks of the new regime were prevention of departure from transit countries, interdiction of people smuggling boats, continuation of mandatory detention for all unauthorised arrivals, and TPVs. 'Operation Relex', an Australian Navy action to interdict boats carrying asylum seekers and turn them back, began on 3 September 2001. The Howard government's policies emphasised preventing asylum seekers from arriving on Australian territory. Australia, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), and Indonesia entered into an 'unwritten', 'semiformal' regional cooperation arrangement for the 'interception and care' of irregular migrants in 2000 (Kneebone 2010, 355), with the result that Indonesia became the region's largest single country of de facto resettlement. In 2002, the countries of the Pacific Island Forum agreed on strategies to combat people smuggling and trafficking, among other crimes (Thirty-third Pacific Islands Forum 2002). Also in 2002, Australia and Indonesia instigated the Bali Process, an alliance based on action to control the commonly-perceived external threat of people smuggling and irregular migration, with its Asia Pacific neighbours, a conservative 'alliance-containment approach' (Acharya & Dewitt 1997). Whereas asylum seekers constitute the great majority of people smuggled to Australia (Keelty 2000, 78, 83), the Bali process documents nowhere mentioned refugees or asylum seekers. Unlike the Comprehensive Plan of Action, the outcomes for asylum seekers and

refugees from these undertakings have been abysmal, with most held in overcrowded and very poorly provisioned detention facilities (Black 2010).

The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on September 11 2001 occurred one month after the *Tampa* affair. Most of the people arriving by boat in Australia were from Iraq and Afghanistan, countries suspected of involvement in the attacks, and terrorism became conflated in the public mind with the asylum seekers. The attacks increased feelings of insecurity among the electorate, and Howard's hard-line on border security became increasingly attractive (Hugo 2002). Prime Minister Howard's 2001 campaign declaration that 'We will determine who comes to Australia and the circumstances in which they arrive' (Howard 2001b) resonated with a public longing for security and safety (McAllister 2001).

One month later, on 7 October 2001, an Australian warship intercepted a Suspected Illegal Entry Vessel (SIEV), containing 223 refugees. The government claimed that the Department of Defence informed them that parents threw their children overboard, presumably as an attempt to blackmail the government into giving them asylum (Scraton 2002, 140). Later evidence strongly suggested that the government had fabricated or at the very least exaggerated these claims (Parliament of Australia Senate 2008), but not before the ensuing rhetoric had reinforced the public's perception of the Howard government fighting a 'pipeline for terrorists' (Mares 2002, 134).

Howard's rhetoric and policy proved to be vote winners. John Howard's government won the election of November 2001 decisively in the face of predictions early in 2001 that it would lose. Polls indicated that the severe asylum seeker policies had been a major factor in the voter turnaround (Roy Morgan Research 2007). Indeed, as late as 2008, an online poll

recorded that 62 per cent of respondents thought that Australia's policy towards asylum seekers under the Howard government had been about right, or not tough enough (Essential Research 2008, 4).

4.4 Australia's treatment of asylum seekers: The Howard government's rationale

The Howard government's rationale for its approach to asylum seekers rested on four main foundations: the sovereign right of the state to control immigration (DIMIA 2005a, Para 1), deterrence of people-smuggling (DIMA 2003a), ensuring public security (Martin 2001), and the proposition that on-shore applicants take places away from off-shore applicants who are more deserving (Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001). The anti asylum seeker legislation was intended to stop arrivals of people who had been 'out of their home countries for decades' and were 'wealthy enough to pay people smugglers for a new life in Australia', and to put an end to 'forum shopping' (Ruddock 1999). These claims and the rationale are evaluated in the following section, with particular reference to the Afghan arrivals.

The Howard government argued that on-shore asylum seekers are 'queue jumpers' who take places from refugees who often wait for decades in refugee camps for a determination of their status by the UNHCR. In rebuttal, Michael Gabaudan, at the time the UNHCR representative in Australia, said that the assumption that there are queues of people around the world awaiting their 'turn' is a myth, because the fact that the UNHCR could only resettle 70,000 of the (then) 16 million people identified as refugees made the process 'more of a lottery than a queue' (quoted in Stephen 2005, 21). As well, in Iraq and Afghanistan

there were neither UNHCR offices nor embassies where the ‘queues’ could form. Indeed, if there were a queue, and all of the refugees worldwide joined it, the wait would be 135 years (RCoA 2010).

The government claimed asylum seekers could ‘jump the queue’ only because they were wealthy enough to pay people smugglers and so were not worthy of the few Australian places. Although they were not the poorest of the poor, the great majority of the people who raised the people smugglers’ fees were not ‘wealthy’ (Koser 2001). In the case of many Afghan asylum seekers, the smugglers’ fees typically represented the life savings of a pool of elders within a lineage, seeking to preserve their heritage (Maley 2001). Nevertheless, whatever their financial status, fiscal factors have never been part of the assessment of refugee status ((ERCJCE 2002; Refugee Council of Australia 2003a), and the overwhelming majority of the boat arrivals were eventually determined to have genuine claims to refuge (Mares 2002; ERCJCE 2002; Brennan 2003). The federal government’s offer in 2002 substantial amounts of money for those who agreed to return through the Reintegration Package for Afghans would have been very attractive if the Afghans had been driven by financial gain, not by fear for their lives. Only 34 of the more than 4,000 Afghan asylum seekers in Australia had accepted the package six months after it was offered (DIMIA 2003b).

The trope of the ‘fiscal freedom’ of the asylum seekers was reinforced by the use of the term ‘asylum shopping’ – the notion that they were paying to get to the country of their choice rather than escaping persecution. Living conditions in countries of first asylum are often extremely difficult, and Pakistan, Indonesia, and Malaysia, the countries most Afghans

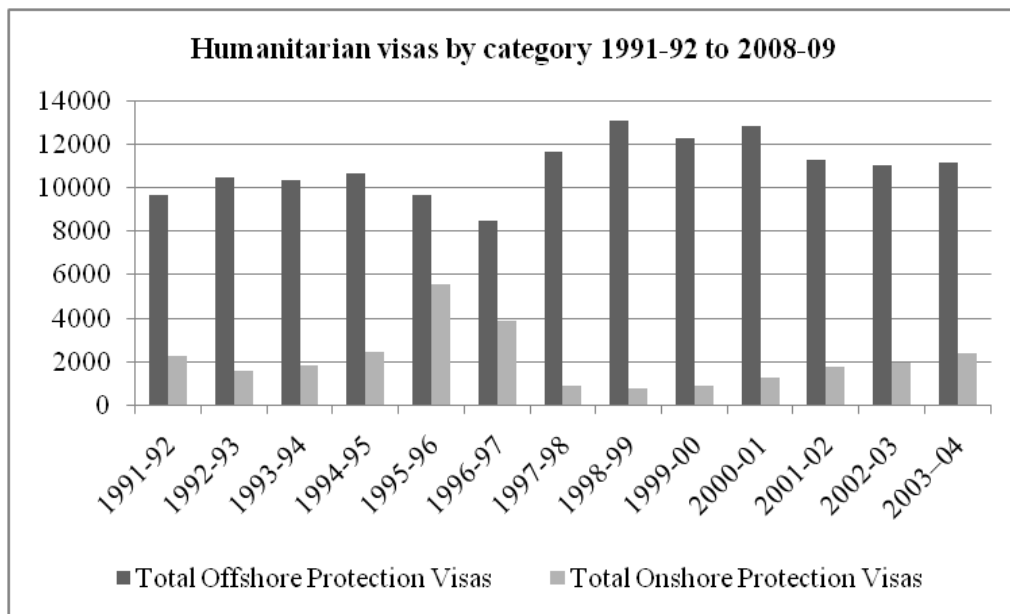
moved through, are not signatories to the Refugee Convention. The standard of protection available to asylum seekers and refugees in most parts of the Asia Pacific is well below international benchmarks, and in some countries even UNHCR-recognised refugees are detained and mistreated. The Refugee Council of Australia found that refugees and asylum seekers sometimes engage in secondary movement because of the swingeing conditions in those countries (RCoA 2010).

It is true, however, that the Convention-based system, as it currently operates, does favour those who claim protection on-shore. For example, women and children constitute the great majority of the population of refugee camps, but are rarely among onshore claimants (Millbank 2000). Less than 30 per cent of people in refugee camps neighbouring Afghanistan are assessed as requiring resettlement in a third country, while the acceptance rate for onshore Afghan applicants in Australia has been over 90 per cent (ibid 2000). While on-shore applicants thus have an advantage over those pursuing off-shore claims, it is debatable whether the advantage is 'unfair'. The capping of humanitarian entrants at 13,000 is a figure decided by the Australian government, and the number of places has remained substantially the same for more than 30 years. Australia could accept many more refugees and still not equal the contribution of other countries. Section 1.2 'Destinations' compared host country capacity and contributions and found that Australia contributes much less than many developing countries.

Howard government rhetoric incorporated misleading information. One effect of this was to turn members of the asylum seekers' communities resident in Australia against their compatriots. (Section 5.3.3 explores this issue in more detail). Minister Ruddock announced

government intentions to freeze visa allocation at overseas immigration posts in February 2000, claiming it was necessary because the ‘most vulnerable’ people in refugee camps outside Australia had had ‘their places taken’ by onshore asylum seekers, and describing it as ‘unfair’ and the decision ‘regrettable’ (Ruddock, quoted in United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) 2001). The Refugee Council of Australia (RCoA) challenged that decision, providing figures from government records to show that even in the worst case there should have been over 4,500 visas available for allocation offshore for the last 5 months of 1999-2000, and indeed off-shore visa allocation would have had to increase in order to ensure that the program quota was filled (RCoA 2000). Figure 4.4 shows the comparison.

Figure 4.4 Humanitarian visa outcomes, 1996- 2004



Source: DIAC (2008)

Note: no arrivals of Afghans in 1996, 1995, 1994

As shown in Figure 4.4, the total number of visas allocated in 1999-2000 was 9,960, well below the total set for humanitarian program of 12,000 places. Many of the 1998-99 places were unallocated. With the addition of the 1998-1999 places carried over, 12,841 places were actually available in 1999-2000. In fact, from 1997-98 to 2000-01 numbers of onshore humanitarian visa grants did increase from around 1,500 to approximately 5,500, but offshore refugee and special humanitarian visa grants only dropped by 1,500, from 8,500 to 7,000. Nevertheless, the proportion of onshore visas to other categories of humanitarian visa did rise substantially between 1997 and 2002, and in the peak year for arrivals, 2000-01, constituted 41 per cent of the total humanitarian category visas awarded. Thus, the number of onshore humanitarian visas granted in 2000-2001 was 6,320, leaving approximately 8,360 for offshore visas, compared with the previous peak of around 24 per cent in 1991-1992. The percentage began dropping from 2001-2002, with approximately 30 per cent of the allocation going to onshore applicants in 2001-2002, dropping further by 2002-2003.

Overall, the thousands of asylum seekers who arrived by sea in 1999-2002 and were granted humanitarian visas did indeed reduce the numbers allocated to offshore applicants, but the Howard government manipulated the numbers for rhetorical effect. Moreover, the onshore visas were for people who were assessed as refugees in need of protection, just as for offshore applicants, and the Australian government continued an arbitrarily imposed cap on humanitarian visas whereas they were able to increase the total at will. The argument over which are more 'worthy' of resettlement, those encamped or those who risk their lives to reach Australia, is essentially unanswerable.

The government considers people smuggling as a ‘major threat to all Australians’ (Australian Federal Police 2006). Boat arrivals in 1999 were the vanguard of the business of smuggling people into Australia (Millbank 1999) and people smugglers were responsible for almost all boat arrivals from then on. Phillip Ruddock promoted the Temporary Protection Visa as a solution to people smuggling, saying that it would reform Australia’s image as a ‘potential soft target’ (Ruddock 1999). Whereas the Howard government also claimed to be motivated by compassion for people who were at risk of drowning in people smuggling boats, a tragic result of the TPV’s conditions was the increase in the numbers of women and children that used the boats to try to reach their husbands and fathers (Sidoti 2002). In 2001, 353 people drowned in the tragic SIEVX disaster while travelling by boat to Australia, of which 288 were women and children, family members of TPV holders already in Australia (Stephen 2005, 8).

The Government did not conduct any investigations into the efficacy of the TPV as a means to thwart people smugglers and ‘asylum shoppers’, and, as shown in Section 1.1.1 of this thesis and by Zetter and colleagues (2003), the deterrence effect of the use of temporary protection is moot. Overall, the most telling argument against the TPV is that numbers of asylum seekers arriving by boat actually increased after its introduction (see Figure 4.3). Moreover, far from protecting the vulnerable, the TPV legislation caused families of holders to use the ‘leaky boats’ to try to join their husbands and fathers.

New measures, including covert operations involving ‘electronic intercepts, a paid network of informants and a fear campaign in fishing villages’ in Indonesia (Cameron 2004) were the policies that actually worked (Brennan 2003, 16). These led to the arrest of at least

six people-smuggler ringleaders in the years following 2001, and numbers of boat arrivals did then drop dramatically. The sinking of the SIEV X refugee boat, which some claim was in fact a police disruption or 'sting' vessel (Kevin 2002), very likely also contributed to the cessation of boats setting forth from Indonesia (Maley 2003, 194) and the excision of the most accessible parts of Australia from the so-called 'Migration Zone' finished the business off. Millbank, in a close examination of people smuggling, concluded that the rapid return of rejected asylum seekers is the most, and perhaps the only, effective counter to people smuggling (Millbank 1999). Despite the available evidence, when there was a spike in arrivals in 2008, the members of the Liberal National Party opposition attributed to the abolition of TPVs, and called for the TPV to be reinstated (Kerin 2009).

The Howard government implied that terrorists would use the asylum seeker boats to access Australia (Atkins 2001; Secombe 2001), but this claim proved to be baseless. Of more than 13,000 people who sought asylum in Australia in 2000 only 11 were rejected on 'character grounds'³ and none were found to have suspected terrorist links. Government intelligence briefings concerning the threat of terrorist attacks also never mentioned asylum seekers (ERCJCE 2002). Not only is it incorrect that terrorists arrive by leaky boats, but such assertions indicate a dangerously simplistic take on security. The Immigration Department itself acknowledged that stronger partnerships with governments in the Asia, Pacific, and Middle East regions, and international non-governmental organisations are necessary to improve regional security (DIMA 2005a, Output 1.2). Commentators have, however, noted that from 1996, when the federal MP Pauline Hanson first spoke negatively about refugees, Australia began to lose its influence amongst its Asian neighbours who were disappointed in their expectations of a repudiation of Hanson's stance by Prime Minister Howard (see, for

example, Thakur 1998; Milner 1999). In Indonesia, Howard's government was widely perceived as racist and anti-Asian, and Australia's refugee legislation was interpreted in Asia as racially biased and hostile to Islam (Lindsey 2001).

As well as human security, asylum seekers were presented as a threat to fiscal security. The government claimed that the linkage of the offshore and onshore programs under the one cap was necessary because it couldn't afford to fund more humanitarian entrants. The government based its calculations on providing the full range of services, including airfares, medicals and intensive post arrival support to visa recipients, whereas onshore visa grants do not incur travel costs and TPVs had very limited entitlements, which reduced the total costs under the cap (RCoA 2000). The attempts to exclude asylum seekers actually added to the overall fiscal burden. Immigration Department budget figures for 2001-2002 show that total settlement services, including the Australian Migrant English Program (AMEP) and Translating and Interpreting Services (TIS) cost \$40.70 million (DIMIA 2002a, 52) while on the other hand \$341.68 million was spent on litigation, detention, removals, detection onshore, preventing unlawful entry, and regulating entry and departure (ibid 43-45), and nearly \$25 million went to a review of processing and detention arrangements for 'unauthorised boat arrivals' (ibid 22).

The decision and review process were expensive. In 2003-2004 alone, 747 decisions made by DIMIA officials refusing protection to Afghan TVP holders were appealed to the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT 2004), and with Tribunal cases costed at \$3,500 each this made a total for decisions relating to Afghans alone of \$2,614,500 (Mares 2002, 28). The costs of immigration caseworkers assessing cases for the second and third time were on

additional to this. Nevertheless, claims of cost saving on 'illegal' immigrants are popular with electorates. Since Federation, the 'immigrant as job-theft' and 'welfare drain' has been a convenient scapegoat (Buchanan 2003).

The Howard government appealed to the 'national interest' to justify asylum seeker legislation, and indeed, the objective of the Australian Migration Act is 'to regulate, in the national interest, the coming into and presence in Australia of non-citizens' (Migration Act 1958: 4.1). The meaning of the term 'national interest', however, changes with the user and the circumstances in which it is used. A Just Australia (n.d.) asserts that 'national interest' includes community interests, and notes that the Howard Government did not commission any studies of the effect of the TPV on the interests of the general community, whereas studies of this type are regularly conducted about other humanitarian entrants. Moreover, Brennan (2003, 189) contests the assumption that the Federal government has the sole right to determine the 'national interest'. On the other hand, acting in strict accord with refugee covenants may offend and even alienate other nations, thereby damaging the interests of national security (Martin, 2006). At the time of the influx of Afghan and Iraqi asylum seekers, however, there were no agreements or alliances that their acceptance as refugees could damage. The changes in refugee policy were not in the interests of the nation, but in the interest of re-election (RCoA 2003b). Pickering (2000) moreover, claims that much of what the Howard government claimed to be in the 'national interest' was in fact covert racism (2000, 8).

In summary, the government's rationale was incorrect, or at best moot. That the TPV deterred arrivals and helped to eliminate people smuggling continues to be in dispute, and the

evidence of numbers of arrivals after 1999 indicates that it was incorrect. The contention that asylum seekers ‘took the places’ of other refugees was true, but only to the extent that the government maintained a cap on numbers, and by overlooking the fact that onshore refugee visas were assessed under the same criteria as offshore. The asylum seekers were not wealthy, and even if they had been this fact has no bearing on the imperative to flee persecution and claim refuge. There were no terrorists on the boats, nor were there likely to be. As High Commissioner for Refugees Ruud Lubbers (2001), in despair with the behaviour of Australia and other developed countries, said:

...statistics are frequently manipulated, facts are taken out of context, and the character of asylum seekers as a group is often distorted in order to present them as a terrible threat—a threat their detractors can then pledge to crush. Politicians taking this line used to belong to small extremist parties. But nowadays the issue is able to steer the agenda of bigger parties ... Genuine refugees should not become victims yet again. Surely, there are other ways to win elections’.

4.5 The ‘dark underbelly’, Pauline Hanson, and the Conservative asylum agenda

The following section examines the forces within the Howard government and Australian society at large that provided the ground in which anti asylum seeker rhetoric could blossom and bear electoral fruit.

Australian politicians have tried to control the ‘dark underbelly’ of Australian fears of foreigners by strictly controlling immigration (Crock 1993, 9), in order to meet immigration targets while ensuring that the public’s ‘threshold of tolerance’ (Brekke 2001, 14) is not crossed. Nevertheless, Australian governments are not entirely at the mercy of xenophobic public opinion, as witnessed by the initially unpopular policy to bring in displaced persons

post WWII, and the Fraser government's acceptance of Indochinese refugees in the face of public outrage. In both of these situations, however, there was an end in sight of the arrivals which went some way in calming public fears.

John Howard, on the other hand, had a history of wishing to restrict Asian immigration. Pauline Hanson echoed and amplified these sentiments in her maiden speech to the Australian Parliament in 1996:

I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40 per cent of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate.

(Hanson 1996)

Hanson's overtly racist and anti-refugee views initially met with resistance from both major parties. The Liberal Party endorsed Hanson as a candidate for the 1996 Federal election, but disendorsed her during the election campaign because of her statements advocating the abolition of special government assistance for Aborigines (Wear 2008, 619). In response to Hanson's maiden speech, Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock resiled from Hanson's 'send them on their way' policy, calling it 'unconscionable' (Leach and Mansouri 2004, 103).

Hanson formed the One Nation party in 1997, and promised to drastically reduce immigration and to abolish 'divisive and discriminatory policies... attached to ... multicultural affairs', which, she argued, were leading to 'the Asianisation of Australia'. The party promised to abolish the humanitarian program and replace it with a program of

‘temporary refuge of those who meet the UNHCR definition of a refugee, with repatriation when the situation resolves’ (Hanson 1998). Hanson summarised her refugee policy as ‘meet (the boats), fuel them, feed them, give medical supplies, and send them on their way’ (*Daily Telegraph* 15 February 2000, cited in Marr and Wilkinson 2003, 45). Hanson’s new party had meteoric electoral success, in 1998 receiving 8.43 percent of the House of Representatives vote and 9 percent of the Senate (Australian Electoral Commission 1998), and became the most successful party in Australian history to campaign on limiting immigration and abolishing multiculturalism. The party made significant impact on parliamentary and public discourse, and both Labor and the Coalition increased the severity of their refugee policies (Jupp 2002, 133-134). By 1999, Immigration Minister Ruddock had overseen the first phase of its asylum seeker legislation, the new Temporary Protection regime. Her policies were no longer ‘unconscionable’. Indeed, when she lost her seat Hanson complained that she had lost because the Howard Government had ‘stolen’ her policies (*Profile: Pauline Hanson*, BBC News 2004).

The advent of Pauline Hanson removed the gag of ‘political correctness’ from the Howard government team (Kingston 2009), and anti-asylum seeker rhetoric flourished among members of federal government. As well as the use of words like ‘illegals’ and ‘undeserving’ by Howard government ministers, Western Australian Liberal Federal Senator Ross Lightfoot felt able, in the new environment, to categorise unauthorised arrivals as ‘criminals’ and ‘lawbreakers’. In addition, Lightfoot argued that asylum seekers threaten democratic principles with ‘their prejudices and intolerances’ (Press release dated 10 January 2000, cited in Piper 2000, 87).

Seclusion of asylum seekers in distant immigration detention facilities, banning of all recording devices from the facilities, and denial of access to media supported the spread of vilification, because the public had no real life experience with which to contest the stereotypes. That this was a deliberate policy to dehumanise asylum seekers became clear when the Director of Defence Communication Strategy, under cross-examination in a Senate inquiry, said that members of the Defence Minister's staff had instructed Navy photographers not to take any 'personalising or humanising' photos of asylum seekers (Brian Humphreys, Defence Public Affairs, quoted in Griffiths 2002).

Rather than controlling xenophobia, the government rhetoric, the *Tampa* incident, and the subsequent 'Children Overboard' affair exposed the 'dark underbelly'. Despite its international obligations to ensure the reduction and elimination of racism (HREOC 2001, Theme 3), the Howard government exploited xenophobia (Clennell and Allard 2002). The Howard government manipulated the racism at the basis of the TPV policy to make political gain (Burke 2001; Le 2001; Human Rights Watch 2002; Clennell and Allard 2002; Marr and Wilkinson 2003; A Just Australia n.d.).

No matter the effects of the policy and rhetoric on asylum seekers themselves, the electorate welcomed the Howard line. The 2001 election results gave the Coalition a win with a five-point swing on a two-party basis. Roy Morgan Research (2001b) traces the change in public sentiment to the refugee crisis, the 'War on Terrorism', and John Howard's tough stand on asylum seekers. John Howard had a propensity towards exclusionism, and once it became clear from the electoral popularity of One Nation that a hard line on asylum seekers would win votes his government began to progressively increase the severity of legislation

and government rhetoric. This was ‘new racism’, that is, racism promoted by the state for its own ends (Caloz-Tschopp 1997, 169).

The ensuing Labor government under Kevin Rudd abolished the TPV, but both his government and the subsequent Gillard government continued all other policies, except the Pacific Solution. The Liberal-National coalition opposition has made repeated calls for reinstatement of the TPV. In order to reduce the large numbers of persons in immigration detention the Gillard government has instituted a special bridging visa to allow holders to live and work in the community while their claims are determined. While these visas provide more supports than the TPV, including access to financial assistance under the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme (ASAS) (DIAC 2012a), holders nevertheless face the egregious stresses of separation from family and uncertainty about their futures, identical to those that TPV holders faced. Despite their rhetoric, in the face of another surge in arrivals of asylum seekers the Gillard government has made attempts to re-establish off shore processing. The major difference has been that the Labor governments have not vilified the new waves of asylum seekers.

4.6 Summary

Australian Governments have used tightly controlled immigration policies to build the nation’s workforce and to respond to its international obligations to refugees while at the same time managing community xenophobia. Refugees for resettlement are chosen so that they present the least problems to the broader society, and their numbers are capped at a very small percentage of the resident population, a number which has barely increased over more than 30 years. Australia represents itself a good international citizen because of its refugee

resettlement program, but, compared to the refugee burden shouldered by other countries, the contribution is insignificant. Until the first arrival of asylum seekers by boat, Australian refugee programs exemplified the orderliness of the immigration regime.

Arrivals of asylum seekers by boat challenged the orderly system and reactivated both fears of invasion from the north and xenophobia, as had the previous arrivals from Indochina. In contrast to the response to the Indochinese asylum seekers in the 1970s and 80s, the Howard government's solution was to abide by the bare letter of the law of non-refoulement by preventing arrivals and deterring further arrivals. The Howard government prioritised its electoral aims, pandering to an Australian public that at best did not understand the need for protection of asylum seekers, and at worst was racist.

Even though the Australian public's response to the arrival of Indochinese asylum seekers had also been negative, the Howard government's actions contrast with the positive stance taken by the former Fraser government. On the other hand, notwithstanding the Howard government's manipulation of the situation to gain votes, the Indochinese situation was easier to manage. At that time, Australia was one member of a partnership delivering solutions, Fraser's response had bipartisan support, and most importantly, it was expected that once the Indochinese were accommodated the problem would be over, thus providing for an appearance of control. Since the late 1990s there has been 'no end in sight', directly challenging the semblance of immigration control.

The Howard government introduced the TPV as one of several measures designed to deter the arrival of asylum seekers. The government's justifications for the TPV were mostly without substance. The only claim which had some merit was that the asylum seekers were

‘taking the places’ of other refugees. While to designate one group of refugees as ‘deserving’ and another as ‘unworthy’ is incorrect, it is true that asylum seekers are more likely to gain resettlement in developed countries than those in refugee camps. This goes to the heart of the problem of the massive numbers of refugees currently in the world and what proportion developed countries should resettle.

Justifications aside, the harshness of the policy appealed to the electorate. Howard government rhetoric vilified asylum seekers and TPV holders, and fomented a ‘moral panic’ which the government promoted for its electoral purposes. The general public were denied access to asylum seekers and their stories, and thus had little access to information that could contest the hegemonic rhetoric.

The TPV policy changed very little over the subsequent terms of the Howard government. Regional centres, which benefitted from TPV holder-workers, pressured for their acceptance as permanent residents, but this merely resulted in minor amendments. The most recent government of Australia, while promising much has only abolished the TPV. The Liberal-National coalition, now in opposition, continues calls for its reinstatement.

The next chapter describes the settlement of Afghan TPV holders in Australia, and provides an exploration of the reactions of the media, general public, ethnic communities, and civil society organisations to them.

¹ The ‘Dictation Test’ (part of the Immigration Restriction legislation) enabled immigration officials to exclude individuals on the basis of race without explicitly saying so. The passage chosen could be very

difficult and administered in any language so that undesirable candidates were likely to fail. The test could theoretically apply to any person arriving in Australia, but in practice it was given selectively on the basis of race (York 2003).

² The author had personal experience of this when approximately 400 Chinese were sponsored by the meat processing plant in Murray Bridge, and she was subsequently employed by an NGO to provide some services for them.

³ All applicants for Australian visas are required to pass the ‘character test’

A person will fail the character test where:

they have a substantial criminal record

they have, or have had, an association with an individual, group or organisation suspected of having been, or being, involved in criminal conduct

having regard to the person's past and present criminal conduct, the person is found not to be of good character

having regard to the person's past and present general conduct, the person is found to be not of good character

there is a significant risk that the person will engage in criminal conduct in Australia, harass, molest, intimidate or stalk another person in Australia, vilify a segment of the Australian community, or incite discord in the Australian community or in a segment of that community, or represent a danger to the Australian community or a segment of that community.

(DIAC 2009c)

Chapter 5: Afghan refugees in Australia, 2001-2005: Demonization and integration

5.1 Introduction

In order to understand the settlement and integration of Afghan Hazara Temporary Protection Visa holders in the wider context, this chapter provides a description of their dispersal as refugees in the world and in Australia during the period that the Afghan Hazaras settled in Murray Bridge, 2001-2005. The chapter traces the movements of TPV holders from their flight from Afghanistan to their relocation in Australia. It traces the movements of the Afghan Hazara TPV holders within Australia, and considers various data sources with a view to ascertaining the numbers in various states and regional locations. The chapter examines their reception in Australia as a whole and by individuals and groups in rural and regional Australia. It explores the nature and extent of animosity towards asylum seekers, TPV holders, and particularly Hazara TPV holders through analysis of the responses of media, ethnic groups, state governments, political parties, and civil society. The chapter evaluates how the general animosity of the wider population, influenced by government rhetoric and biased media reporting, was met by an equal, if not stronger, surge of counter-action from the broader community.

5.2 Afghan refugees in Australia and the rest of the world, 2001-2002

From 2001 to the end of 2002, the period during which the Afghan refugee participants in this study arrived in Murray Bridge, Afghanistan was the major source nation of the world's refugees, and Afghans constituted nearly 3.5 million refugees, or 32 percent of

the world total. Refugees from Afghanistan still constitute a nearly 3 million, or 28 per cent of the whole (UNHCR 2011a). Most of the Afghan refugees who fled from the late 1990s onward were Hazaras, a minority Afghan group of the Shi'a denomination. The majority ethnic group is Pashtun, of Sunni adherence. When the Sunni Taliban took control of the country in 1996 they targeted the Hazaras, carrying out summary executions, amputations, floggings and other torture (Mansouri 2002), causing many to flee. Some sources (Mousavi 1998; Razaiat & Pearson, 2002; Canfield 2004) claim that intra-familial political conflict and political rivalry also drove some of the flight.

Their extended families chose the fittest and most able to carry on the family lineage, thus the more skilled and entrepreneurial of their generation (Koser and Van Hear 2003, 6). Most were the only member of their families to flee (Maley 2001). Families typically combined resources to pay the smugglers' fees, often selling ancestral properties to do so. The smugglers were in many cases acting in concert with the Taliban who provided the death threats and to whom the smugglers subsequently gave a cut of the proceeds (Maley 2001).

Notwithstanding the extreme circumstances of Hazaras in Afghanistan, Monsutti (2008) argues that, far from being helpless victims compelled to flee on an unknown journey, Hazara males have a long history of migration to earn money for their families (as was noted in Section 1.2) and as a pre-marriage 'rite of passage'. This tradition of migration no doubt caused the decision to flee to be taken more readily, but the increase of nearly 10 times in the numbers of Hazara 'persons of concern' and the egregiousness of their persecution substantiate the extremity of the Hazaras' situation, so that on balance the movement may be considered to be forced.

Australia was one of many destinations for the Hazaras, and in comparison with both developed and developing countries worldwide, received very few and in comparison shouldered a small economic burden. Table 5.1 below provides a comparison of numbers of Afghan asylum seekers in countries of asylum in 2000 and as a ratio of resident populations. In that year, of the developed countries the Netherlands took the highest number of Afghan refugees and of the developing countries Pakistan hosted the largest number.

Table 5.1 Afghan refugee population, end of year 2000 by populations in countries of asylum

	Est. Total Population	Afghan refugees	Afghan refugees per head of population
Pakistan	140,000,000	2,000,000	1:70
Islamic Rep. of Iran	69,515,000	920,200**	1:76
Netherlands	16,299,000	23,629	1:690
Australia	19,000,000	4,358	1:4,400

Sources:

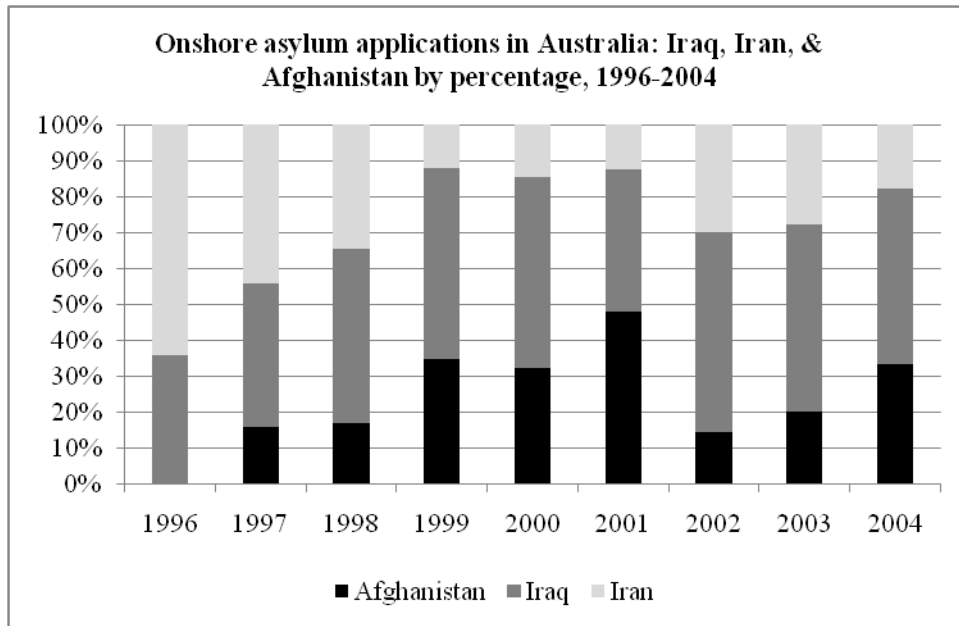
UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division 2004
 UNHCR 2005c

Note: ** UNHCR estimate

Table 5.1 shows that in 2000, approximately two million Afghan refugees were in Pakistan, 920,200 in the Islamic Republic of Iran, 23,629 in the Netherlands, and 4,358 in Australia. The ratio of Afghan refugees per head of population in each country makes the discrepancy of the burden clear: whereas there was one Afghan per 70 residents in Pakistan and per 76 residents in Iran, the Netherlands, despite leading the developed nations, had only one per 690 residents. Australia was well behind, hosting one per 4,400 residents.

Despite the relative insignificance on a world scale of the numbers arriving in Australia, the Hazara arrivals constituted a significant change in both source region of asylum seekers in Australia and the ethnic composition of the population.

Figure 5.1 Onshore asylum applications in Australia: Iraq, Iran, & Afghanistan by percentage, 1996-2004



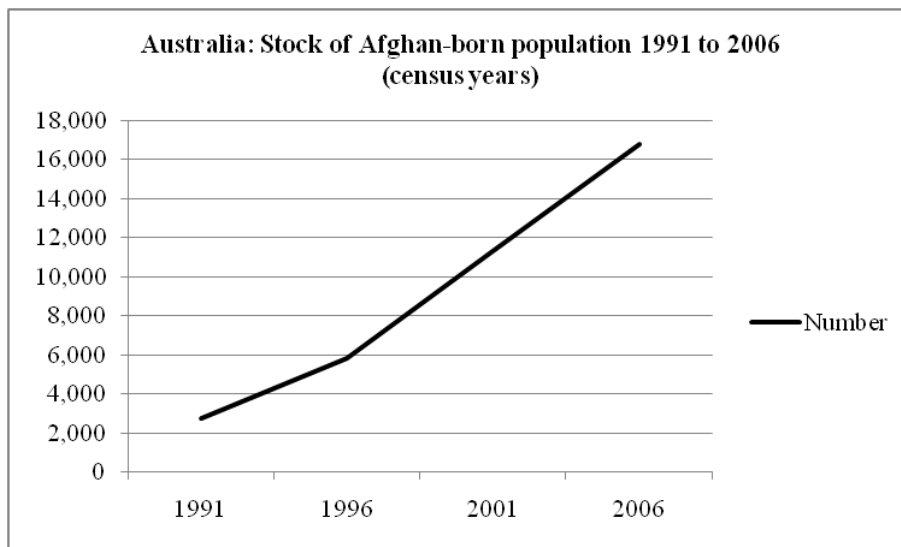
Source: Data compiled by the UNHCR, Population Data Unit

Note: No arrivals of Afghans in 1996

Figure 5.1 shows that in 1996-97 with over 60 per cent of the total, Iranians had dominated the numbers of asylum seekers arriving by boat in Australia, and then from 1998 onwards asylum seekers from Iraq represented the majority. Numbers of Afghan arrivals grew from none in 1996 to approximately 30 per cent of total arrivals in 1999 and then to a high of 50 per cent in 2001-02, dropping rapidly in 2002.

Prior to the boat arrivals, the majority of the Afghan-born in Australia were Pashtun refugees from the Soviet invasion of 1979, the Najibullah regime, and the subsequent civil wars. Figure 5.2 below shows the overall trend in the Afghan-born population in Australia.

Figure 5.2 Australia: Stock of Afghan-born population 1991 to 2006 (census years)



Source: ABS (2007b)

Figure 5.2 shows that prior to 1991 total numbers were small, with only 2,729 in 1991, but by 2006 the numbers had climbed to nearly 17,000. Numbers increased rapidly from 1996 on, coinciding with the Taliban rule of Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001. Although the ABS statistics do not record ethnicity, the majority of the increase would have been from the arrivals of the Hazara asylum seekers escaping persecution at the hands of the Taliban.

Between 2002 and 2008 approximately 1,450 Afghans arrived in South Australia (ABS 2007b). Arrivals in South Australia reflected those for Australia as a whole, with peaks from 2005 to 2007 when Afghan TPV holders began securing permanent visas which enabled family reunion. In contrast, from 1997 to 2001 there had been less than 50 arrivals of Afghan nationals to South Australia. While in comparison with other groups in the population Afghan numbers remained small, the increase was sudden and introduced a group that was synonymous in the public mind with terrorism.

The Hazara arrivals between 1999 and 2002 were mostly young males. The average age of the Afghan-born in Australia between 2000 and 2005 was 30.66 years, whereas in the same period the average for total overseas born was 46.18, and for the total population 35.98 years (ABS 2010). Table 5.2 (below) shows the sex ratio (male to female) for the total Afghan born population from 1996 to 2005.

Table 5. 2 Estimated resident population, Afghan born, Sex ratio–30 June 1996 to 2005

1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
103.6	113.3	121.6	130.0	139.7	151.0	147.9	142.2	136.5	132.3

Source: ABS 2010

The table shows the high ratio of males in the Australian Afghan population. In 1996, before the wave of Afghan Hazara arrivals, the ratio of males to females was 103.6 to 100, while by the height of the boat arrivals in 2001 the male to female ratio had increased by 45.7 per cent to 151.0 males for 100 females. By 2005, once the males had succeeded in gaining permanent protection, the arrivals of their wives and children caused the ratio to drop back to 132.3 males per 100 females.

Table 5.3 below shows the location of TPV holders by State in 2002

Table 5.3 Location of TPV holders 2002, by State

State	Number	%
New South Wales	2,207	52.67
Victoria	955	22.79
South Australia	463	11.05
Western Australia	340	8.11
Queensland	222	5.3
Tasmania	2	0.05
Northern Territory	1	0.02

Source: Andredis & Thompson 2003

Note: These figures only include TPV holders who received a Centrelink benefit. They refer to the state in which the recipient resided at 27 December 2002.

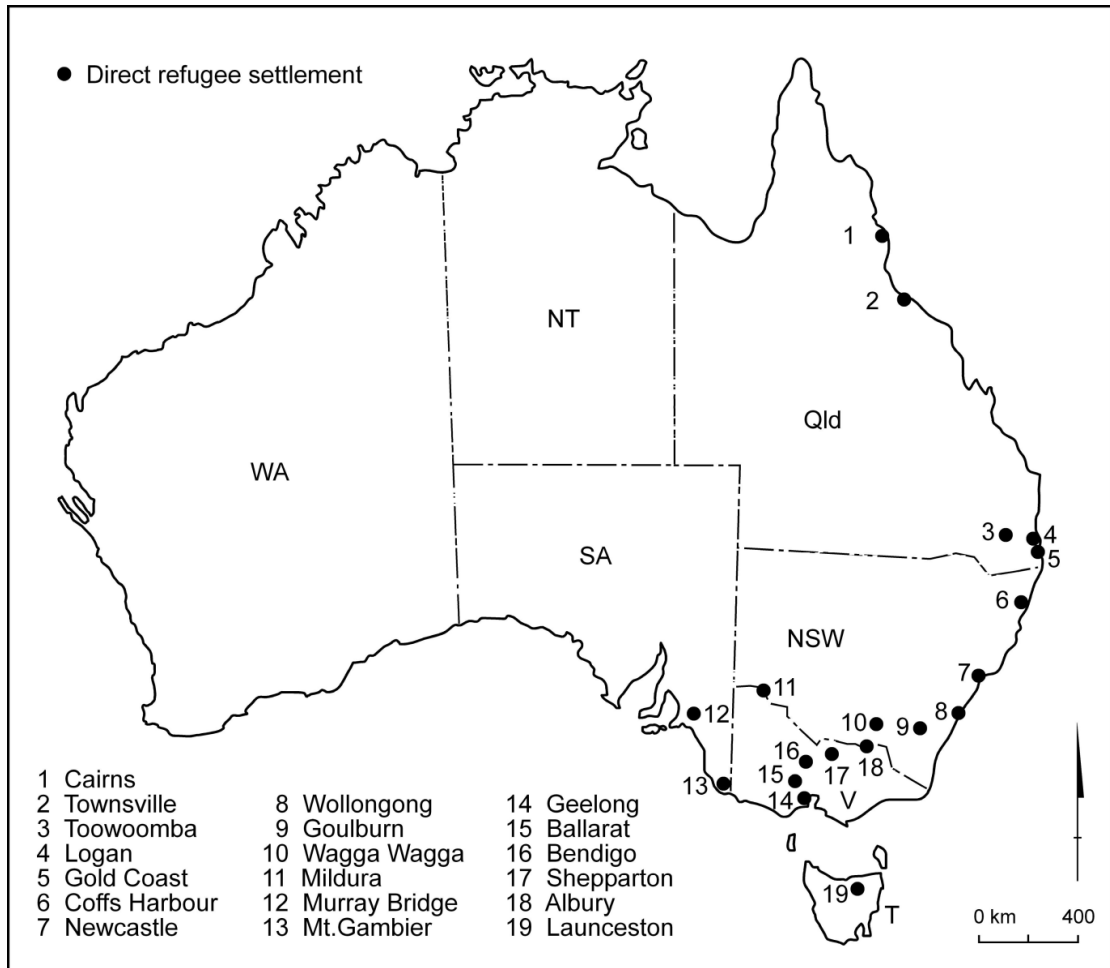
Table 5.3 shows that by 2002 more than three quarters (75.46 per cent) had settled in New South Wales and Victoria and the third most numerous (11.05 %) settled in South Australia. Western Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and the Northern Territory accounted for the rest.

While on their release from detention most Afghan TPV holders headed for urban centres, the pull of employment caused some secondary movement to regional centres. Humanitarian entrants from Afghanistan are likely to have the poorest English skills of all newly arrived groups (Australian Survey Research Group Pty Ltd 2011, 12) therefore precluding them from most employment. In addition, many businesses would not employ TPV holders because of the temporary nature of their visas, but meat works (which are often located away from metropolitan centres), pressed to find enough workers, were not concerned with classes of visa. There are chronic labour shortages in abattoirs, because the work is hard, dirty, low-paid, and spurned by most Australians who have other employment options. In addition, meatworks such as T&R Pastoral in Murray Bridge export to Muslim countries, which necessitates Muslim workers for Halal slaughtering.

The TPV holders who moved to regional towns were the unintentional pioneers of the policy of settling humanitarian entrants in locations outside of the major cities, which the Immigration Department was to implement in 2003. The Immigration Department has since settled off-shore refugees in Coffs Harbour, Goulburn, Newcastle, Wagga Wagga, Albury, and Wollongong in New South Wales, Geelong, Shepparton, Ballarat, Bendigo, and Mildura in Victoria, Mount Gambier and Murray Bridge in South Australia, Logan, Toowoomba,

Townsville, Cairns, and Gold Coast in Queensland, and Launceston in Tasmania (see Map 5.1 below).

Map 5.1 Locational map of Australia showing regional locations where refugees have been settled by the Australian Immigration Department



Source: DIAC 2011a

Between 2004 and 2009, Immigration Department records show that 5366 humanitarian entrants settled in regional areas, both as a result of direct resettlement and secondary movement (Parliament of Australia Senate Committee 2010). It is impossible to accurately determine the locations of settlement of Hazara TPV holders because Australia does not have a requirement for all residents to register their place of residence. Since TPV

holders were not eligible to vote, the electoral role, a reliable resource in other cases, was not applicable. *A Just Australia* published one of the few attempts at a breakdown of locations of TPV holders in late 2002, excluding the state of Queensland for which numbers were unavailable at that time. They found that there were a total of 6,638 TPV holders resident in postcodes with nine or more other TPV holders (a limit applied by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to protect anonymity). The survey found that 8.9 per cent of TPV holders lived in regional areas, although this percentage may have been larger if figures for Queensland had been included. Table 5.4 below provides numbers resident in various regional locations.

Table 5.4 Regional and rural locations of residence of TPV holders late 2002

State	Regional and rural area	Number of TPV holders
Victoria	Mildura and surrounds and Swan Hill and surrounds	86
	Provincial towns surrounding Bendigo	38
	Shepparton and Caniambo and Cobram/Barooga	97
Total Victoria		221
New South Wales	Young	27
	Regional Dubbo	20
	Regional Griffith	50
Total NSW		97
South Australia	Total (Bordertown, Naracoorte, Coonawarra, Keith, Meningie, Murray Bridge, Renmark, Chaffey and Surrounds)	85
Western Australia	Total (Katanning and surrounds)	23
Total NSW, Vic, SA & WA		379

Source: *A Just Australia 2004*

A Just Australia records a total of 85 TPV residents in the South Australian regional locations of Bordertown, Naracoorte, Coonawarra, Keith, Meningie, Murray Bridge, Renmark, and Chaffey. In the state of Victoria, their records show Mildura and Swan Hill with 86, Bendigo 38, and Shepparton, Caniambo, and Cobram/Barooga with 97. Records for New South Wales show 27 in Young, 20 in Dubbo, and 40 in Griffith. Twenty-three TPV holders were recorded as living in Katanning in Western Australia. Centrelink records were

the source of the *A Just Australia* data, but TPV holders working in full-time jobs who did not have families with them would not have received any Centrelink payments and therefore would have had little reason to notify Centrelink of a change of address.

In May 2004 the then Minister for Immigration tabled locations of settlement of TPV holders based on address information held by the Immigration Department. The Minister noted that the data was updated when holders provided the Department with new addresses, usually when they lodged further visa applications or provided information in support of their claims (House of Representatives 2004, 28905). All TPV holders moved to regional centres from elsewhere, usually cities. Whereas *A Just Australia* cites a total of 85 TPV holders in the South Australian towns of Bordertown, Naracoorte, Coonawarra, Keith, Meningie, Murray Bridge, Renmark, and Chaffey combined, for approximately the same period Hansard records a total of 130 TPV holders in regional South Australia, with 67 in the Murray Bridge area alone. Nevertheless, the Hansard data is also unreliable because TPV holders would have updated their addresses with the Department sporadically.

The researcher found other evidence of numbers of TPV settlers in media reports and academic literature relating to the Riverland, Cobram, Shepparton, and Swan Hill in Victoria, Launceston in Tasmania, Albany in Western Australia, Young in New South Wales and Kilcoy in Queensland (Mann 2001; *Oakleigh Monash/Spingvale Dandenong Leader* 2002, 'Refugees celebrate', 8 May, p. 18 ; Marston 2003b; McMaster 2004; Albany Community for Afghan Refugees 2005; Mansouri 2006). Table 5.5 tabulates the numbers as cited in these sources.

Table 5.5 Numbers of TPV holders in regional locations cited as hosting Afghan TPV holders

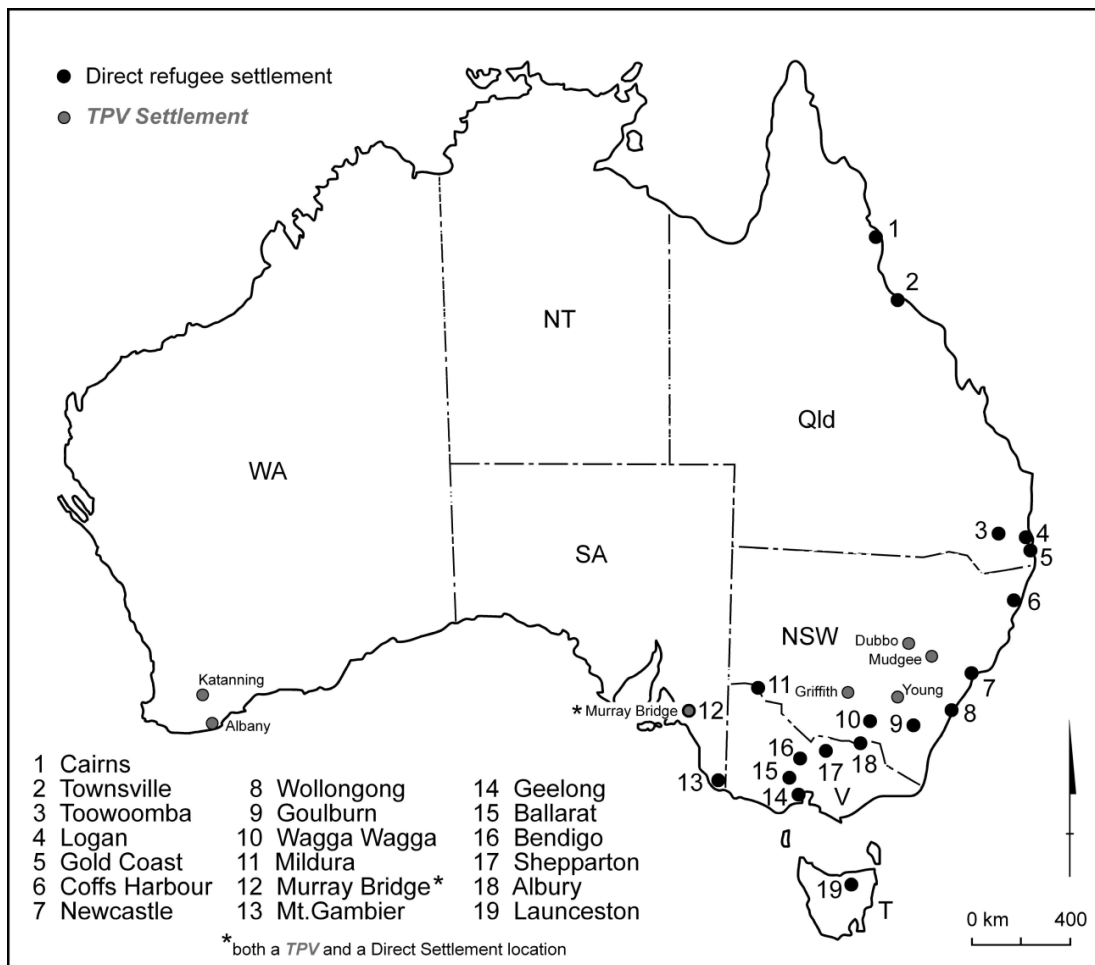
Industry	Town/area	Postcodes	Number of Afghan TPV holders per reports of researchers and supporters
Fletchers meat processing	Mudgee	2850-2913	Not available
Fletchers meat processing	Albany	6330-6958	100
T&R Pastoral/Teys	Murray Bridge/ Bordertown	5253-5271	100
WAMMCO International	Katanning	6330-6958	Not available
Burrangong Meat Processors	Young	2594	90
Barrter Chicken processor	Griffith	2680	80
Fletchers meat processing	Dubbo	2830	20
Total			390

Source: Stilwell and Grealis 2003; Oakleigh Monash/Springvale Dandenong Leader 2002; Albany Community for Afghan Refugees 2005)

Table 5.5 shows numbers totalling 390, 48 per cent higher than the 263 TPV grantees quoted in Hansard for the same seven locations. These are all sites where the major industry is meat processing. In summary, these reports state that in late 2001, there were nearly ninety Afghans employed at the meatworks in Young, a town of approximately 7,000 located in NSW about 2 hours drive north of Canberra, (Stilwell & Grealis 2003). By 2002, Fletcher International abattoir had attracted over 100 Afghan refugees to Albany, a town approximately 400 km southeast of the city of Perth (Albany Community for Afghan Refugees 2005). According to the owner of the business, eighty were working in chicken processing in Griffith ('Call for employer consideration in refugee visas' ABC 2003). The researcher estimates, from her experience as a volunteer and settlement worker, that there were more than 100 Afghan TPV holders resident in Murray Bridge and Bordertown in South Australia, both regional locations of abattoirs, from 2001 to 2005.

Map 5.2 (below) shows the locations of the regional centres listed in Table 5.5. The map shows these locations in grey, and regional areas which receive direct settlement of refugees as recorded in Map 5.1 are shown in black.

Map 5.2 Locational map of Australia showing regional locations of settlement of TPV holders and humanitarian entrants settled by the Department of Immigration



5.3 Responses of the Australian media and public to asylum seekers and TPV holders

Such is the power of rhetoric in asylum issues that it ‘set(s) the political agenda’ (Steiner 2000, 9). In the period under study, the majority of responses to asylum seekers and TPV holders by the mass media and the general public reflected the stance of the Federal Government. The Howard government rhetoric routinely conflated TPV holders with asylum seekers and referred to them as ‘illegal’ and also possibly criminal (Every & Augoustinos

2007, 421). Members of government, including the Prime Minister, implied that terrorists could be seeking to infiltrate Australia through portraying themselves as asylum seekers (O'Connor 2001), and the Defence Minister, Peter Reith directly linked terrorism and asylum seekers, suggesting boat arrivals were a 'pipeline for terrorists' (Grewcock 2009, 165–166; Marr & Wilkinson 2003, 193-194). Philip Ruddock, then Minister for Immigration, even implied that they were less than human when he used the fabricated 'children overboard' event (see Section 4.3.2) to suggest that they were

... incapable of understanding the significance of their actions because they do not, as a result of their cultural and religious backgrounds, share the deep emotional attachment to their children as we do.

(Corlett, 2002, 46)

The hard line of the Howard government was initially contemporaneous with negative public opinion, and supported by most mass circulation media. Nevertheless, numbers opposing the policies grew, and while remaining in the minority, these individuals and groups exerted an important influence. The following sections explore these responses.

5.3.1 Media responses

Hundreds of experimental simulations and surveys have confirmed the influential effects of media 'agenda-setting' and 'priming' on community attitudes (Beale 2006, 443). The mere fact of presenting a story in the media imbues it with importance, and its placement in the publication and the rate with which the story recurs reinforces its apparent salience. 'The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about' (Cohen 1963, 13). In addition,

Australians see newspapers as the most reputable of any media and a majority (59 per cent) believe that newspapers and their websites determine the important issues of the day (Newspaper Works 2010). Lewis (2005) found that many of the stories that participants in her study had heard about asylum seekers originated with the press, and that participants often used similar language to tabloid headlines when talking about asylum seekers. Moreover, TPV holders attributed the verbal abuse they encountered 'to the adverse media coverage and statements by the Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs' (Mann 2001, 27). The media are particularly influential with subjects about which members of the public have no direct knowledge (Paletz 2002, 124-127), as was the case during the boat people 'crisis'.

Media stories mostly resulted from information from government sources and thus reflected government stance and rhetoric. This was one result of the efforts of the government to prevent both the media and general public from meeting asylum seekers. Moreover, few journalists were from minority groups, and most had had little or no contact with members of the ethnic groups of the asylum seekers. As a consequence, Australian mass media participated in a cycle of 'moral panic' around asylum seekers (Pickering 2001) that fed on government rhetoric.

The majority of media reports reflected 'our right as a nation' (Gale 2004 329-331), presenting the asylum seekers/TPV holders as unworthy 'queue jumpers', a 'problem' or 'deviant' group (Pickering 2001, 169). The 'our right as a nation' theme centred on the necessity for border protection to defend Australia's 'national interest' from people smugglers, whose human cargo was conflated with guns and drugs. It is in this theme that the

notion of the refugee 'queue' and supposed 'queue jumpers' featured. An article by the then Prime Minister published in the *Adelaide Advertiser* summarised this theme:

...we will not abandon in any way our right to decide who comes here; nor shall we abandon our right to refuse to allow people to be landed in this country in circumstances where that would represent the best so far as Australia's national interest is concerned.

(Howard 2001a)

'Human face' texts in the print media (Gale 2004) were much fewer in number. 'Human face' predominantly represented the asylum seekers as people grateful to be given a chance, as 'ideal refugees' (Pickering 2001, 177) who were really just like 'us', and to whom Australians, as members of a 'compassionate society', should respond in a humanitarian manner. It is interesting to note that reports which resulted from face-to-face contact with asylum seekers were overwhelmingly positive 'human face' accounts.

A third theme, the 'rights of asylum seekers', was based on frames of Australia as a compassionate society and presented an 'oppositional ideological position' to that of the Howard government (Gale 2004, 327). These texts regularly incorporated the humanitarian views of prominent Australians, such as cricketer Ian Chappell (Hassan 2003). 'Rights of asylum seekers' texts were characterised by an emphasis on finding and reporting the 'facts' rather than rhetoric, justified by the 'right to know'. This theme was 'limited to the margins, located in the commentary and review sections of newspapers' (Gale 2004, 331). These texts emerged from the presumption that once people have 'the facts' their opinions will change. Conversely, not only do corrections frequently fail to reduce misperceptions, but such interventions can also have a 'backfire effect', increasing belief in the false or unsubstantiated

beliefs (Nyhan & Reifler 2010, 307). This happens because the audience marshals counter-arguments in response, and so convince themselves more strongly. The ‘rights of the nation’ were central in media discourses and the ‘human face’ texts provided a counterpoint to the ‘panic’ while the ‘rights of refugees’ were sidelined.

The South Australian state newspapers did not differ in their treatment of asylum seekers to other Australian media. The majority of stories incorporated mainstream rhetoric. Klocker and Dunn (2003) analysed three South Australian newspapers from mid 2001 to early 2002, and found that the most frequently used terms to describe asylum seekers were clustered around the notion of ‘threat’. They found that reports in the state daily, the *Advertiser*, were 81.5 per cent negative, in the *Sunday Mail* 90.8 per cent, and in the *Transcontinental* (the local newspaper for the regional centre of Pt Augusta) texts were 90.5 per cent negative.

It is important to critically examine the results relating to the *Transcontinental* because texts from the *Murray Valley Standard*, the local Murray Bridge newspaper, form an important source of data for this study. In contrast to the findings about the *Transcontinental* from the Klocker and Dunn study, most studies show that newspapers in smaller communities have few stories about social conflict (Olien, Donohue and Tichenor 1968) and on the contrary promote community harmony. Conflict is usually only reported upon when it involves the community with a common outside ‘enemy’ (Hindman 1996, 709). The results for the *Transcontinental* do not necessarily contradict this. Of the twenty-two *Transcontinental* texts that mention refugees and/or asylum seekers, all but one relate to the proposed construction of the Baxter Immigration Detention Centre, which at that time was

going ahead without prior consultation with residents. This lack of consultation was the trigger for the negativity of the texts. The one negative item which precedes the twenty-one relating to Baxter covers the escape of detainees from the Immigration Centre in Woomera, the nearest town on the main road north of Pt Augusta. Both events were unique, and both were bound to raise public emotions, whether or not they had involved asylum seekers. In the case of the *Transcontinental* the Federal Government became the ‘enemy’ when it appeared to disregard the feelings of the residents about the location of the detention centre.

5.3.2 Public opinion in polls and surveys during the period under consideration

During the period under discussion, public opinion polls showed overwhelming support of a tough stance on on-shore asylum seekers. Table 5.6 (below) provides a summary of the Newspoll, Roy Morgan, and AES results.

Table 5.6 Whether Australia should turn back boats carrying asylum seekers, 2001-2002 (percentages)

Date	Poll	Accept none	Accept some	Accept all	
Aug. 31 – Sept. 2, 2001	Newspoll	50	38	39	9
Sept. 16-18, 2001	Morgan	68	na		20
Oct. 26-28, 2001	Newspoll	56	33		8
Nov. 2001 – Apr. 2002	AES	61		20	20*
Aug. 30 – Sept. 1, 2002	Newspoll	48	38		10
Average of all sources and dates		57	36		13

Source: Goot & Sowerbutts 2004

Notes: na: Not asked;
* : Includes neither

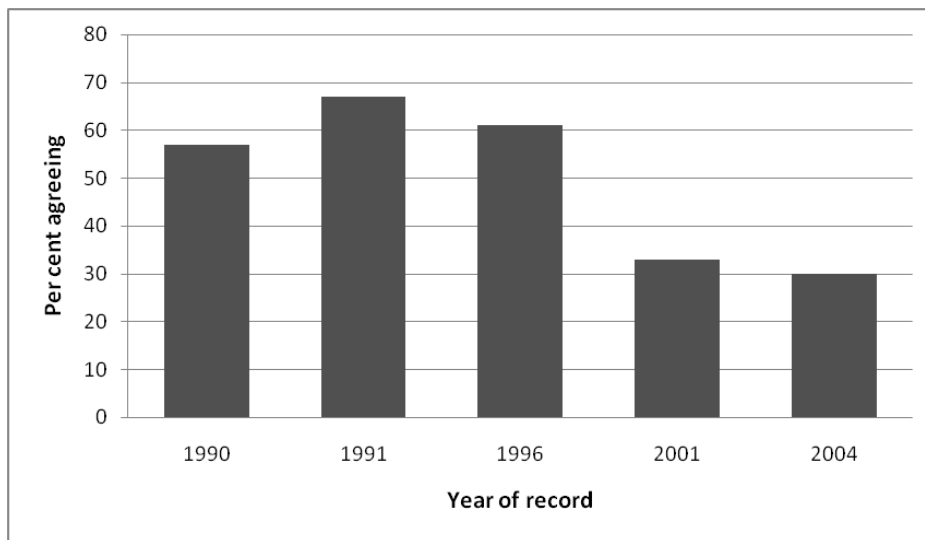
The table shows that in September 2001, a Roy Morgan nation-wide poll showed that 68 per cent adamantly opposed refugees arriving by boat and believed they should be ‘put (them) back to sea’ (Roy Morgan Research 2001a). Only 20 per cent said ‘accept the refugees’, and most (65 per cent) agreed that the Howard Government was doing a good job

of handling the refugee 'problem'. On September 4 2001, an A.C. Nielsen poll published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that 77 per cent supported the government's refusal to allow the *Tampa* to land in Australia, and 71 per cent supported the policy of keeping asylum seekers in indefinite detention (Burke 2001, 323). In 2002, a poll conducted for the *Australian* newspaper found that 56 per cent of respondents agreed that 'All asylum-seekers should be held in detention centres' (Newspoll Market Research/ The Australian 2002). All polls from 2001 to 2002 showed agreement with the proposition that boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, and the Australasian Evaluation Society (AES) records majorities. An average of 57 per cent over all sources agreed that all asylum seeker boats should be turned back (Goot & Sowerbutts 2004).

On the other hand, polls and surveys show some surprising contrasts. A 2002 survey conducted for the Labour Council of NSW asked participants to respond to a series of statements about the treatment of asylum seekers. The same respondents expressed both negative and positive views about asylum seekers and government actions, largely dependent on the way in which the statements were framed (RCoA 2010). Despite the weight of opinion against asylum seekers, in 2003, when asked whether the number of refugees had represented a threat in the previous two or three years, 61 per cent of respondents believed that refugees had posed little threat. Just over 20 per cent said that they had posed no threat to the country at all (Saulwick and Associates & Muller and Associates, 2003, 16).

Attitudes towards general migration in 2001, as shown in Figure 5.3 below, also did not reflect opinion polls that focussed on asylum seekers.

Figure 5.3 Per cent agreeing that ‘the number of migrants allowed into Australia has gone too far and much too far’



Source: Australian Social Science Data Archives, quoted in Betts 2005

Figure 5.3 illustrates fluctuations of opinion about immigration between 1991 and 2004. The percentage of respondents who agreed that ‘the number of migrants allowed into Australia has gone too far and much too far’ in 2001 was 33 per cent, a considerable reduction from approximately 67 per cent in 1990 (Betts 2005, 31). Thus, attitudes to migration became more positive at the height of the asylum seeker ‘crisis’.

Some analysts have suggested that the tough stance of the Howard government towards the boat people actually boosted support for ‘legal’ immigration (Hirst 2002), while on the other hand the disparities may indicate that attitudes to migration have little correlation with attitudes to asylum seekers. Correlations of opinion with party affiliation and other values contribute to explaining the disparity between asylum seeker attitudes and attitudes to immigration in general. Correlation of the results with party affiliation showed that agreement with the statements that ‘the number of migrants allowed into Australia has gone too far’ and ‘much too far’ (Betts 2005, 33) correlated with party affiliation. In comparison,

rejection of asylum seekers did not correlate with party affiliation but with the following values: opposition to immigration, especially from the Middle East, opposition to Aboriginal land rights, and also a concern about crime and the need for harsher punishments (Goot and Sowerbutts 2004).

It is important to note that Australians were not alone in anti-boatpeople sentiment. A survey showed that residents of New Zealand, the USA, and UK approved of Australia's treatment of boat people, although residents of the other three nations were not as adamant as Australians that the boats should be put back to sea (Roy Morgan Research 2001a).

Table 5.7 Percent answering 'yes' to the question 'Do you feel the Australian Government should accept those refugees arriving in Australia by boat, or put those boats back to sea?' UK, USA, New Zealand, and Australia

	Australia	New Zealand	USA	UK
	%	%	%	%
Accept refugees	20	38	34	42
Put them back to sea	68	43	25	45
Undecided	12	19	41	13

Source: Roy Morgan Research 2001a

Table 5. 7 (above) shows the results of this survey in tabular form. People in the UK were the most likely to say that Australia should accept the refugees, but nevertheless 45 per cent agreed that they should be put back to sea. US respondents were least in favour of Australia turning away asylum seekers, but only 34 per cent thought that Australia should accept them.

As well as poll results, academic studies recorded negativity towards asylum seekers. A study conducted with residents of Perth in 2002 found a large proportion of the community expressing negative attitudes (Pedersen, Attwell, & Heveli 2005), and in the same year a study of university students found that over half (59.8 per cent) of participants scored above the mid-point on prejudicial attitudes (Schweitzer et al. 2005). Klocker conducted an

investigation of antagonism towards asylum seekers in Pt Augusta in 2001, and also found evidence of ‘disturbingly negative perceptions’ (Klocker 2004, 14).

Since the context of this study is a regional centre in South Australia, it is necessary to examine these results more closely. As described in discussing the media study conducted by Klocker and Dunn (2003) in Section 5.3.1, the situation of Klocker’s research was exceptional as it was contemporaneous to two major and unique events that took place near the town. Moreover, the survey was conducted when intense media attention on asylum seekers was also at its peak, fuelled by the upcoming election. Moreover, the nature of the questionnaire, which invited respondents to rate their agreement with terms such as ‘flood’, ‘crisis’, ‘invasion’, ‘disorderly’, ‘threat to the integrity of Australia’s borders’, and ‘threat to Australia’s security’ (Klocker 2004, 16) had the potential to inflame negative sentiments, and combined with the announcement of the detention facility, it is unsurprising that respondents gave vent to antipathy.

Other polls and surveys recording the most hostile attitudes were conducted at the time of the *Tampa*, the ‘children overboard’ incident, and the shock of terrorist attacks. Two years later public opinion was changing in favour of asylum seekers. Reflecting on the results of the Saulwick and Associates & Muller and Associates poll assessing the perception of refugees as a ‘threat’ (quoted above), the National Director of *A Just Australia* opined that the national mood had shifted (Glenn 2003). Indeed, 78 per cent preferred more neutral language such as ‘asylum-seekers’ rather than the pejorative ‘queue jumpers’ (Saulwick and Associates & Muller and Associates 2003, 15).

It is important to note that attitudinal research typically uncovers opinions that correlate poorly with subsequent behaviour (Wicker 1969; Hill 1990; Eardley and Matheson 1999; Azjen and Fishbein 2005). Opinions as expressed in response to survey and poll questions are simply opinions, and anti-asylum seeker sentiment does not necessarily correlate with behaviour towards asylum seekers, as findings reported in Chapters 6 and 7 illustrate.

5.3.3 Attitudes to TPV holders amongst their ethnic communities in Australia

Neither Afghans nor Iraqis benefitted much from their established communities, which were less than welcoming. The Immigration Department expected that ethnic communities would shoulder much of the burden of settlement of TPV holders (Barnes 2003, 48). However, TPV holders expressed surprise that support from their ethnic community was not forthcoming, despite a 'deeply held value of mutual aid' (Barnes 2003, 42). Resentment amongst members of ethnic groups who believed that the asylum seekers were reducing the numbers of visas that would otherwise go to families and friends was responsible for some of the antagonism (Mann 2001, 30). Statements from Minister Ruddock created and reinforced this view, but the facts, as reviewed in Section 4.3, show that the concern created was largely unfounded. As well, the media coverage conflating asylum seekers with terrorists caused members of the established Muslim communities to distance themselves from 'boat people' in the hope of distancing themselves from vilification.

A study by Mansouri, Leach, and Traies (2006) found that Iraqi TPV holders spent three times as much time socialising with Anglo-Australians than other Iraqis, and many had no contact with their established ethnic group at all (2006, 404-405). Afghans on TPVs also

had little to do with the established Afghan community (Sparrow 2005, 113-116), a situation that was exacerbated because the Afghans already settled in Australia were from the Pashtun and Kuchi ethnic groups, traditional enemies of the Hazaras (Rashid 2000, 12) who the Hazaras suspected were deliberately working against their interests (Daly 2002). This lack of contact with the established Afghan community meant that many Hazaras turned to mainstream Australians for help and companionship. The harsh policies had ‘inadvertently resulted in the formation of a range of community networks and contacts to TPV holders that PPV holders have no need to develop’ (Mansouri, Leach, and Traies 2006, 405).

5.3.4 Everyday contact with Australians

In contrast to government policy and most media discourse, Australians were welcoming towards the asylum seekers and TPV holders who they met (Reynolds 2004). These meetings provided a human face to the demonised ‘illegals’ (Gibson 2008, 27). TPV respondents perceived ordinary Australians to be friendly and supportive (Mann 2001; Brotherhood of St Laurence 2002; Amor & Austin 2003; Mansouri, Leach and Traies 2006), and compared this positive treatment to what they had been told in the camps:

People in charge of the camp used to tell us that the Australian people don’t want us in their country. But the Australian people I have met since helped us so much. They like us. I have never met people nicer.

(Leach and Mansouri 2004, 73-4)

Mansouri (2006) found that, immediately after their release from immigration detention, 57 per cent of TPV holders felt that Australians could not be trusted and 61 per cent said that they were not valued by the Australian community (2006, 13). After one year,

however, 83 per cent said that they could generally trust Australians and 82 per cent felt well-treated by Australian society. Another study found that 85 per cent of TPV holders had friends outside their own ethnic community, and developed more and stronger social ties outside their ethnic groups than refugees with PPVs (Mansouri, Leach & Traies 2006, 404). Although TPV holders also reported some verbal abuse, they attributed it to the adverse media coverage and statements by the Minister for Immigration (Mann 2001, 27), and on the whole reported a positive response from community members. Most TPV research does not treat this aspect of the TPV experience as important, and instead emphasises suffering on the TPV. Since these studies were produced while the TPV was in force it is likely that the authors had some political motivation to de-emphasise the positive.

Overall, there was a strong contrast between the ‘local and personal’ with majority discourse and practice (Gosden 2005, 17). Moorehead (2005) reported on the situations of asylum seekers and refugees in Cairo, Guinea, Sicily, Lebanon, England, Australia, Finland, and at the U.S.-Mexico border, and found that the response of ordinary Australians was ‘one of the most remarkable and certainly the most heartening’ (2005, 124). In the case of asylum seekers in Australia under the Howard government, it was at the level of localised interaction that hope surfaced (Corlett 2002, 358).

Regional and rural Australians were particularly welcoming. Many areas of regional Australia that had been losing residents exhibited an ‘augmentive’ population stance in relation to the TPV holders which, as Section 2.5 noted, is important to successful settlement. TPV holders were so welcome that the communities ‘competed to welcome and keep “their” refugees, often by offering higher wages and better conditions’ (Colic-Peisker 2004, 51).

Indeed, a study of the economic impact of TPV holders in the regional centre of Young in New South Wales found that as well as making valuable economic contributions to the community, their presence had engendered a strengthening of social capital and contributed to the image of the town as a 'community opened for business' (Stilwell 2003, 22, 27). Mansouri (2006) noted that responses for social capital and social inclusion from Iraqi TPV holders in the cities of Melbourne and Brisbane were in the negative range, while in the regional centre of Shepparton they were in the positive range, and attributed the difference to a higher sense of community and participation within the regional centre (2006, 82). Whereas the results of public opinion polls predicted a negative reception, face-to-face encounters in fact were mostly positive, and particularly so in regional areas.

5.3.5 Community supporters and advocates

Civil society organisations sympathetic to TPV holders flourished, in many cases predicated on face-to-face encounters. This section will provide an examination of the emergence and spread of these CSOs. According to the sources reviewed for this research, their ethnic communities did not assist TPV holders as expected, government-funded settlement services were not available to them, and NGOs were over-stressed by the resulting demands and also by public animosity towards their clients (Mann 2001; Mansouri & Bagdas 2002; Pickering, Gard & Richardson 2003). The situation was a major challenge to limited resources (Mansouri, 2002, 2), and sympathetic civil society organisations became a primary source of support. In 2002, the peak year for arrivals of Afghan Hazara asylum seekers, there was an explosion of community-based refugee action, the outcome of a 'slow burn' (Tazreiter 2010, 207) of pro-asylum seeker advocacy that had first begun with a small group of social

service and legal professionals when mandatory detention was introduced in the early 1990s (Tazreiter 2004). Thousands of Australians took part in activities within the asylum seeker and TPV support movement (Mares & Newman 2007; Pedersen et al. 2008), and either joined existing organisations or created new ones through association with like-minded people. Coombs (2004, 125-6) describes the asylum seeker and refugee movement that developed in Australia as:

a vast mosaic of overlapping networks: lawyers, church people, human-rights advocates, welfare workers, political activists, and ordinary people; from highly skilled professionals with specific expertise to the many thousands who have joined a grassroots movement to oppose the Government's treatment of asylum seekers.

Civil society organisations included 'the housewife collecting toys and sending them to Woomera', and the activist 'scaling the fence of the detention centre' (Hintjens & Jarman 2004, 73). Public servants also became involved, some concerned that government policy had compromised their professionalism (Reynolds 2004, 5). These CSOs became a point of intersection between the refugees and members of the community, and the groups attracted volunteers from a wide diversity of occupations (Reynolds 2004) whom off-shore refugees would have been unlikely to meet.

Many Australians considered it their personal duty to assist asylum seekers (Neumann 2004b, 113). Supporters volunteered out of a sense of shame about the actions of the Australian Government (Reynolds 2004), a desire to counteract what was perceived as unnecessarily harsh legislation (Mansouri Leach & Traies 2006), and a dissonance between Australia as they imagined it and how it appeared to be developing under the Howard government (Reynolds 2004; Gosden 2005; Mansouri, Leach, & Traies 2006). Supporters believed the asylum seekers had been compelled to flee persecution, and that their arrival in

Australian waters was not through choice but because of a lack of other options. In contrast, the Federal Government employed a discourse of 'choice' by attributing their arrival in Australia to a free choice for which the asylum seekers had to bear responsibility, including bearing the imposition of sanctions (Every 2006, 96).

Civil society support efforts included protest, letter writing, producing material, organising events, internet-based work, liaison with other organisations, fund-raising, visiting detainees, and supporting TPV holders materially and emotionally. The act of volunteering also overcame racism founded on ignorance. Volunteers who came to know asylum seekers and understand their circumstances first-hand provided enlightenment to their friends, families, and acquaintances, and in so doing overcame bigotry. Moreover, the act of volunteering itself creates social bonds and promotes social cohesion (European Volunteer Centre 2006, 45).

CSOs influenced media reporting through promulgating alternative views of TPV holders, about those in detention whom they visited and whom reporters could not interview, and directly through workshops for journalists like that run by RAC in early 2002 (Hintjens & Jarman 2004, 78). There are no direct studies of the effect of asylum seeker CSOs on government policy, but Mansouri and Leach (2008, 120) claim that the abolition of the policy 'signalled the capacity of concerted community and public activism to reverse restrictive trends in Western asylum policy'.

Most CSOs were single-issue and crossed the lines of political allegiance. This correlates with the findings discussed earlier in Section 5.3.2 which showed that, unlike attitudes to migration, asylum seeker attitudes correlated with values stances on other issues.

Even politically based support groups such as the Refugee Action Coalition (RAC), which the International Socialist Organisation assisted to establish, rallied under slogans such as 'Close the camps' and 'Permanent Protection not Temporary Visas' so that anyone who agreed could participate, regardless of political leanings (Maddison and Scalmer 2006, 116).

Sister Aileen Crowe's story of the development of The House of Welcome in Sydney is typical of the founding of asylum seeker support groups across Australia. Sister Crowe's account begins with her slowly becoming aware of detention centres and beginning to visit the nearby Villawood Detention Centre. At a meeting with members of different churches from suburbs surrounding Villawood who had become aware of people released from the Centre with no relatives or friends to accommodate them, the 'House of Welcome' was initiated, funded by donations and staffed by volunteers (Mares and Newman 2007, 81-87).

The Coalition for Asylum Seekers, Refugees, and Detainees (CARAD) (also known as The Coalition Assisting Refugees after Detention) is another example of an organisation built solely on the efforts of ordinary citizens who were in the most part not otherwise politically engaged. From 2000 onwards CARAD assisted more than 4,000 refugees and asylum seekers in Perth, the capital of Western Australia, providing accommodation, financial aid, English tutoring, friendship, furniture, homework support, and other services to people with Temporary Protection Visas or Bridging Visas (CARAD 2008) and campaigning for change (Watson 2002). Donations and offers of support flowed. CARAD, for example, was funded mostly through donations from supporters, with some small state government grants. The Fitzroy Learning Network, formed in 2000 in Melbourne, the capital city of the state of Victoria, was another CSO mostly reliant on private donations, with other funding

from the Victorian Government, local council, and philanthropic trusts (Fitzroy Learning Network n.d.). In the space of two years, the Asylum Seeker Project of the Uniting Church Hotham Mission received almost 1,000 calls from people offering volunteer services and more than \$400,000 in donations from approximately 750 donors (RCoA 2003b, 37).

Through an internet search in early 2007, the author identified 129 CSOs that provided advocacy and/or direct services exclusively or primarily to asylum applicants in immigration detention facilities and to TPV holders (or were originally set up in order to do so) and had been established across Australia from 1999 onwards (listed in Appendix 6, 'Asylum seeker and TPV Support Groups Australia 2007'). Of the 129 groups, 15 focussed entirely on TPV holders, while the others assisted both asylum seekers in detention and TPV holders. Twenty-four groups primarily provided direct support to TPV holders and asylum seekers in detention, 103 provided political action and advocacy, and some provided both. Fourteen of the groups were set up under the auspices of churches, and 64 percent (82) of the groups were located outside of the major cities of Australia. Appendix 6 provides a tabulation of these groups.

While the author believes that the groups listed in Appendix 6 provide a fair picture of the range of groups across Australia, the actual number of 'grass roots' groups that were the core of refugee support and advocacy is, however, literally countless, because the majority are not incorporated, have no web site, and are not part of a larger parent body. In South Australia for example, in 2007 there were more than 100 Circles of Friends (Australian Refugee Association n.d.), informal groups of community members who pool their skills, resources and expertise to support people in detention and refugees on Temporary Protection

Visas and which have no internet presence. These 'Circles' are representative of many other CSOs not listed in Appendix 6.

Much support came from religious groups – even from those associated with conservative values. Despite the decline in the proportion of Australians identifying as Christian from 96.1 per cent in 1901 to 63.9 per cent in 2006 (ABS 2007b), many of the TPV groups were based in the Christian faith. As well as auspicing support, Christian churches spoke out against the new asylum-seeker policies with near unanimity. The National Council of Churches in Australia (NCCA), which represents seventeen Australian Christian denominations, asserted that 'TPV regulations constitute discrimination under the Refugee Convention as well as offending Article 34 of that Convention, in addition to Articles 2(3) (a) and 26 ICCPR' ((NCCA 2003). The NCCA also opposed the mandatory detention of asylum seekers and recommended putting more resources into addressing the root causes of refugees and displaced people. Leaders of the Anglican, Catholic, Uniting, Baptist and Jewish faiths were quoted on page one of a national daily paper describing the stand on refugees taken by both John Howard and by Kim Beazley, the leader of the Opposition, as 'amoral, brutalising, and a failure' (Wilkinson and Marr 2001).

As well as the NCCA, groups representing specific denominations such as the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council (1999), Assembly of the Uniting Church of Australia (2001), and Australian Anglican Diocesan Bishops (2001) also made public statements of concern about Australia's treatment of refugees and asylum seekers. Support included cross-faith assistance in religious practice. For example, in South Australia the Aboriginal Catholic Ministry, as well as providing material support and advocacy, donated

the use of the church facilities for the Afghan Hazaras' most holy time of the year, Ashura, which they could not celebrate in South Australian mosques which were then all Sunni (Peisley and Pearson 2003).

Even Australian church based organisations associated with conservative political stances opposed the asylum seeker policies, including the Family First political party (Family First n.d.). *Christianity Today*, a 'magazine of evangelical conviction' (Crampton 2001) published articles supporting the welcome of asylum seekers. Conservative Anglican Archbishop Peter Jensen claimed that 'Jesus would probably have been refused entry to Australia under the current laws' ('Archbishop slams refugee stance', *The Age*, 28 November 2003). The Reverend Fred Nile, a member of the NSW Parliament and leader of the conservative Christian Democrat Party, was the only public Christian voice in support of the Howard government's policies (Nile 2001).

In 2002 Jews for Refugees was formed, an association of twenty-nine Jewish organisations. The B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation Commission also expressed 'grave concerns' at the demonising of the boat people under the guise of border protection (Jakobovits, Morgan and Bliss 2003), and affirmed that Jewish tradition and religion demands hospitality to the stranger.

It is not surprising that members of religious groups were so heavily involved. Despite its inherently conservative aspect, religious belief has also been one of the most important catalysts for social change, as evinced in the abolitionist movement, the democratisation process in Latin America, and in the Solidarity movement in Poland. Section 2.5 noted that across all religions there is a consistent basis of human rights. In addition, volunteering is

positively related to religiosity (Wilson and Musick 1997), and all four dimensions of religiosity, that is affiliative, participatory, devotional and theological (belief) are predictive of volunteer activity (Wilson and Musick 1997; Lam 2002).

Even though rural Australia has a reputation for conservatism, country people created some of the most active and powerful movements to support refugees and work for reform of TPV policy. In fact, Rural Australians for Refugees (RAR), which emerged in late September 2001, became the peak coordinating and support organisation (McCue 2004). There were 62 registered RAR groups by the end of 2003 (Doyle 2003), and by 2007 the author was able to locate the names of 93 through an internet search. The location of immigration detention facilities in rural and remote locations spurred the creation of some rural groups, such as the Port Augusta branch of RAR which formed in October 2002 in response to the opening of the Baxter Immigration and Detention Facility (Rural Australians for Refugees Port Augusta 2004).

Other RAR groups coalesced specifically to support and advocate for the Temporary Protection Visa holders who settled in their towns. Albany RAR was typical in that it was formed on the basis of strong local support for Hazara TPV holders living and working in the community (Rural Australians for Refugees Albany 2003), as was the group that formed in Murray Bridge. Country people responded to the refugees just as they had to those who arrived after World War II; indeed, RAR cites the 'good neighbour' tradition as a reason that so many responded.¹ Their involvement is a powerful example of the way in which the Federal Government's hostile discourse and severe anti-asylum measures produced unforeseen responses in the Australian community.

5.3.6 Hazaras and their supporters in Albany and Young

Researchers have made in-depth studies of Albany in Western Australia and Young in New South Wales, both regional centres where Hazaras settled after leaving immigration detention. These centres will provide points of comparison for the study of the integration of Hazaras in Murray Bridge.

Albany, a town of approximately 25,000 people, is 400 km from Perth on the south coast of Western Australia. An export abattoir, Fletcher International, opened there in 1999. According to the Albany Community for Afghan Refugees, by 2003 close to 100 Hazara refugees lived there. The majority were male TPV holders, but there were also 7 women and 13 children, the families of men who had obtained permanent protection between 1999 and 2000 and had settled with their families (Albany Community for Afghan Refugees 2005). Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar (2007) claim that, in March 2004, there were 85 Hazaras in Albany of whom 65 were male, the majority between the ages of 23 and 45 years. In their submission to the inquiry into the administration and operation of the Migration Act 1958, the Albany Community for Afghan Refugees (2005) state that the Hazaras settled in well and were hard workers and reliable employees and that many participated in the literacy programme provided by volunteers.

The focus of the volunteer tutors changed when they became concerned for the men's physical and mental health when it appeared that they might be refused further visas and would have to return to Afghanistan. In February 2003, the suicide of a Hazara TPV holder in Murray Bridge (subsequently referred to in this dissertation as 'Dr W.')

concerns and the group became politically active. They organised a large rally and a

community roundtable which culminated in the City of Albany council passing a motion supporting the permanent residence of the Hazara TPV holders. Tilbury (2007) notes that the volunteers purposely strove to counter the prevailing label of ‘illegals’, including through a media campaign (2007, 632). The local newspapers, the *Albany Advertiser* and the *Albany and Great Southern Weekender* emphasised the economic benefit the Hazaras had brought to the region (Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar 2007, 43). Some negative publicity arose when comments made to *West Australian* newspaper by the owner of the Albany meat works implied that the Hazaras were ‘not grateful for the help they had been given’ because they left the employment and the town ‘as soon as they were granted permanent visas’ (Buggins 2005).

Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar (2007) interviewed some of the Albany volunteer English language tutors and other Albany residents but, because of difficulties in obtaining ethics clearance, used participant observation to determine the attitudes of the Hazaras to the volunteers. Power and contestations of power frame their interpretation of the volunteer/Hazara relationships, and this appears to have influenced their findings. They report that many Albany tutors and supporters referred to the Hazara men as being part of their family, and take particular issue with the use of ‘boys’ by some of the volunteers, interpreting this usage as infantilising the men (2007, 39). On the other hand, Tilbury, who studied the same group, sees the use of the family trope in a positive light, noting that it created a sense of joint action and challenged the dominant constructions of the Hazaras as deviant others (2007, 630). Tilbury also records the visit to Albany from a leader of Australia’s Hazara community who, when he spoke at a public meeting said that ‘to be kind to a Hazara is like having a son-in-law’ (Tilbury 2007, 636). As well, Tilbury notes the

terminology of ‘boys’ is used in many situations in Australian culture to refer to grown men without any implication that they are in fact children (2007, 637). Moreover, ‘mother’ and ‘grandmother’ signify high levels of regard in many cultures (for examples see Oumarou (1997) and Habwe (2010)).

Nevertheless, as Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar (2007) point out, the tutors and supporters were in a powerful position because of their ability in the dominant language, their citizenship, and their ease of belonging in Australian society (2007, 39). Moreover, while the volunteers knew many details of the Hazaras’ private lives, this was not equally reciprocated. The Hazaras did, however, show trust in the volunteers, asking officials to notify them of the outcome of their DIMIA interviews and Refugee Review Tribunal hearings (2007, 41). When one English tutor said that there would be ‘a hole’ in her life if the Hazara men she was tutoring were to be deported (2007, 41), Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar concluded from that instance that ‘refugee helpers often need the refugees more than the refugees need the tutors’ (2007, 40). On the other hand, if the researchers had asked the Hazaras may also have said that they would experience a ‘hole’.

At the 2006 census, the town of Young in New South Wales had a population of 7,141. It is approximately 160 km northeast of Canberra, the capital of Australia. In mid 2001, an initial two dozen male Afghan Hazara refugees, all holding Temporary Protection Visas, came to the town to work for the largest employer in the area, Burrangong Meat Processors (BMP), which had a workforce of around 270 (Stilwell 2003). They were mostly aged between 20 and 40. The numbers grew to nearly ninety by the end of 2001, but some left a few months later following the closure of the nightshift at the meatworks. By early

2003 about 45 Hazara refugees remained (Stilwell, Grealis & Piper 2007). Even at this low number, they constituted nearly 17 per cent of the work force. The local council was publicly supportive of the presence of the Hazaras. A leaflet circulated in the town by a Sydney-based group that warned of ‘rape-gangs, shootings of police officers, drugs, muggings, house-breakings, murder and unemployment’ attributed to TPV holders aroused widespread concern (Stilwell 2003, 236). In response, the council had a book made available for citizens to record their views. Of 119 responses, about half were critical of the Afghan presence, half were supportive and four were undecided or sought further information. The proportion of critical responses is lower than could be expected in the light of the scaremongering and the overwhelming negativity of national and state level polls.

Stilwell’s study focuses on the economic effects of the presence of the Hazaras rather than the relationships they formed with local people. He estimates that 60-75 per cent of their total yearly net income of about \$2.25 million was spent locally, and comments that this is a higher proportion than would normally be the case for refugees (Stilwell 2003, 240-241). In addition the Hazaras buoyed the profits of BMP by providing a full workforce. Stilwell notes that every additional person employed in the local economy generates another half job, and that the Hazaras’ strong work ethic had long-term impacts on productivity by influencing other workers. The economic benefit of Hazara workers was cited by members of government and in media reports both of Young and of regional areas in general.

The presence of the Hazaras also augmented the town’s reputation. Young gained positive national publicity for its acceptance of the Hazaras, and a quote from the Council’s ‘public opinion’ book says ‘the positive exposure of our acceptance of refugees was worth a

million dollars of advertising' (Stilwell 2003, 245). Stilwell attributes the success of the Hazaras' settlement to their acceptance by fellow workers and support from management. Indeed, the support from the Human Resources Manager caused problems with the rest of the workforce who saw it as favouritism. Strong social networks are the basis for economic development (Butcher 2003) and Stilwell reports that local community groups, the Shire Council, TAFE teachers, volunteer tutors, the local library staff, Amnesty International organisers, and many others worked together to make a success of the Hazaras' settlement, strengthening social capital. These details show that, while many believe that refugees are a burden on society, the Hazaras in Young made valuable economic contributions (Stilwell, Grealis & Piper 2007).

5.4 Summary

As the foregoing shows, there are multiple paradoxes in the Australian response to asylum seekers. In the period under study, hostile attitudes to asylum seekers did not correlate with opinion on migration in general or with party political affiliation. Indeed, many who became involved in support groups were Coalition voters. Religious faith and residence in country areas are associated in public perception with conservatism, and support for human rights is believed to rest with the metropolitan 'left-liberal intelligentsia' (Manne 2005, 376), but much of the strongest support for asylum seekers came from religious groups and groups regional and rural residents. Reactions to asylum seekers could not, therefore, have been predicted by recourse to the usual markers.

There is a clear disparity between the responses to public opinion polls on the one hand and the actions of advocates, supporters, and community members on the other. While

‘the public’ made negative responses to surveys about ‘boatpeople’, once they met them face-to-face, most Australians welcomed and befriended them. Whereas the intention of asylum seeker legislation was to exclude and deter asylum seekers, the first legislative response of mandatory detention saw the beginning of asylum seeker advocacy, and the severe legislative and rhetorical responses of the Howard government engendered an explosion of support.

Civil society organisations sympathetic to TPV holders flourished, in many cases predicated on face-to-face encounters. CSOs influenced media reporting through promulgating alternative views of TPV holders gleaned from visits to asylum seekers in detention whom reporters could not interview and their interactions with TPV holders. The denial of services from government funded bodies, and lack of support from their ethnic communities paradoxically stimulated the emergence and spread of these CSOs, and caused the TPV holders to turn towards the mainstream community.

Legislation cannot create community – it can merely provide conditions in which it will flourish or fade. The conditions of the asylum seeker legislation paradoxically assisted that sense to flourish. Even though the government identified them as a potential threat to social solidarity and stability, refugees on TPVs in fact joined ‘networks of social relations...characterised by norms of trust and reciprocity’ (Humpage 2003, 5). Indeed, the restrictions on the TPV holders caused them to interact with more members of the Australian community and across a wider spectrum than would otherwise have happened. The visa conditions also caused them to turn to regional areas for work. They were welcomed in regional areas which had been starved of workers, and people who had never before been

politically or socially active were aroused by the government's response and joined groups to support them.

In response to surveys of opinion, the great majority of the Australian public expressed hostile attitudes towards asylum seekers. By 2003, however, many Australians had met TPV holders face to face, and studies such as those of Young and Albany noted that they were greeted with warmth and hospitality.

The next two chapters describe the settlement of Hazara TPV holders in Murray Bridge, and explore the changes in attitudes of the Hazaras and the mainstream Murray Bridge community that emerged there, through an examination based on 'frame transformation' (see Section 2.5 for an explanation of the concept of frame transformation).

¹ Welcoming of new arrivals had been supported by the federal government from 1950 to the late 1970s under the rubric of the 'Good Neighbour Councils' (Jordens n/d: online).

Chapter 6: Encounters of the community volunteers and Hazara TPV holders in Murray Bridge

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background on the location of the case study, the Hazaras who settled in Murray Bridge, and members of the community volunteer group who assisted them. The chapter shows the attitudes and actions of the Australians who reacted to the Hazara presence, sometimes with prejudice and racism, but mostly with welcome. It describes the Hazaras' integration into the Murray Bridge community and the obstacles they faced, as recounted by the volunteers and the Hazaras, and analyses them in the light of results from similar studies.

The chapter begins with the arrival of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge. It critically examines the impact of the TPV on the Hazaras and evaluates the role of the community volunteers in the process of integration into to the Australian community. The data from the fieldwork is analysed to determine the frames, the 'mental schemata' (Gamson & Modigliani 1989, 32) held by the Hazaras about themselves as strangers in a new land, the frames held by the volunteers that motivated them to volunteer, the frames of asylum seekers that the volunteers held before meeting the Hazaras, and how all of these were transformed during the time frame of this study. It also sets the scene for Chapter 7, which provides an examination of the transformation of community frames in the local paper.

6.2 Murray Bridge, the place and demographic profile

The Rural City of Murray Bridge is located approximately 80 km from the city of Adelaide. It is the fourth largest rural centre in South Australia and in 2001 had a population of 16,529 in the Local Government Area (LGA), of which 12,998 resided in Murray Bridge Urban Centre¹. It is the major centre in the Murraylands region of South Australia (see Map 6.1 below).

Map 6.1 Locational Map of Murray Bridge, South Australia



Source: Murraylands Regional Development Board Inc 2009

The town is a service centre for the region which produces grain and feed crops, dairy products, livestock, vegetables, fruit, flowers, and wine grapes, and is also a developing hub for the warehousing and distribution of goods across Australia. The town itself has a growing

retail and industrial sector. The major employer in Murray Bridge is the meat processing plant, T&R Pastoral, which employs well over 1,000 workers.

In metropolitan areas new migrants tend to take up residence in less desirable suburbs, but Murray Bridge is too small to have given rise to ‘racialisation’ (Castles 2000, 77) of housing and urban space. Additionally, housing stock in Murray Bridge is relatively homogeneous. Historically, housing in Murray Bridge has been mid-range and practical rather than pretentious, but the last decade has seen some development of more up-market areas. More than 12 per cent of the community live in public housing (ABS 2006). Residents of Murray Bridge, more than other regional centres, see public housing as a liability rather than an asset, because once the Mobilong Prison was constructed on the edge of the town in the 1980s, the South Australian Housing Trust placed families of inmates there (Beer & Maude 2002). Whereas information about ethnicity of residents is unavailable in relation to this housing stock, it is the researcher’s observation that residents reflect the ethnic diversity of the remainder of the town.

Political conservatism is a predictor of negative attitudes to asylum seekers (Pedersen & Walker 1997; Pedersen et al. 2000). Murray Bridge is in the Federal seat of Barker, which has been held by conservative parties since its proclamation, and the Liberal party has held the seat since 1956 (Australian Electoral Commission 2007). The town is located in the state seat of Hammond, also a safe conservative seat (‘South Australian Election 2006: Hammond’ 2006, *ABC News Online*). Murray Bridge is solidly politically conservative.

According to Betts (2001, 34), lower levels of education are indicative of negative attitudes towards asylum seekers, as is low socio-economic standing. Data for Murray Bridge

indicate low levels of income and education. At the time of the 2001 Census, the proportion of residents who had educational attainment of year 11 or higher was 41.7 per cent in contrast to South Australia (56.2 per cent) and Australia (50.7 per cent) (ABS 2003b). At the time of the 1996 census, demographers assessed Murray Bridge as 'stagnant or in decline', and at that time Murray Bridge was also highly welfare dependent, rating 112th of 212 Australian rural towns on the ratio of income tax to welfare benefits (Stimson, Baum, & O'Connor 2003, 135). In 2001, the year the Afghan Hazaras began arriving in Murray Bridge, the town ranked in the most disadvantaged range for the state on the SEIFA Index of Relative Socio Economic Disadvantage (ABS 2003a). At that time the unemployment rate in Murray Bridge was 10.6 per cent compared to South Australia (7.6 per cent) and Australia (7.4 per cent). The town had 12.8 per cent unemployment of youth compared to the state (9.3 per cent) and Australia (8.7 per cent). In Murray Bridge only 15.8 per cent of the residents identified as 'Professionals, Managers, Administrators or Advanced Clerical and Service workers', compared to South Australia (16 per cent) and (16.4 per cent) nationally (ABS 2003b). Both education and income of residents indicated a predominance of negative attitudes to asylum seekers.

Australian-born residents are more likely to take conservative positions on issues of immigration, multiculturalism and national security than those born in Non-English speaking countries (Birrell 2002, 48). In 2001, when the Hazaras arrived, the proportion of people of culturally and linguistically diverse ancestry in Murray Bridge was very small. British immigrants, followed by an influx of predominantly German farmers (Marsden 1985), founded the town in the 19th century. Small groups of migrants from non-English speaking countries arrived in Murray Bridge after World War II, and by the time of the 1976 census

there were 220 persons born in Italy resident in Murray Bridge (Vimpani & Blood 1980). Some Vietnamese refugees arrived in Murray Bridge in the early 1980s under a scheme sponsored by the Immigration Department (Volunteer 'T', 20 August 2007, Murray Bridge). Filipino women migrated to the area in the late 20th Century as 'mail order' brides (Philippine Embassy 2001). The census of 2001 showed that 4.2 per cent of residents in Murray Bridge identified as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander, more than double the percentage of 2.4 per cent Australia wide. According to the 2001 Census, approximately 13.6 per cent of persons in the region were born outside of Australia, compared with South Australia (20.3 per cent) and Australia (27.4 percent). At that time, 69 per cent of Murray Bridge residents claimed English-speaking (English, Scottish, and Irish) ancestry, 11 per cent German, three per cent Italian, 1 per cent Turkish ancestry and less than 1 per cent Greek (n = 59), while numbers claiming Filipino (n = 48) and Vietnamese (n = 22) ancestry were even smaller. At the time of the 2001 census, when compared with the rest of Australia, Murray Bridge was distinctly mono-cultural. Table 6.1 below provides these numbers and percentages in tabular form.

Table 6.1 Ancestry by birthplace of parents Murray Bridge (Local Government Area) 2001

Ancestry	Number	Percentage of total persons
English, Scottish, Irish	7,329	69%
German	2,091	11%
Italian	533	3%
Turkish	98	1%
Greek	59	<1%
Filipino	48	<1%
Vietnamese	22	<1%

Source: ABS 2003b

Prior to the arrival of the Hazaras, Murray Bridge was a community of low ethnic diversity compared with the rest of the state and the nation. The long-term residents were

unused to migrants of any kind, much less Muslims from Afghanistan who were also the much-reviled ‘boat people’. On the evidence of surveys of opinion, this appeared to bode ill for the Hazaras.

Despite their politically conservative populations, Hazara TPV holders integrated well in Albany and Young (see Section 5.3). Young is in the federal Division of Hume which has changed hands many times since its proclamation in 1900, but only five of the 20 members who have held it have been representatives of the Australian Labor party. Conservatives, variously represented by the Country, National Country, National, and Liberal parties have held it since 1974. Albany is located in the federal Division of O'Connor which, since its proclamation at the redistribution of 1980 has been a safe conservative seat, held by the Liberal party until 2010 when the National party candidate won. Political affiliation was very similar to that in Murray Bridge.

In 2001 these towns were also very similar demographically to Murray Bridge. Young and Albany were also places of low ethnic diversity, low levels of educational attainment, low income, and high unemployment, and both towns were also in seats held by conservative parties.

Table 6.2 2001 Census results for the Urban Centres/Localities of Young, Albany, and Murray Bridge and all of Australia by percentage

Urban Centre/Locality	Number of residents	English-speaking country of birth	Unemployment	Higher-level employment	Educational attainment year 11 or higher
Young	6,821	91.60%	8.60%	11.30%	31%
Albany	22,256	90.30%	9.40%	15.60%	43.30%
Murray Bridge	12,998	90.90%	10.60%	15.80%	41.70%
Australia	18,769,249	79.70%	7.40%	16.40%	50.70%

Source: ABS (2001)

Table 6.2 tabulates for comparison the levels of unemployment, education, higher-level employment, and numbers of people born in English speaking countries for Young, Albany, Murray Bridge, and all of Australia in 2001. All three centres rated low on socio-economic scales. In 2001 on the SEIFA Index, Albany and Young were listed as 'vulnerable' clusters, as was Murray Bridge (Stimson, Baum, & O'Connor 2003). The level of education in Young was substantially lower than that of the country as a whole, with only 31 per cent of the residents claiming education at year 11 or higher, while for Australia the level was 50.7 per cent. Murray Bridge and Albany also had lower levels of educational attainment at Year 11 level or higher, at 41 per cent in Murray Bridge (as noted earlier) and 43.4 per cent in Albany. The number of residents occupying higher grades of employment was also low in Young, which had only 11.3 per cent employed as 'Professionals', 'Managers', 'Administrators' and 'Advanced Clerical and Service Workers', while Albany (15.6 per cent) and Murray Bridge (15.8 per cent) were near the Australian level of 16.4 percent. Murray Bridge had the highest rate of unemployment at 10.6 per cent, but both Young and Albany, with 8.6 per cent and 9.4 per cent respectively, had higher unemployment than the Australian rate of 7.4 per cent (ABS 2003b). It is interesting to note that although all locations had high levels of unemployment, Hazaras moved to these towns to take up jobs at meatworks. Researchers have noted that, in developed countries, citizens will often prefer unemployment to the 'dirty, difficult and demeaning' jobs (Castles 2000, 11), which abattoir work surely is.

Young had a marginally higher percentage of people born in an English speaking country (91.6 per cent) than Albany and Murray Bridge (just over 90 per cent), compared to 79.9 per cent for the whole of Australia. All three towns had similar significantly lower proportions of residents born in non-English speaking countries than for Australia as a whole.

While based on income, education, ancestry, and political affiliation, Young and Albany could have been predicted to be problematic for the successful settlement of TPV holders the centres provided welcome and acceptance. This chapter and Chapter 7 will show that settlement was also successful in Murray Bridge.

Notwithstanding the situation when the Hazaras arrived, the picture of Murray Bridge as a depressed area of high unemployment and low opportunity has changed substantially over the last decade. From the late 1990s Murray Bridge experienced accelerating growth, mirroring the performance of the state as a whole (James 2003, 5). When T&R Pastoral bought the local abattoir in 1999, it had just 230 employees. By 2007 it employed 1,200 (Austin 2007). Concurrently, several large enterprises and many smaller ones established in the area. Companies such as Big River Pork Abattoir opened in 2002 with 150 employees and Adelaide Mushrooms opened a farm and packing plant in 2005, employing 300. By 2004, the unemployment rate in the area had dropped to 6.7 per cent, almost equal to that of the state which at the time was 6.4 per cent (ABS 2007a). The need for more workers meant that the town welcomed new migrants (Arbon 2010), creating the town's augmentive population stance.

Table 6.3 Murraylands employment and investment: Forecasted increases in employment positions 2000- 2011

Period	2000-2002	2004-2006	2006-2008	2009-2011
Region	1,999	3,184	3,326	2,831
RCMB *	1,346	2,102	2,191	2,137

Source: Clifford 2006, 2009

Note: * RCMB: Rural City of Murray Bridge

Table 6.3 tabulates forecasts of investment and employment in Murray Bridge from 2000 to 2011. In 2005 businesses in the Rural City of Murray Bridge expected to disburse

\$470 million for capital works between 2006 to 2008, and expected employment positions to grow by 2,191 (Clifford 2006, 12). These expectations were well ahead of those in the previous surveys of 2003 and 1998. The table shows that, as a result of the global financial crisis, the forecast for 2009-11 is for a decrease in growth in job vacancies and investment dollars, but still at positive levels.

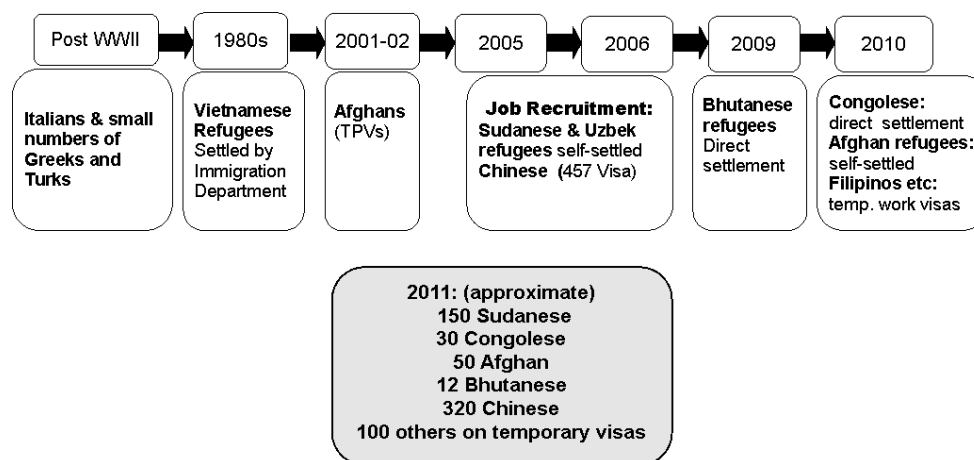
Even though the economic situation improved over the decade, the educational, employment and income profile of the residents of Murray Bridge remained much the same. Indeed, the 2006 census data shows that, since the time of the census in 2001, the percentage of residents with educational attainment of year 11 or higher had in fact dropped by one per cent to 42 per cent (ABS 2007a). (This drop may have reflected data for respondents of refugee background and from mainland China, many of whom had received little or no formal schooling.)

The profile relating to ethnicity changed as well. The decade after 2001 brought numbers of people to Murray Bridge from countries that had previously barely figured in census data for the town. These included places like Afghanistan and Sudan which had not appeared at all in previous census data. Increased migration is likely to become a focus for rising xenophobia in times of recession (Koser 2009, 13), but as this migration occurred so too did an improvement in the economic status of the area. Most importantly, the local meatworks expanded until it employed nearly seven per cent of the residents of Murray Bridge (LGA). The meat works expansion drove the ethnically diverse migration to Murray Bridge.

The Hazaras, arriving in 2001 and 2002, were the first of the new wave of workers, and from mid 2005 their families joined them in the town directly from overseas through the Special Humanitarian Program of the Immigration Department. At that time Lutheran Community Care (LCC) SA, funded by the Immigration Department, employed the researcher (who was previously a member of the community volunteer group) to settle refugees in Murray Bridge. By the end of 2005, the LCC refugee settlement service held records of 37 Afghans registered as clients, only a small proportion of those residing in the town.

As well as the increasing numbers of Hazaras, 2005 began a surge of arrivals of new migrants and humanitarian entrants in Murray Bridge. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the major post-war flows of migrants to Murray Bridge from the 1950s to 2010.

Figure 6.1 Major flows of overseas humanitarian and work migrants to Murray Bridge, post WW II



In 2005, the same year as the Hazara families began arriving, an Adelaide employment agency recruited approximately 150 Sudanese refugees for T&R Pastoral (V. Duffett, private correspondence, July 3 2008), and the meat works sponsored over 400

mainland Chinese on Regional Temporary Business subclass 457 visas and their dependents. Soon after, the Murraylands Regional Development Board employed the researcher as part-time manager of a project to provide assistance to migrants on temporary working visas. In that position, the researcher worked with more than 100 Chinese families, smaller numbers of migrants from Sri Lanka, India, and the Philippines who were working in the town on Skilled Independent Regional (SIR) subclass 495 visas, scores of Koreans on Working Holiday subclass 417 visas, and hundreds of people from the Philippines on subclass 457 visas, most of whom took work at the abattoir. In 2010 and 2011, the Immigration Department directly settled approximately 12 Bhutanese and 30 Congolese refugees in Murray Bridge, and from 2010 onwards approximately 50 Afghans recently released from immigration detention self-settled in order to work at the meat works.

Results of the 2006 census indicated that the total of overseas born in Murray Bridge had nearly doubled since the 2001 census. The total of 8.7 per cent in 2001 increased to 15.5 per cent by 2006, with 30 per cent born in a non-English speaking country (ABS 2007a). Afghanistan, Kenya, and Sudan appeared for the first time as birthplaces. Table 6.4 (below) shows the major non-English speaking countries of birth for Murray Bridge from the 2006 census data.

Table 6. 4 Country of Birth of Persons Murray Bridge LGA 2006

Country of Birth	Number of persons
Afghanistan	28
China (excludes SARs and Taiwan Province)	205
India	13
Italy	148
Kenya	3
Korea, Republic of (South)	4
Philippines	59
Sri Lanka	6
Sudan	13

Turkey	39
Viet Nam	30
Inadequately described	15
Not stated	929

ABS 2006 Census

According to the census data, there were 28 residents from Afghanistan, 13 from Sudan, and 205 from China, numbers which conflict with those claimed by the researcher. Many Sudanese of refugee background in Murray Bridge had lived for more than 10 years in Kenyan refugee camps, thus it is likely that the respondents indicating Kenya as their country of birth were ethnic Sudanese. Nevertheless, even this revised total conflicts with records from the LCC settlement service which in 2006 had 30 Sudanese listed as clients, and many other Sudanese residents were not registered. Whereas census data shows 28 persons from Afghanistan, settlement service records show 37 Afghans registered as clients. The numbers of Chinese are also problematic, given the researcher's personal experience. A possible explanation is that persons from Sudan, Afghanistan, and China, whose English skills were poor and many of whom had never participated in a census activity of any sort before, may have been counted in the census categories of 'Inadequately described' (response contained insufficient information to be coded to any level of the classification) and 'Not stated' (no response provided) (ABS 2011), which totalled 944.

The Australian Immigration Department places much importance upon securing the confidence of the local population before attempting to settle new groups of refugees in regional locations (Piper & Associates 2007, 2009). Officers from the settlement section of the Immigration Department visited Murray Bridge on several occasions in mid 2005 to consult with the broad community about the possibility of direct resettlement of humanitarian entrants in the town. The emphasis of the consultations was on a carefully planned and slow

direct resettlement of new refugees, which would be carried out only with community approval. But, as Böcker and colleagues (1998, 15) note, the need for cheap and flexible labour often obstructs the most carefully planned migration programs. By the end of the year, T&R Pastoral's recruitment of Sudanese, Chinese, and other nationalities had disrupted the Department's plan.

Notwithstanding discrepancies reflected in census data, from 2001 the ethnic composition of Murray Bridge changed in a visible way. By 2006, persons of new and noticeably different ethnicities were resident, and the proportions of migrants from English speaking countries and Germany, the traditional majorities, were decreasing. By the 2006 census the percentage of migrants from English speaking countries had dropped by three per cent to 31 percent of the overseas-born, and German-born had dropped from 3.9 per cent to 3.7 per cent. Despite the rapid rise in migrants and refugees, and their visible difference to the long-term residents, there have been no media reports indicating racial tension in the town, and the researcher personally knows of a few minor incidents.

The acceptance of the new settlers in Murray Bridge calls into question the results of other studies that found intolerance associated with low socio-economic status, restricted education, and conservative voting preferences. The acceptance of TPV holders in Young and Albany also developed counter to expectations based on demographic factors. Studies by Pedersen and Walker (1997), Pedersen and colleagues (2000) and Betts (2001) found positive correlations of socio-economic status, educational levels and conservative voting preferences with attitudes to migrants. These findings were based on opinion surveys, but, as noted in Section 5.3, opinion does not necessarily correlate with subsequent action, even if

demographic indicators are taken into account. The findings from Sections 6.1 and 6.2 about Murray Bridge and those from Section 5.3.6 relating to Young and Albany contest expectations based on samples of opinion.

6.3 The Hazaras in Murray Bridge and encounters with community volunteers

People smuggling consortia trucked the Afghan Hazaras who were to settle in Murray Bridge to Pakistan, from there flew them to Indonesia, and then transported them by boat to the Australian islands and reefs closest to the Indonesian archipelago (Maley 2001). Border control vessels intercepted some in Australian waters and others were found once ashore. They were held in immigration detention in remote Australian locations including Woomera and Pt Hedland (see Section 4.2 for maps showing the locations of immigration detention facilities) while their claims to asylum were assessed. Once they were found to have legitimate claims to refugee status, they were released on TPVs. The Afghan Hazara TPV holders began arriving in Murray Bridge in 2001 to take jobs at the meat processing plant.

It is impossible to know exactly how many lived there at any one time, but estimates in the public domain range between less than sixty-seven (House of Representatives 2004, 28909) (see Section 5.2), to approximately 80 (Taylor-Neumann & Balasingam 2009) and ‘more than 100’ (Shaw 2004; Haxton 2004). Conversely, the 2001 census recorded zero. This is unsurprising, because although census collectors attempt to provide interpreters for any known language groups, it is likely that collectors would have been unaware of the presence of the Hazaras who had only recently arrived. Moreover, many of the men were both illiterate and wary of giving their details to authorities. In addition, official sources in Australia have difficulty in recording accurate locational information for people from newly arrived CALD

(Culturally and Linguistically Diverse) communities, especially those who are not obliged to register to vote (see Section 5.2 for a discussion).

The Murray Bridge Hazara respondents in this study spent between 15 and 155 days in detention, an average of 78 days (see Table 6.5 below).

Table 6. 5 Bio data Hazara respondents

Code	Age on arrival	Ethnicity	Occupation in Afghanistan	Marital status	No. of children	Days in detention (approx)	Place of first residence in Australia	English ability on arrival
I	40	Hazara	Farmer	M	6	120	Adelaide	none
C	47	Hazara	Farmer	M	7	23	Adelaide	none
A	42	Hazara	shop keeper	M	7	122	Adelaide	none
L	25	Hazara	Policeman	M	3	60	Adelaide	none
B	44	Hazara	Farmer	M	5	15	Adelaide	none
E	21	Hazara	Baker	M	1	45	Adelaide	none
H	19	Hazara	Farmer	S	0	70	Adelaide	none
G	45	Hazara	Farmer	M	10	54	Perth	moderate
K	30	Hazara	shop keeper	M	4	120	Adelaide	none
J	21	Hazara	Farmer	M	1	26	Perth	none
F	18	Hazara	Student	S	0	155	Adelaide	moderate
M	19	Hazara	Farmer	M	0	30	Melbourne	none
N	25	Hazara	Farmer	M	2	40	Adelaide	none
D	17	Hazara	Farmer	S	0	210	Perth	none

Note: ‘Moderate’: able to make oneself understood with simple requests and understand simple replies

As shown in Table 6.5, all were male and nearly all came from rural areas. All reported arriving in Australia from late 2000 to the end of 2001. The median age on arrival in Australia was 29.5 years, with the oldest 47 years and the youngest 17. The ages quoted are not precise. Many were unsure of their birth year because of the relatively low importance assigned to birth dates in Afghanistan and the paucity of public records there (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2007). Most spoke no English on arrival. Eleven were married, and most of the married men also had children. The older the men, the more numerous were their children. The men had mostly been farmers and had worked on the family land with all

the members of their extended family. Two others were shopkeepers; one was a baker and one a police officer. Those who were not married on arrival were under 20 years of age. The 17-year-old was under the care of a government appointed guardian and attended school after his release from immigration detention until his 18th birthday. He arrived in Murray Bridge soon after that to live with friends and work at the meat works in their company. The above data show that, although none were employed as meatworkers in Afghanistan, the majority had been farmers and therefore presumably familiar with slaughter and preparation of carcasses. They spent relatively short periods in immigration detention, an average of 78 days compared with 155 for all people in immigration detention over the same period (see Section 4.2). This may have been because Hazara claims for refugee status were processed more quickly overall, but it is impossible to say. The brevity of their incarceration would, however, have mitigated negative effects. Most could speak no English on arrival, and most had left dependent wives and children behind, circumstances adding to the stress of adapting to their new country. Their families were in Afghanistan, or had fled from there to Iran and Pakistan as illegal immigrants. Some men did not know where their families were.

All were in private rental accommodation in Murray Bridge, mostly small two-bedroom flats typically shared by four or more men. All had full employment. The need to send money to support their families increased their determination to earn money to support them. The men arranged their accommodation and other aspects of their domestic lives to minimise cost, so that all money possible could be sent to their families or added to savings to pay for their families' travel costs, if and when it became possible to bring them to Australia.

6.3.1 Trials and tribulations of the TPV holders in Murray Bridge

This section presents a picture of the suffering that the TPV conditions caused, as experienced by the Hazaras of Murray Bridge. It is undisputed that the TPV imposed suffering on those who held it. As noted in Section 2.5.4, all studies found much the same stressors: enforced separation from family, exacerbated by the possibility that it could all be for nothing, and fear of being returned to danger. Handicaps such as denial of access to English language services were taxing, but when compared with the intensity of the other stressors they dwindled to insignificance. Although the interviews undertaken for this study did not focus on these aspects of the TPV experience, it is unsurprising that the Hazaras did speak about such intense aspects of their lives.

Table 6.6 tabulates the effects of the stress of their visa status known to the researcher.

Table 6.6 Physical, emotional and life threatening results of the stress of the TPV on Murray Bridge Hazaras

Physical effects	Emotional effects	Suicide
Insomnia	Fear	Two deaths
Constant and excessive sweating	Feeling of being on a test	Three unsuccessful attempts
Sudden loss of hair	Despair	
Headaches and stomach upsets	Obsessive thoughts	

Six respondents mentioned stress directly, while others mentioned symptoms that were most likely to have been stress induced, the most common of which was obsessive thoughts. Fear and despair were common, especially related to the possibility of being ‘sent back’ which was a major topic for six respondents.

Without any prompting, several respondents mentioned the suicide of Dr W. in Murray Bridge, as narrated below:

G: The government had told him (Dr W.) to go back, and he knew he would be killed there. He did it himself first

(2.8.07 Adelaide)

M: People became sick – psycho like the man who hanged himself

(9.9.07 Murray Bridge)

As noted in Section 5.3, Hazara communities across Australia were aware of this suicide and various media reported it.

The researcher is aware of at least three other Hazara men in Murray Bridge who attempted suicide. At the time of interviews one man was unable to work because of the damage to his neck caused by his hanging attempt four years earlier, and another man tragically succeeded in drowning himself during this study - three years after he twice attempted it while on the TPV. In private conversations between 2002 and 2005 many of the men told the researcher that they were not sleeping more than a few hours a night and several had taken to walking the streets of Murray Bridge in the early hours. A practitioner/researcher, who befriended the men in Murray Bridge and worked with them as a counsellor and with their assistance produced a resource for other Temporary Protection Visa holders about mental health, says:

For many of the men we have been working with, suicide is a very real option. These are people who fled to save their lives, whose will to live is strong but for whom the prospect of death looms large. Their Temporary Protection Visas will soon expire and so too their hopes of remaining in Australia. If forced to return home, they're convinced they'll be killed. If their lives are to be lost, most would prefer it to be at their own hands. Many are taking medication to help them sleep at night and treat their depression

(Proctor, 2004b)

Separation from their families was an egregious stressor, particularly because the locations of many of the families made communication extremely difficult. Eleven of the respondents made specific mention of stress and anxiety, and the following extracts from interviews illustrate the intensity:

K: I was worried about my family. There was a guy from Malistan at the hotel,² and he said that there is a telephone in Malistan. Malistan is very close to my village. I said 'You're joking!' At that time there were no telephones and no post in Afghanistan. He said it was a satellite phone. It was very good news because at last I could contact my family. All that time I had no contact. They did not know where I was. I sent a letter through Red Cross in detention, but that takes a long, long time.

(25.8.07 Adelaide)

G: We had left our families behind, and most of the people they did not know where their families were. In the beginning my family did not know where I was, and only after 6 or 8 months did they know. I sent several letters but at that time there was no postal service, no phones in Afghanistan. I sent messages to my wife to bring the children out of Afghanistan. But she was a simple country woman and she could not read or write and so it was too hard for her to bring the children out. So my brother, he came from Iran and I asked him to take the family out. I was able to contact him by phone. After that there was satellite telephone communication, but it was very expensive. I cost nearly \$100 every time, and my family had to pay at their end on top of that too. Sometimes the weather was not good and we could not hear and sometimes the phone card was finished before we could say anything. That was the hardest thing, the separation.

(2.8.07 Adelaide)

I: We were very worried about the family. My wife and children were still in the same area in Afghanistan, a very dangerous area. Because the Taliban came to our house many times and talked to my wife. They asked her where is your husband, and they said your husband went to somewhere for training. She said just he is gone. For 2 years she didn't know if I was dead or alive! She didn't know where I was. After 2 years a friend was able to get a letter to her. She was crying every day.

(25.7.07 Adelaide)

Not only were these respondents separated from their families, but they had left them in dangerous situations. The stress was compounded because of the paucity of means of communication with Afghanistan, and because women faced extreme difficulty with negotiating public life there without an adult male relative. In this way they were no better off than if they were still in detention. Whereas many refugees suffer from enforced separation from their families, in the case of TPV holders this was exacerbated because the men could not be sure that they had made the right decision in deciding to try for refuge in Australia.

Depression and other mental illnesses are more common in individuals who have experienced political disruption, war, and natural disasters, and all refugees suffer stress from separation from family members, but feelings of powerlessness can outweigh the impact of pre-migration trauma. As described above, the stresses of separation, of inability to protect their families, and the uncertainty of their situation, created extreme psychological pressure on the men in Murray Bridge. Studies of TPV holders, described in Section 2.5.4, also found that separation and uncertainty were the source of the severest stress. This source of stress was ongoing and therefore the usual interventions were in most cases ineffective. When doctors and counsellors attempted to assist the men in Murray Bridge their agitation and depression remained, which accords with the findings of studies summarised in Section 2.5.4. As argued in Section 2.5, however, the person's perception of their circumstances is the most important determinant of life satisfaction. This is directly related to the quality of relationships. The men all reported the depth of the relationships they developed with the community volunteers and the comfort this gave them. This reinforces the importance of the community volunteers in the successful settlement of the Hazara men.

The changes in demeanour of the men when they were at last reunited with their families (between 2005 and 2007) astonished the researcher. Men whom she knew as chronically depressed, agitated, even suicidal, were quite suddenly calm and even-tempered. By the time the interviews with the Hazaras took place in 2007, many of the objective indicators of integration as delineated in the Kuhlman/Hinsliff Model (Section 2.5) were fulfilled. This data is presented in Table 6.7 below.

Table 6. 7 Hazara participants: residential, housing and citizenship status at time of interviews 2007

Code	Place of residence	Employment status	Housing status	Education of wife	Citizenship status	Voting status
I	Adelaide	Permanent full time	Buying own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
C	Murray Bridge	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
A	Murray Bridge	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
L	Murray Bridge	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
B	Murray Bridge	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
E	Murray Bridge	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
H	Adelaide	Permanent full time	Buying own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
G	Adelaide	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
K	Adelaide	Permanent full time	Buying own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
J	Sydney	Own business	Buying own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
F	Melbourne	University student	Renting own home	Unmarried	Citizen	Registered to vote
M	Murray Bridge	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Wife studying English	Citizen	Registered to vote
N	Murray Bridge	Sickness benefit	Renting own home	Wife deceased	Citizen	Registered to vote
D	Adelaide	Permanent full time	Renting own home	Unmarried	Citizen	Registered to vote

All were in full employment besides one on sickness benefits, and those who still lived in Murray Bridge were with their original employer. One had left Murray Bridge when he won a scholarship to study at a university in Melbourne, another had left to join a friend to

establish a building company in Sydney, four had moved to Adelaide at the request of their wives who wanted to be part of a larger Afghan community or because their children wanted to pursue tertiary education in Adelaide, and one other had left Murray Bridge for Adelaide because he disliked the work at the abattoir. All had good housing. Some were in long-term rentals, and one third had purchased their own homes. All wives were attending English lessons and some had gained a driving license (two years or less after arrival); all children of school age were attending school and all of the respondents had attained citizenship as soon as they qualified and immediately enrolled to vote. By the time of the interviews all except one older man spoke very adequate English, whereas only two had spoken any English at all at the time of arrival in Australia. Comparing these outcomes with the 'Objective aspects' of integration listed in the Kuhlman/Hinsliff Model, the men had attained the full 'Legal Rights' of Australian citizenship, were economically and spatially integrated since nearly all had full time work, many had bought their own homes, and none could be said to live in an ethnic 'ghetto', and while they were continuing their cultural practices, they had many social contacts with people outside their ethnic community. This data, collected approximately six years after their arrival in Australia, indicates that, on objective indicators, the Hazara participants had integrated well.

All Hazara interviewees had attempted to find work for periods ranging from a few weeks to six months after their release, and the meatworks in Murray Bridge was for most their first full-time work in Australia. As noted in other studies (Brotherhood of St Lawrence 2002; Barnes, 2003; Mann 2001; Mansouri et al. 2002; Marston, 2003), their lack of English and inability to access government-funded employment networks contributed to the difficulty in finding employment. Despite being highly motivated to earn money to send to their

families, most were unemployed for three months or more. The pressure to help their families is evident in their descriptions of this period. While they waited for full-time employment, several took casual and part time work in agriculture, as respondent 'H' describes:

H: I was in Adelaide 5 months, and didn't have a job, except I went to Mildura for 3 weeks work there. A friend told me about work in Murray Bridge, so I went there and got a job with (meat processing plant).

(12.6.07 Adelaide)

The only respondent who held a regular job before arriving in Murray Bridge reported having worked at the meatworks in Katanning, Western Australia. He left when the work slowed, which meant less money for his family:

G: Then they (immigration officials, on his release from detention) sent me to Perth and I was there for three months without job ... After three months somebody, an Afghan friend, called me and asked me to come and work at Katanning, the meat works. I was there for about ten months and then the work slowed down because of a shortage of sheep and they made it three days a week and it was not enough and then we had another friend and we went to Murray Bridge.

(2.8.07 Adelaide)

Hazara A's experience was unusual in that he was only without work for 6 weeks:

A: After 6 weeks we found jobs with (meat processing plant) in Murray Bridge. For the first 40 days we lived in Adelaide and drove up and back to work every day.

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

Most of the Hazaras mentioned the assistance of friends in finding work, particularly in work in the abattoir in Murray Bridge. They shared cars, and helped each other with filling in forms. Some details are obscure, most likely because the respondents had been unused to Australian norms and behaviours at the times under discussion and so had failed to

understand events accurately. For example, while several said that ‘immigration’ had ‘sent’ them to Adelaide or Perth, implying compulsion, in fact on release detainees were provided with transport to the nearest capital city from the detention centre, if they required it (Commonwealth Ombudsman Australia 2007). The means by which they found the jobs at the meatworks were also not clear. For example, some mentioned Job Network, a government-funded network of organisations contracted by the Australian Government to deliver employment services to unemployed job seekers on government income support payments, whereas as TPV holders they were not entitled to access this service (see Section 4.3.1). In a private conversation the owner and CEO of the Murray Bridge meatworks told the researcher that his company had recruited some Hazaras through an employment agency in Adelaide, and it seems that once a few men heard about the opportunities, they shared the information with other Hazaras.

The Hazaras met the Murray Bridge volunteers for the first time between three months and one year after their release from detention in 2000 and 2001. The Church of Christ had begun providing assistance to TPV holders in early 2001 in Adelaide, and when some of the Afghan Hazara men who they had been assisting moved to Murray Bridge to work at the meat processing plant, they alerted friends in the Uniting Church in Murray Bridge and the Baptist Church in a suburb in the range of hills between Adelaide and Murray Bridge about their needs. The Murray Bridge Uniting Church was the source of most of the volunteers, along with some members of the Church of Christ. People from nearby towns who were members of other churches, notably the Baptist Church, also became involved, along with a few people who were unaffiliated with a formal church congregation. The community volunteers, who formed an informal and unaffiliated CSO, began offering

English lessons to the Hazaras in the town in early 2002. Although numbers of volunteers varied, one document from September 2004 records thirty-one volunteers. The author was a volunteer member of this group from its formation until 2005.

Once they had established regular meetings with the Hazaras in early 2002, the community volunteers approached non-governmental organisations including the South Australian Migrant Resource Centre, Australian Migrant English Program providers, and government services including TAFE and Centrelink for assistance for the men and for their work, and were met with refusals. Government funded agencies were not able to support TPV holders. Responses from local organisations and faith-based NGOs were to prove much more positive. In late 2002 the group approached Lutheran Community Care (LCC), a church-based NGO, and the organisation managed to provide a part time coordinator to assist the group. The position of coordinator was financed in the first year partly by the Forsythe Foundation, an initiative of Uniting Care Wesley, and in part by donations from the Lutheran Ladies' Guild. In following years, funds from the men's employer, a grant from the Murray Bridge Council, and the Lutheran Ladies' Guild financially supported the position.

6.4 Stresses and successes of settlement as portrayed in the Hazara interviews

Analysis of data from the interviews with the Hazaras yielded a range of topics listed in Table 6.8 below.

Table 6. 8 Recurring topics from Hazara interviews identified through Atlas.ti

Topic
'Volunteers'
'English'
'Family' (family by birth and marriage)
'Being sent back to Afghanistan'

'Stress experienced because of the TPV'
'Belonging' (in Australia and Murray Bridge)
'Kindness' (of volunteers and other citizens)
'Strangers' (their experience of themselves as strangers)
'Difficulties settling because of the TPV'

These topics provided a basis for comparing interviews with each other and with the researcher's own constructs. The topic of 'volunteers' was the most frequent and when this topic was further disaggregated, sub-themes emerged: 'volunteers as friends', friendship with the volunteers experienced as 'same as Afghan friends', being 'surprised by (the actions of) volunteers, and 'volunteers as family'. It is interesting to note that 'friends' only appeared as a subset of the 'volunteer' topic, and these cases identify the Murray Bridge community volunteers as friends, and/or as good a friend as Afghans. In 41 per cent of cases, the Hazaras referred to the volunteers as either friends or family. In the 'surprised by volunteers' subset, the respondents compared the help and friendship of the Murray Bridge community volunteers with what they had learned to expect in similar situations in Afghanistan. Every occurrence of 'English' was either associated with difficulties with life in Australia because of a lack of English, or with the lessons they participated in with the community volunteers. The topic of 'family' incorporated the subtopics of separation from their families, attempts to contact their families, worry about their families still overseas, and delight when finally reunited. The topics of 'being sent back' and 'government' were closely associated, since 'back' signalled comments about being returned to Afghanistan by the 'government', of which they were much afraid. Only two respondents mentioned the topic of 'difficulties settling', referring to difficulties with employment, housing and financial status. The final topic was that of 'kindness' as related to mentions of kindness from members of the Australian community other than the community volunteers. The themes that emerged fit

with the researcher's previously held constructs of the experience of the Hazaras, except for 'stranger' content of the topic 'belonging', and the extent of the Hazaras' amazement at the actions of the community volunteers.

Overall the topics portray the intense dichotomy of the men's situation – on the one hand they were experiencing extreme stress, and on the other they had found new friends and family. The positive settlement experiences of full-time employment, secure and affordable housing, and income enough to support both them and their absent families, while assisting their settlement, were not as fundamental as the relationships they developed in building the sense of belonging. The closeness that they experienced with the community volunteers was the same as they experienced with family and friends in Afghanistan, except that the manner in which they were accepted by the volunteers was outside their previous experience. This closeness was a major factor in the success of their integration into the Murray Bridge community.

6.4.1 Hazara attitudes about the Australian detention and immigration regime and their expectations of welcome

The Hazaras quite appropriately held initial frames of themselves as strangers in Australia, but what was of surprise was the intensity of the Hazaras' 'stranger' frame. It became clear that the 'stranger' frames they had held in Afghanistan sensitised them to and reinforced their experiences in Australia as asylum seekers and TPV holders. The interviews showed that their pre-existing frame of 'stranger', a major theme in five Hazara interviews, meant that none of the Hazara respondents expressed surprise that they were detained and interrogated, (some for many months), by officials of the Immigration Department.

Additionally, none of the men expressed resentment about their detention. Moreover, two Hazara respondents unexpectedly expressed agreement with the asylum seeker legislation on the grounds that caution must temper hospitality:

C: If you go to someone's house and he doesn't know you, he can stop you coming in. It's his right.

(9.6.07 Murray Bridge)

A: I think Australia has the right to detain and interrogate people who arrive here like we did.

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

The responses of C. and A. are similar to that in a recent study of Afghan asylum seekers attempting to get to the UK. The study relates that an Afghan asylum seeker was on his way to Britain when guards in Bulgaria set dogs on him and captured him. The man told the investigators that 'It was their country, I was there illegally; they had the right to do it' (Rogers & Ghouri, 2010).

Respondents in an Australian study by Hoffmann (2003, 16) were of the same opinion: 'I agree one hundred percent, the people you don't know, you shouldn't allow in to the country'. In discussing this response, Hoffman argues that since perceptions alter as experience changes, even the most disadvantaged can see their position as natural, and concludes that his respondent has, through this process, 'come to conspire in his own subordination', 'internalising (his) own illegitimacy' (Ibid: 16). Hoffman's statement frames TPV holders as people who did not hold opinions favourable towards the actions of the Australian government except as a result of their 'powerlessness'. Just as the category

‘refugee’ facilitates framing them as powerless victims, so too does ‘asylum seekers’. Hoffman appears to have analysed the response through the frame of assumed powerlessness.

From the interviews in this study, the contrast between the terror of life in Afghanistan and the relatively mild treatment at the hands of Australian immigration officials provides further explanation for these responses. ‘Relative deprivation’ (see Colic-Peisker 2009, Chapter 2; Fozdar & Torezani 2008) can mean that memories of more severe trauma reduce the impact of subsequent difficult circumstances. The Afghan asylum seekers came from a brutal situation. Their previous misery enabled two respondents to frame even the worst of Australia in a positive light. Although the following statements came from only two of the Hazara interview cohort, their relative weight should be evaluated in the light of the fact that the interviewer deliberately avoided asking questions about experiences of immigration detention:

E. I have no complaints about detention – compared to what detention (jail) was like in Afghanistan it was very good; we had food, clothes, every kind of facility.

(20.5.07 Murray Bridge)

G. I feel no anger with the government for what we went through. We came from a very bad place, and they had to be careful. There were thousands of us. They had to be very, very careful.

(2.8.07 Adelaide)

On the other hand, one respondent in the present study expressed both ‘justified wariness of the stranger’ and ‘treat strangers decently’ frames:

D. The government had to do something about people who come into the country without passports and so on – but they did not have to make life so very terrible for so long.

(13.8.07 Adelaide)

Another respondent also spoke of the dissonance between the development of human rights in Australia and his treatment on the TPV:

L. So I meet with someone from immigration and I talk with them, but sometime I think 'This doesn't work'. It didn't work to make them understand. They say 'OK, that's hard, that's impossible, but we try'. Then after a few times I say to myself you try to talk, nobody listen to you, nobody knows what is your situation. You (Australians) understand about human rights. You understand how people should live. How the people be safe. How to have good life. But it doesn't work. They all the time say 'This is your problem. This is the immigration law'.

(25.4.07 Murray Bridge)

The Hazara respondents were able to accept their detention because they framed uninvited strangers as people who must be treated with caution, a frame created through their experiences in Afghanistan. Suspicion of strangers had been a fundamental of personal safety there. By the time of their arrival in Australia, Afghanistan had gone through more than 30 years of war, including the period of Soviet hegemony under the leadership of Najibullah, when spying on citizens by government agents was commonplace. In addition, immigration detention in Australia, however harsh, compares favourably with similar situations in Afghanistan

The men in Murray Bridge were all aware of the Federal Government's attitude to TPV holders and four respondents said that they were aware of government rhetoric that framed them as unwanted outsiders. The frames in government discourse reinforced their previous frame of strangers, as the following interviewees describe:

A. Phillip Ruddock was saying we had come through the back door; that we were uninvited, and we were scared.... We felt ashamed – because we didn't fit in, because we didn't belong...

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

Others reported the distressing emotions the rhetoric elicited in them:

B. I did not feel comfortable because Phillip Ruddock said we were boat people and we should not be here.

(25.4.07 Murray Bridge)

F. I thought that I was one of the 5 to 9 thousand who would be sent back.

(4.8.07 Adelaide)

These comments show that the anti asylum seeker rhetoric of government and media was not lost on the asylum seekers themselves. While they acknowledged themselves as ‘strangers’, the rhetoric made them afraid. As was described in Chapter 4, government ministers not only spoke about the nation being ‘swamped’ by the arrivals, but denigrated them further. They implied that they were terrorists, that they were so different to Australians that they would throw their own children into the sea, and that they were ‘queue jumpers’ who took places from ‘genuine’ refugees, including relatives of members of their ethnic communities in Australia. This framed them not only as strangers, but unworthy, dangerous and inhuman as well. Proctor quotes one of the Hazara men in Murray Bridge who attributes the suicide of Dr W. partly to the words of the Mayor of Pt Lincoln South Australia, who said that the ‘illegal immigrants’ should be ‘used as live target practice’.

He knew what was happening. He knew what was being said about us in the Australian newspapers. One day he read in the local newspaper about an Australian Mayor, Peter Davis, who said we were "good for target practice". He said to me "everywhere we go we cannot escape our fate to go to the Goristan (graveyard) ...we have no rights in Afghanistan or in Australia".

(Proctor 2004a, 45).

The ‘unwanted stranger’ frame was reinforced by the unfortunate synchronicity of the arrival of the Afghan Hazaras in Australia with the events of September 11 2001, and the subsequent publicity about the war on the Taliban in Afghanistan. As shown in Section 2.5.3, overseas events shedding a negative light on Muslim countries, especially 9/11, caused increased prejudice towards all Muslims in Australia. Merely because they came from the same country, people conflated the Hazaras with the Taliban, despite the reality that they had in fact been their primary victims. Three respondents gave examples of unpleasant incidents related to 9/11:

H. For the first four or five months there were many racist remarks – but then they stopped. That was at 9/11 time.

(12.6.07 Adelaide)

D. But when 9/11 happened people were very rude. During Refugee week then I was wearing traditional clothes and at a petrol station counter, after I paid, some man said “You Osama?” “Do you want to blow up here?”

(13.9.07 Adelaide)

L. One night after 9/11, I come from pub and one boy he was rude to me about my race. He did something wrong to me and he hit me.

(25.4.07 Murray Bridge)

These comments show the effects of dominant discourses not only on the broader Australian community but also on the so-called ‘boat people’, even in a regional centre like Murray Bridge.

Meetings with Australian immigration officials reinforced the ‘unwelcome stranger’ frame, while meetings with Australian residents contested it. One respondent in the study contrasted his experiences with Australians with what he was told in immigration detention:

H: *In detention the officers said that Australians did not want us and that they would hate us. But it wasn't like that at all.*

(12.6.07, Adelaide)

Another respondent expected that Australians would be kind, despite what he was told:

L: *But when I left detention I expected Australians to be kind – this is modern country. If we get in I expect no problems.*

(25.4.07, Murray Bridge)

Hazara 'D' encapsulated the contrast of the official rhetoric with the hospitality of ordinary people, saying:

The government made us feel like criminals, but the Australians made us feel proud, they made us feel like good friends.

(13.8.07, Adelaide)

This comment also appears to valorise Australian friends who Hazara 'D' is 'proud' to have.

The interviewer specifically tried to elicit recollections of 'unwelcome' expressed as racism by asking if people had been 'rude'. Two of the Hazara respondents reported incidents with their wives in Murray Bridge:

L: *Once in petrol station and because she had headscarf someone said to her 'Devil, Devil'.*

(25.4.07 Murray Bridge)

E: *Twice someone has shouted at my wife because she wears a scarf, but people are the same everywhere.*

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

The women were the 'visible' other (as described in Section 2.5.3), and therefore bore the brunt of prejudice. The men were not immediately recognisable as Muslim, but as noted above, some did report racism directed at them at the time of 9/11, and two spoke about their treatment at the meatworks:

M: No-one has ever been rude to me because I am Afghan. I first went to (the meat processing plant) the Aussies, some of them were rude, but they are always rude to the new guys, and after a few days it was good.

(9.9.07 Murray Bridge)

K: I did not experience any racism in Murray Bridge, except at work, but that is the same everywhere, and the same no matter who you are.

(25.8.07 Adelaide)

The racist remarks, or 'teasing', occurred only in the first weeks and months at the plant and over time the Hazaras became aware that everyone was 'teased' when they started work there. On the other hand, other respondents did not report any racism at work, and one man asserted a contrary view of his time at the plant:

A: The workers at T&R were friendly to us.

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

One respondent speaks of prejudice against 'boat people' in Murray Bridge, and specified that it had happened only once in the town, whereas he had experienced more racism in large Australian cities.

F: Oh, there was once, at a party at (his tutor)'s and the in-law of a friend of hers was critical of me because I was a 'boat person'. But that's all. I have experienced a lot of racism in Melbourne and Sydney. People would say 'We don't want you here', 'We don't want Muslims/Afghans/boatpeople.' 'You are liars. We know who you really are.' 'You take our jobs'.

(25.8.07 Adelaide)

Two other Hazara participants compared the amount of racism they had experienced in Murray Bridge compared to other places in Australia:

E: No-one was ever rude to me in MB. In Sydney it happens sometime that people say rude things because I am Afghan.

(2.6.07 Sydney)

D: That sort of thing happened many times in Adelaide. But not in the past few years. And never in Murray Bridge. Never in Perth.

(25.8.07 Adelaide)

These show that the experiences of racism and prejudice were diverse and situation-specific. Their impact also depends on the parties involved as well as the context. Indeed, some took these incidents lightly. What is clear, however, is that the Hazaras experienced Australians who were not so welcoming of them, which is not unusual given the political and media discourses at the time. Despite reporting racism, the respondents' overall experience of their reception as new comers was much more positive than their prior experience in Afghanistan, the remarks of detention centre staff, and the dominant public discourse had prepared them for.

6.4.2 Frame transformation among the Hazaras in Murray Bridge

Their frame of 'unwelcome' began undergoing change as soon as the Hazaras left immigration detention, and was to transform even further when they became involved with the community volunteers in Murray Bridge. The following section describes this transformation.

While there is no direct study of the attitudes of residents of Murray Bridge to asylum seekers at the time the Hazara TPV holders arrived, it is unlikely that they differed substantially from those held across the nation. The local newspaper, the *Murray Valley Standard*, carried no items about asylum seekers prior to 2003, leaving residents to learn about them from the negative reports in the large circulation media. Residents of Murray Bridge had lower levels of educational attainment, minimal experience of people from non-English speaking backgrounds, and a predominance of right-wing voters, which studies quoted in Section 6.2 found to be predictive of prejudice against minority groups. In contrast, the first encounters with Murray Bridge residents proved to be positive, as narrated by two Hazara respondents, below:

E: I was out on the street when a lady stopped. She asked us about where we came from and invited us to her house. There was another Afghan man there. She was very kind. She invited us to dinner.

(20.5.07 Murray Bridge)

D: He (one of the Murray Bridge volunteer group) came to my home and invited me to come for a meal.

(13.8.07 Adelaide)

Although they had not experienced the rejection from the Australian public that the immigration detention officers had predicted, they were surprised by the extent of the Murray Bridge community volunteers' generosity. The following statement from Hazara 'G' illustrates their feelings about the friendly encounters with the volunteers in Murray Bridge:

G: How could they come and spend their Saturday afternoons with us when they could be spending it with their families? In Afghanistan if someone comes from a long distance everyone suspects them. You know, no one believed it at first. When we told other Afghans, they could not believe it. They would say "how come? It doesn't

happen in Afghanistan". Most of the people were suspicious about it. You didn't know us. We came from a country so far from Australia, a war zone, 30 years war makes crazy, but you still invite us, we could have been anyone, murderers, robbers, in our country we must be suspicious of everyone to survive.

(2.8.07 Adelaide)

Three Hazara respondents mentioned specific fears that the volunteers might pass on information to the Immigration Department:

A: We thought that the volunteers might talk to us and then pass on information to the government, that's why they came to us.

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

I: We didn't understand. It was very hard. We thought they (the volunteers) must be from Immigration.

(25.7.07 Adelaide)

L: In the beginning, we thought they were given the job from Immigration. We couldn't understand how people could do this for nothing. Who don't have a duty. Just bringing forward something by himself.

(25.4.07 Murray Bridge)

These statements not only show the perceived differences in behaviour in Afghanistan and Australia, but they also evidence Goffman's (1959) insights into the influence of frames on everyday behaviour. Their surprise and confusion about the community volunteers' reception of them was an effect of the 'stranger' frame. They said they were astonished because in Afghanistan no one would assist a stranger in such a manner. The unusual generosity of the volunteers reactivated memories of informers ingratiating themselves for nefarious motives, and contested the frame 'strangers are not to be trusted'. It was some time before the meaning of the volunteers' actions was transformed 'into something patterned on this act but seen ... to be quite something else' (Goffman 1974, 44).

Hazara 'A' summarised the process of frame transformation from unwanted stranger:

We felt ashamed – because we didn't fit in, because we didn't belong, and the encouragement of the volunteers caused our fear and shame to go.

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

Government rhetoric initially reinforced the frame of strangers that they had developed in Afghanistan, but the actions of the volunteers overcame the shame and alienation that reinforced their frames of themselves as strangers. This enabled transformation of the frames they held of themselves and the development of a sense of belonging. As discussed in Section 2.5, the sense of belonging is the key to successful integration of refugees. Nine Hazara respondents specifically mentioned feeling a sense of belonging in Australia, with saying *I feel like this is my country... The people are my people* (Hazara 'L'), *I am very happy now, and proud to be Australian* (Hazara 'A'), *I have as many non-Afghan as Afghan friends now, I reckon... I do feel at home here* (Hazara 'F'). One respondent in particular mentioned the sense of 'watan': *We feel like Murray Bridge is like my born area (Watan)* (Hazara 'I').

This sense of belonging involves various dimensions, including friends, family, and a general feeling of comfort in the culture. The sense of belonging grew through relationships with volunteers who supported the Hazaras in the course of seeking a resolution to their settlement issues. These relationships formed a crucial part of integration and the construction of a sense of belonging. The frame of 'unwanted strangers' transformed into a feeling of belonging, and created 'watan', a space of belonging within a new country (see Section 2.5.4). Whereas the Hazaras had deep longing for their 'watan' of family and ancestral lands in Afghanistan, in the absence of family members their relationships with

each other and the community volunteers created a new watan. It is striking that, although respondents who are interviewed in a language in which they do not feel completely confident, as were the Hazaras, may ‘perceive themselves as less confident, happy, and intelligent’ (Marshall and While 1994), the overwhelming finding from the Hazara interviews was one of happiness with their new lives.

This finding is in contrast to most other research around TPV holders (as examined in Section 2.5.3) which focus on the stresses caused by the characteristics of the visa category, and paint a picture of suffering and misery. Nevertheless, research results from the studies of Young and Albany, which looked further than the exigencies of the visa conditions, showed the very close relationships between the TPV holders and their community, and Stillwell’s research in Young also described successful settlement and the benefits for both the TPV holders and the receiving community.

6.5 The Murray Bridge community volunteers

The bio-data for the Murray Bridge volunteer respondents is tabulated in Table 6.9 below.

Table 6.9 Bio data of community volunteer interviewees

Code	Gender	Religion	Educational attainment	Employment status	Marital status	Place of birth
O	F	Christian	lower high school	Retired	Widowed	Australia
P	F	Christian	MA	Working Part Time	Married	Australia
Q	F	Atheist	MA	Retired	Widowed	UK
R	M	Christian	BA Dip T	Working Full Time	Married	Australia
S	F	Christian	TAFE	Retired	Married	Australia
T	F	Christian	BA Dip T	Retired	Married	Australia
U	F	Christian	BA	Retired	Married	Australia

V	F	Unstipulated	BA	Working Full Time	Single	Australia
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The volunteer interviewees ranged in age from early 30s to late 70s and all except one had completed some tertiary education. Of the eight volunteers interviewed, six were Christian, one atheist, and one unstipulated. Other than one who was born in the UK, all were born in Australia. In 2002, when they became involved with the Hazaras, three were in full-time work, one worked part time and five were retired. All except one of the volunteer interviewees was female. Although the researcher selected them randomly from a list of all the community volunteers, the range of people is a fair representation of the entire group. While their places of birth correlated with the profile of Murray Bridge residents in the 2001 Census, in contrast to only 41.7 per cent of Murray Bridge residents who had had participated in education after year 11 (2001 Census), all of the community volunteer respondents except one had participated in tertiary education. This would predict more positive attitudes to asylum seekers, as discussed in Section 6.1. Most identified as Christian, coinciding with the strong support of the asylum seekers by church groups across Australia as described in Section 5.3.5. Their characteristics fit with those of the ‘classic volunteers’ (Dolnicar & Randle 2007, 150) who make up the majority of volunteers in Australia. More than half of ‘classic volunteers’ are over 45, more than one fifth above 60, the vast majority are born in Australia, and more than a third not employed. The single difference is that most of the Murray Bridge volunteers were not in employment. ‘Classic volunteers’ are ‘involved to do something worthwhile, gain personal satisfaction, and help others’ (Dolnicar & Randle 2007, 156).

Table 6.10 below lists the eight main recurring topics from the volunteer interviews.

Table 6.10 Recurring topics from volunteer interviews as identified through Atlas.ti

Topic
'English' (language)
'The government' (including 'DIMIA')
'Story'
'People'
'Friend(s)'
'Family'
'TPV'
'back'

As in the case of the Hazara respondents, the 'English' topic refers to the community volunteer support group which tutored the Hazaras in English, and also includes instances of descriptions of difficulties that occurred because of the Hazaras' lack of English. The 'government' in each case referred to legislation and negative public discourse about asylum seekers and the TPV, while the topic 'TPV' refers to statements about the effects of the TPV. In every case the topic 'story' referred to the stories that the volunteers heard from the Hazaras about their reasons for fleeing Afghanistan, and 'back' in each case referred to being sent 'back' to Afghanistan. The topic 'people' refers to people outside of the support group, and the topics 'friends' and 'family' refer to the volunteers' relationships with the Hazaras.

Evidence from records and interviews shows the extent of the assistance that the volunteers offered the Hazara men, and the men's appreciation of it. One of the Hazara men wrote a letter of thanks to the volunteers of Murray Bridge, and listed what that they had given:

Art class - What a great wonderful opening! Really amazing!

English classes at the church, High School and TAFE

Games at the church

Providing access to the library and teaching us how to use the library computers

Visiting us in our homes and inviting us to your homes

Helping us find jobs

Providing swimming at the heated pool

Providing many activities and a regular shared meal at the Day Care Centre

Preparing letters for our interviews (interviews for permanent residency)

Going with us to our interviews

Supporting us in Court (Refugee Review Tribunal)

Providing reading material, computers, furniture, blankets, clothes

Helping us in hospital, at repair shops, and real estate agents

Writing many letters to the politicians and also inviting them to come and see us

Getting petitions signed

You even wrote an answer to a letter by "Philip of Elizabeth" (In 'Letters to the Editor', The Murray Valley Standard 9 January 2004). His letter was against refugees and after reading it, I had a terrible headache all night

In our hopeless and sad times, you gave us a nice free trip to Parliament in Canberra

Gave us Christmas gifts

Took us to tourist attractions like Mannum Falls, the Coorong, Mt Barker and several other beautiful places

(Letter dated January 29, 2004, signed H. J.)

This letter shows the range and intensity of the volunteer involvement. Volunteers provided material assistance, advice, support, and gifts, visited the Hazaras in their homes and accompanied them to various venues, as well as teaching English. In addition, they

helped to ameliorate the men's anxiety. Several men recall ways in which the Murray Bridge community volunteers helped them cope with the stress, as reported by L and F, below.

L: The volunteers helped us with stress – how to look after ourselves. You should be strong until your family comes here. Don't much think about the family or you hurt yourself.

(25.4.07 Murray Bridge)

F: The volunteers helped us with our stress – they made parties and other events to take our mind off things, and they discussed our problems with us.

(4.8.07 Adelaide)

The following responses reveal a deeper appreciation of the volunteer support by the Hazaras. Some highlight the friendship, happiness, and celebrations that eventuated. They also show enduring nature of relationship:

A: I don't know how we would have coped without the volunteers... the encouragement of the volunteers caused our fear and shame to go... The volunteers could not get rid of our stress, but they tried to make us happy– to give us happy times through sharing meals with us, taking us on excursions.

(25.5.07 Murray Bridge)

B: The most important thing the volunteers did for me was to teach me English and to go with me to the visa interview. The visa interviews were terrible.

(25.4.07 Murray Bridge)

H: When I was on the TPV I was all the time thinking, thinking. But I got more happy in Murray Bridge because of the volunteers.

(12.6.07 Adelaide)

K: The volunteers are my special friends. They are special because they were friends in a hard time. When you are in a good situation everyone is a friend but that was a very hard time... Most of the time I would stay (at the volunteer lessons) until six o'clock, even though the class (the English language class run by the volunteers) finished at five, because I could forget there. We visited some of the people, we had

celebrations, and I could forget for a while. It was a lot of support in Murray Bridge. It was a dark situation, and there was support and that made us happy. They gave us a lot of hope.

(25.8.07 Adelaide)

F: We were all very stressed. The volunteers helped us with our stress – they made parties and other events to take our mind off things, and they discussed our problems with us. It was like a family, a new family.

(4.8.07 by phone)

D: The volunteers were like a family to me. I knew people at (the meat processing plant) but we were not close: I could not tell them things. But the volunteers, we could share everything. They are just as good friends as Afghans, but different. Grandmother (one of the volunteers) used to invite us to her house and make food for us. An old lady in Afghanistan would never do that – old people don't make food; other people make it for them. With Grandmother, it felt like our own home, it felt like being with Mum. She would say 'don't sit at home and worry – come and see me'.

(13.8.07 Adelaide)

All Hazaras interviewed spoke about how the volunteers eased their transition into the community, and had helped them to have a new life, for example:

I: We started another life, a new life because of the volunteers.

(25.7.07 Adelaide)

The foregoing responses show that the involvement of volunteers in Hazara life at a time when they most needed support and friendship was a critical link in their settlement and integration experiences. Three Hazara respondents made specific mention of the help provided by the volunteer group; seven mentioned that the volunteers were good friends, and two that the volunteers had become like family to them, as did those in Albany as reported by Tilbury (2007) and Lange, Kamalkhani, and Baldassar (2007). The volunteers filled a void

that existed in the social and cultural context of Murray Bridge at the time in relation to these strangers from another land who were caught up in the Australian immigration quagmire.

6.5.1 Frame transformation among the community volunteers

Just as the frames held by the Hazaras were transforming, so too were those of some of the volunteers. Despite their later involvement, interviews with the volunteers in Murray Bridge revealed that most had little or no knowledge of asylum seekers or the TPV before meeting the Hazaras, but two interviews revealed some evidence of the influence of negative frames, mentioned in the context of noting how those frames had altered after meeting the men:

*R: I was all for sending them back... a lot of people were saying 'send them back'...
... but once you hear their stories, I mean all of us were the same, they'd been
through so much, you'd want to help them, you can't not.*

(24.4.07 Murray Bridge)

U: I discovered that these people were not here for a 'holiday' ...

(17.8.07 Murray Bridge)

The researcher's motivation for volunteering to assist the Hazaras was disgust with the Temporary Protection policies, and she expected to find the same motivation in interviews with other volunteers. Other studies, (Reynolds 2004; Gosden 2005; Mansouri et al 2006) (as discussed in Section 5.3), found that volunteers assisting asylum seekers and TPV holders had been motivated in the same way. To the researcher's surprise, however, none of the volunteers interviewed claimed to have been motivated by political beliefs. Most of those who responded had a history of volunteering, a few with other migrant groups,

others with other vulnerable groups. It appeared that it would not have mattered who the Hazaras had been, rather it was a frame of ‘responding to need’ that motivated all respondents, as in examples below:

S: I have not had a particular interest in helping migrants, but rather I just have a passion for people – anyone who needs help. Our minister made an appeal for help. It was just ‘let’s get along side these people who are in need.’

(7.6.07 Murray Bridge)

R: We didn’t know they were here (in Murray Bridge)... There was a call through churches in Australia. It was early 2002... Our minister made an appeal to the congregation and (my wife) and I both independently we said ‘We can do that’. That’s what the Bible tells us, you know, to show love to your neighbours by helping them... We said we can’t sit around, we have to help out. So we did.

(24.4.07 Murray Bridge)

O: Most of the volunteers who were prepared to help them came from the local churches who had done other things like OARS³

(6.6.07 Murray Bridge)

Q. I went to help with English because I could and they needed it. Needed some of the skills I had.

(5.5.07 Murray Bridge)

These responses show that the value frameworks of the volunteers were broad-based, going beyond any legal status of the refugees they were helping. What mattered was the human predicament of the target group, rather than political motivations. The community volunteers framed the Hazara group as ‘people in need whom I can help’. This corresponds with the rhetoric and actions of Australian church-based groups described in Section 5.3.5. The responses also show their values and beliefs based on their religiosity, and the effects of

localised networks and affiliations (CSOs) in matters of helping the needy, irrespective of their legal, racial, national, cultural, or other status.

Three volunteers reported that they first became involved because their interest in teaching English as a second language, and had responded to the specific need for assistance with language. These respondents added that, while it was an interest in language teaching that first motivated them, the desperate plight of the men made them continue. Teaching English was only the first step in acquiring an understanding of the Hazaras' histories, culture, and predicament. The men's 'plight' was a motivator for every volunteer, and notions of the worthiness of those they helped were not a part of that. They framed themselves as 'people who help where help is needed', regardless of the recipient. Indeed, although the interviewer did not specifically ask, several respondents recalled previous volunteering to support prisoners and their families and other migrant groups.

As they came to understand more about the TPV and its restrictions, the frame of 'need' developed into 'suffering', a frame which was elaborated and intensified as trust grew between the volunteers and the Hazaras, as evidenced by volunteer respondents P and U below):

P: I knew he was worried, he was having terrible dreams, but he was still managing to cope with his everyday life, but I knew the emotional toll. The other young man, I would say he was a close to catatonic as any normal person could be. He was so withdrawn, he was just so sad, and so flat in his countenance, which improved during the time that I knew him as he connected with more and more people but he told me that he had thoughts of suicide and when he shared his life story with me I could see that it still had an emotional impact on him.

(16.6.07 Murray Bridge)

U: *They had come out of desperation, and the sadness that they felt at the separation from their families was almost overwhelming at times. I have seen them sit at my kitchen table and sob...*

(17.8.07 Murray Bridge)

The suicide of Dr W. was a turning point in frames for some, as evidenced in this excerpt:

T: *The suicide of Dr W. – that cemented our commitment and unity with the men, and alerted us to how difficult things really were.*

(20/8/07 Murray Bridge)

Hearing the men's stories aroused a frame of political activism. Volunteers who had not been politically motivated developed frames of the government as a prime contributor to the men's suffering:

Q: *I knew nothing of TPVs before I started volunteering. I got to know about it through the Afghans, and I thought that the government was uncharitable.*

(5.5.07 Murray Bridge)

T: *I felt disbelieving and angry and then hardened towards the government because of what they had done through the TPV and we tried to advocate for them.*

(20.8.07 Murray Bridge)

S: *The government was pretty ruthless with them. I used to visit Baxter as well, and that just made me more convinced that things had to change. I felt ashamed. I felt sad. I felt appalled. I wasn't a political sort of person before I got involved with the Afghans.*

(7.6.07 Murray Bridge)

O: *I guess in a way the government has to be careful, but I mean what's the difference between them being here alone and bringing their wives and children with them? If anything they would be more inclined to be bitter. Some of them said that they could understand, but not to go on for so long. Putting their wives and children at risk. It was torture.*

(6.6.07 Murray Bridge)

One volunteer, in describing how her frame of the men had changed, evinces the ‘ideal refugee’ frame which valorises Australia as a place which one has to be ‘worthy’ to enter.

U: So I got to know him, got to know his story. I'm not a political animal particularly, but I did start to become quite angry, particularly as I got to know these people and hear their stories and I knew that they weren't just economic refugees, they hadn't just come for a better life here in Australia, they had come out of desperation.

(17.8.07 Murray Bridge)

These statements show that the volunteers were responding to the Hazaras and their predicament as human beings rather than from political affiliation or ideology. For the volunteers, the Hazaras’ visa class was a mere technicality.

Even though some of the volunteers had held the ‘illegal/unworthy’ frame of asylum seekers, a new frame of Hazaras developed for the volunteers through hearing their stories. The volunteers were aware that the Hazaras were in a difficult situation, and once the men began to trust them enough to share their stories, their histories of persecution in Afghanistan and the dreadful experience of their flight evoked deep sympathy. This knowledge, combined with the growing understanding of the swingeing visa conditions, filled out the frame of the Hazaras as people who had suffered deeply and unfairly, and whose suffering was being prolonged by the Australian government, to the extent that, as the Atlas.ti analysis showed, in the interviews with the self-professed formerly ‘apolitical’ volunteers, more than half mentioned the ‘government’ as a major topic. This highlights the difference in approach between a government department and a community group, as well as how the volunteer group and Hazaras evolved a journey together.

Although they had not volunteered from political conviction, the men's situation created and strengthened a frame of blame of the government for the volunteers, which resulted in political advocacy. Consequently, in November 2003 representatives of the volunteers and Hazaras in Murray Bridge went to Canberra to plead with members of other regional communities for the TPV holders in their towns. In 2004 the group invited Patrick Secker, federal Member for Hammond, to meet them. He and his wife listened to the men's stories and their pleas for permanent status. In a report in the *Murray Valley Standard* he says 'I put it as a heartfelt experience in that they really did have some serious problems and haven't the certainty in their life as everyone else does' ('PM to hear of refugees' plight', *Murray Valley Standard*, 10 Feb 2004, p.4). Despite his membership of the parliamentary Liberal/National coalition and his solidly conservative electorate, later that month Secker represented the case for permanent residency for TPV holders in the federal party room. In May 2004 he, along with ten other members of the coalition, declared his intention to cross the floor, if necessary, to support a Private Member's Bill to request the grant of permanency for all of the approximately 8000 TPV holders then living in the Australian community (Refugee Action Collective Victoria 2004, 2-3).

It was at this stage in their relationship with the Hazaras, when they had learnt some of the details of their lives in Afghanistan and began to understand that the restrictions of their visas meant much more than exclusion from government-funded English classes, that we see the development of a 'diagnostic' problem frame (Snow and Benford 1988; Benford and Snow 2000) in all of the volunteers' accounts. The problems faced by the Hazaras were uncovered in harrowing detail, and the Immigration Department was identified as the source of the suffering, and thus came to be seen as responsible for change (for discussion of

identification of the responsible entity in frame transformation, see Stone 1988; Cress and Snow 2000). The following responses reveal the dimensions of this situation:

R: And to go through all that (the situation in Afghanistan and the journey with the people smugglers) and to struggle again and the frustration of dealing with DIMA (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs), and just functioning in our society, was just such a struggle. Oh, it was disgusting ... as we heard their stories, we became advocates for them.

(24.4.07 Murray Bridge)

R: Inability to negotiate the system, that was my greatest frustration. And the arbitrary way, or the seemingly arbitrary way, that the DIMIA (Department of Immigration, Multicultural, and Indigenous Affairs) dealt with them.

(24.4.07 Murray Bridge)

U: The people that were so disadvantaged were being treated inhumanly by the government. It was after I met them that I became angry with the mis-information. I contacted people on their behalf to try to solve issues on their behalf. DIMA was so slow and impersonal.

(17.8.07 Murray Bridge)

P.: I was really deeply disturbed hearing about the conditions in the detention centres and hearing about the impact that the TPV had on people's lives - how they had to wait to hear if they could stay. I saw people actually traumatised by DIMIA (Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs) and it was enough to make me act and to feel really passionate about it and I knew that I would go as far as I needed to go to give support, in particular the two individuals I was involved with.

(16.6.07 Murray Bridge)

These responses show the contents of the newly-developed frames of the Immigration Department as an impersonal, unfeeling, arbitrary source of traumatising, and of the government as a source of mis-information. The congruence of the new frames with the life experience of the volunteers meant that they were therefore 'empirically credible' (D'Anjou,

1996, 56), facilitating the ‘viability and resilience’ (as described in Gamson & Modigliani 1989, 5, and Oberschall 1996, 99) of the new frames.

6.5.2 The effect of the volunteers’ experiences on the Murray Bridge community

If the Hazaras were to be accepted in the general community, transformation (Goffman 1974: 44) of the ‘illegal’ and ‘undeserving’ frames had to take place. Direct contact, unmediated by Immigration Department bureaucrats, detention centre staff, or media reportage, facilitated the transformation of frames for the volunteers. Direct contact with the volunteers in turn influenced others. All of the volunteers interviewed spoke about contacts with other residents, and some commented on the effect the Hazaras’ stories had on people outside the group:

R: I was talking to a lady who thought they should go home, and I said ‘Just let me tell you some of the things that they went through’ and she just listened and she went ‘I understand’. That was just one person, but ... (another volunteer), went to Milang to talk and she came across a farmer who said ‘Send them back’ and she told their stories and this guy was in tears and he said ‘Bring them back here and I’ll find a place for them’. So when people got to hear their stories a lot would change.

(24.4.07 Murray Bridge)

P: Once I heard their stories I could actually tell my family and friends what was actually going on, and I think that that was terrific having stories that they could relate to and it made an impact on how those people saw those issues....My parents in law, they are an example of people whose opinions changed. I had a huge fight with them. But when I was able to tell them the stories, and they met (one of the TPV holders), their opinions did absolutely change. Personal stories make a huge difference.

(16.6.07 Murray Bridge)

There were many opportunities for the volunteer tutors to share the Hazaras' stories with other members of the community. Most volunteers had numerous contacts and held positions of esteem in the community through their previous volunteer activities and their professional standing. Three of the volunteers reported how the stories resonated with others:

S: I have come across some prejudice against the Afghans in casual conversations, like 'they're taking our jobs', 'they jumped the queues', but I think when people have really been informed, and especially when they heard some of the stories there has been quite a dramatic turn around. The stories have made a huge difference. Like Leta who told some of the stories and people would say that they had had their outlooks completely changed.

(7.6.07 Murray Bridge)

O: Because we had heard so much anti, you know, that the government and on the news and everyone was saying things against them...but they were accepted, I think, because most of the volunteers who were prepared to help them came from the local churches ... and when they sat and listened to their stories, that was enough.

(6.6.07 Murray Bridge)

P: I think through the volunteers, through the support group they had in Murray Bridge, such as myself, being able to go and talk to other people in the community, it's like a wave or trickle effect – so many people got to hear those stories, got to meet the refugees, so while I think that there are still bigoted people there are a lot more people who are willing to accept Muslims now than there were before.

(16.6.07 Murray Bridge)

Frame transformation happened when the stories of individual Hazaras became known, first to the volunteers, and then in the 'trickle effect' through the community. It is likely that this effect was stronger than in a major city, because a greater proportion of the residents in Murray Bridge would hear the stories through their networks, and because interpersonal trust is strong. This shows the impact of Hazara stories as articulated by them

on community frames, in comparison to media portrayals, government rhetoric, and the wider community frames that were formed based on these.

The Council of the Rural City of Murray Bridge also became an ally in the Hazaras' struggle. The Council was aware of the Hazaras soon after they arrived because the Mayor attended the church from which the majority of volunteers came and where, after a few months, the volunteer lessons were held. The wife of one of the Councillors was herself a member of the volunteer group. The Rural City of Murray Bridge declared itself 'Refugee Friendly' in February 2003, joining the list of 68 local and shire councils throughout Australia which have declared themselves to be 'Refugee Welcome Zones' (Refugee Council of Australia 2008, 13). The mayor attributed the Council's move to one of the volunteers in particular, who made the council aware of the plight of refugees in the Murray Bridge community 'Bridge declared refugee zone', *Murray Valley Standard* 25 October 2003). This declaration was important to the Hazaras, as they knew then that they were included even though the mainstream press still held TPV holders to be 'illegals'. The announcement also validated the work of the volunteers, who by this time had become aware that the men that they were supporting were those vilified in much of the media.

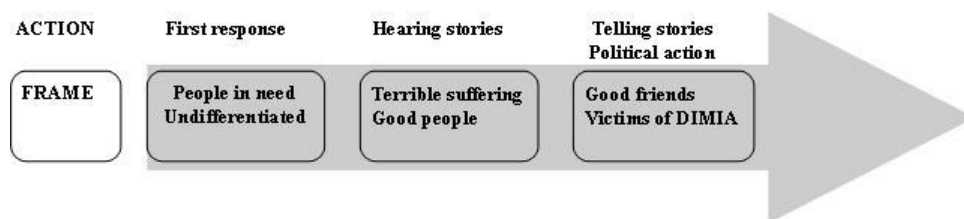
As well as declaring itself a Refugee Friendly Zone, the Council awarded grants to support assistance to the Hazaras; the Mayor and other council members made official visits to refugee events, and a framed linocut by a local Hazara was hung in the council chambers. Moreover, the Council allocated a section of the local cemetery for dedication to Shi'a burial, the first in South Australia, and in 2007 provided a memorial bench to commemorate the life of one of the leaders of the Murray Bridge Hazara community who had committed suicide. In

2005 the researcher was present at an event held for the Afghans and their supporters where, in a speech to the gathering, the Deputy Mayor said that the Afghans and the efforts of the town on their behalf had transformed Murray Bridge's image across the nation.

The Council's declaration was followed in October 2003 by the National Bank award for Best Community Group in South Australia for the volunteer group, and in December by the achievement of Best Community Group in Australia, which boosted the volunteers' self-esteem and also provided substantial and much-needed cash. News of the national award reached people across Australia, and donations arrived from people in other states, supplementing those contributed by the local community. Both the prizes and the Council Declaration brought the group to public awareness in Murray Bridge and nationally, further piqued the interest of the community, and gave increased credence to the stories told by the Hazaras and the volunteers (see discussion of the effect of media reports of the awards in Chapter 7).

Figure 6.2 below illustrates the relationship between volunteer experience and transformation of the frames they held of the Hazaras.

Figure 6.2 Relationship of volunteer experience and frame transformation



The transformation of the Hazara frames held by the volunteers may be summarised as follows: initially all of the volunteers knew nothing about the Hazaras except that they

were people living in their community who were in need. As they began their volunteer support, the volunteers heard the stories of the Hazaras’ circumstances in Afghanistan and their flight, and the undifferentiated ‘people in need’ frame transformed to good people who had undergone terrible suffering. Eventually the volunteers understood the source of the on-going suffering, and the frame of the Hazaras developed as ‘good friends who are victims of the Immigration Department’.

The ‘core framing tasks’ in the transformation of frames held by the volunteers and the wider community are illustrated in Table 6.11 below.

Table 6.11 Murray Bridge volunteers’ frames of ‘Hazaras’ disaggregated by framing tasks, centrality, and relevance

Core framing tasks				
Problem	Blame	Solution:	‘Call to arms’	Rationale
Hazara suffering	Government, and particularly the Immigration Department	Support efforts to gain permanency	Unfairness of the situation and the suffering it caused	Immigration Department too impersonal and callous to ease the suffering without action on the part of the volunteers
Centrality of new frame				
Hierarchical significance		Saliience	Links to existing frames	
Frequency with which the volunteers witnessed the suffering		Intense emotions aroused	Duty to one’s fellow man and the value of fairness	
Relevance of new frame				
Empirical credibility		Relates to participant experience	Narrative fidelity	
Experienced it for themselves		First-hand knowledge of Hazaras and/or supporters	Linked with biblical teachings	

The ‘core framing tasks’ were as follows: the problem was the suffering of the Hazaras. The blame for their plight came to be attributed to the government, and particularly the Immigration Department. The solution was to support the Hazaras’ efforts to gain permanency, the ‘call to arms’ was the realisation of the unfairness of the situation and the suffering it caused, and the rationale was that the Immigration Department was too

impersonal and callous to ease the suffering without action on the part of the volunteers. The new frames had high hierarchical significance because of the frequency with which the volunteers witnessed the suffering, it was salient because of the intense emotions aroused, and it linked with existing frames of duty to one's fellow man and the value of fairness. The new frames had empirical credibility and related to participant experience because the volunteers experienced the problem for themselves, and for the Christians it had narrative fidelity because it linked with biblical teachings.

6.5.3 Sense of belonging

As well as exacting egregious personal cost, the conditions of the TPV had the paradoxical effect of increasing the 'sense of belonging'. Crisis imposed externally can increase the sense of belonging together (Stein 1976) and there is evidence of tremendous bonding among people who experience a crisis together (McMillan & Chavis 1986, 14). Two of the volunteers who had assisted Vietnamese refugees in the early 1980s noted the special closeness between the Hazaras and the volunteers, and ventured to explain how it had happened:

T: I was part of the group that helped to bring the Vietnamese refugees here – DIAC asked the town to settle them. We mainly helped them through the language, and we went to their homes to do that, and we got involved with the rest of their lives.

There was a closeness, but I don't think... they didn't have to go through the terrible waiting time of the TPV so we weren't supporting them through a crisis, we were after the crisis, after their trials. But with the Afghans, we were going through their crisis with them. We became part of their stories.

(20.8.07 Murray Bridge)

S: I became closer to the Afghans though. I guess it might be because I built up a relationship with them through struggling with them to get their visas. Going to

interviews with them. Hearing their complete unadulterated stories. Whereas with the Vietnamese I really only had second-hand information.

(7.6.07 Murray Bridge).

These respondents both consider that the difference between the closeness that they feel with the Hazaras and with the Vietnamese was a result of the shared crisis, and sharing their suffering. Both the Vietnamese and the Hazaras had suffered great trauma before arriving in Australia, but the volunteers had firsthand experience of the Hazaras' ongoing visa trauma.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided information and analysis to answer the research question: 'How did the integration of Hazara Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders progress in Murray Bridge?' Initially, all indicators of integration potential according to standard indicators were negative. The characteristics of the residents were markers that previous research found indicated negative attitudes to asylum seekers, as did those in Young and Albany. In addition, two of the community volunteers interviewed stated that they had held negative opinions reflecting the hegemonic frames of asylum seekers promulgated by the government and the mass media prior to meeting the Hazaras. The events of 9/11 soon after their arrival made conditions more difficult. All these factors, as well as the restrictive conditions of the TPV, appeared to be set to create an isolated under-class.

Nevertheless, the integration of asylum seekers in Murray Bridge progressed well. They achieved employment, steady incomes, had adequate housing, and suffered little discrimination or prejudice. Despite a few incidents of racism, the Hazaras experienced

welcome. As well as the values and frames possessed by volunteers, the town's augmentive stance towards new settlers and its increasing prosperity assisted their acceptance. When all factors are considered, these findings reinforce results of previous studies that show that opinions do not necessarily predict behaviour, and that, while characteristics of population groups may predict attitudes, they do not necessarily predict behaviour.

The impact of policy and government rhetoric had a paradoxical effect on the situation of the Hazara TPV holders. Just as in other studies of TPV holders (cited in Chapter 2), they engaged with the wider community more than other refugees. Additionally, the separation from their families caused them to form closer relationships with community members. The egregious nature of the TPV conditions caused intense suffering, but also had the effect of increasing sympathy for them among the Australians they met. The Hazaras experienced great anxiety about their possible exclusion from Australia, and their supporters in Murray Bridge shared this crisis, causing the bonds formed between them to be stronger than they otherwise would have been. Together they created *watan*, a 'sense of belonging' to the Murray Bridge community, the key marker of successful integration.

The responses of the volunteers show the power of localised networks and affiliations (CSOs) that form to meet a need in their community. Many were prompted by their faith, but all the community volunteers responded because they became aware of a need, irrespective of the legal, racial, national cultural, or other status of those in need. They had strong influence with other members of the community, including power brokers, who listened to them because they spoke from their own experience and not from ideology. While none of those interviewed claimed a political motive for volunteering and began their work simply as

helpers and teachers, the frames they held of the Hazaras transformed and as a result they became politically active, and had some influence on local politicians.

The findings from this chapter contest the imagining of TPV holders merely as victims suffering in the hands of government and media, rather than as agents with the capacity to form relationships and integrate into the community despite these factors.

The next chapter describes the role of the local newspaper in documenting and supporting the acceptance and integration of the Hazara TPV holders, and the role of the Murray Bridge community in contesting the hegemonic frames of asylum seekers.

¹ An Urban Centre is the census district defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) as a cluster of more than 1,000 people (ABS 2001)

² The Immigration Department typically placed detainees in a hostel or cheap hotel for a few days after release.

³ Offenders Aid & Rehabilitation Services of SA Inc

Chapter 7: Completing the story: Media responses to Afghan Hazara Refugees in Murray Bridge

7.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of reporting of asylum seekers in South Australia from 1999 to 2002 which was the period of most arrivals of asylum seekers by boat, in the state-wide newspaper the *Adelaide Advertiser*, its Sunday edition, the *Sunday Mail*, and the nation-wide paper the *Australian*, in order to provide a broader context for the study of the reportage in the Murray Bridge local newspaper. The *Advertiser-Sunday Mail* and *Australian* are the only two newspapers besides the local paper that are widely available in Murray Bridge.

Like most small-town newspapers, the Murray Bridge paper, the *Murray Valley Standard* (hereafter referred to as the *Standard*), is influential in its community and both reflects popular opinion and shapes it, and did so with the story of the Hazaras and the Murray Bridge community volunteers who supported them. This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the transformation of frames in the *Standard* that related to the Hazaras, set in the background of reports from other news outlets referring to the events in Murray Bridge.

The content of the *Standard* texts is analysed using Ryan's scheme of 'key issues', 'symbols' (pictures, metaphors, and catch phrases), 'supporting arguments' and 'responsibility'. Since editorial values determine the content of headlines and are a direct indication of those values, the *Standard* headlines are analysed separately to the body texts. The headlines are deconstructed using lexical style, active and passive constructions, and the

relations between words. An examination of the editorials published about the Hazaras completes the analysis to provide not only a picture of the editorial attitudes of the *Standard*, but also of Murray Bridge residents.

The chapter analyses frame transformations among newspaper editorials, headlines, news texts, volunteers, and the Hazaras in Murray Bridge compared with those in national discourses, and also shows the intersections between these various sources. It concludes with an analysis of integration of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge in terms of the conceptual framework presented in Section 2.5, and recommends changes to the framework based on the findings from the study of integration of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge.

7.2 Asylum seekers, TPVs and Murray Bridge in the state and national press

Between 1999 and 2002 there were no texts referencing asylum seekers in the *Standard* and the *Advertiser and Sunday Mail* provided the main print media reports available in Murray Bridge at that time. An analysis of *Advertiser* and *Sunday Mail* texts from January 2000 to December 2002 reveals two opposing portrayals. Every text which references asylum seekers as an anonymous group represents the ‘boatpeople’ negatively. For example, an editorial in the *Advertiser* ‘Thank you with sticks, stones, and contempt’ (29/8/2000, p. 16), speaks of an ‘international flood of would-be illegal migrants’ and another editorial, ‘Policy vacuum in a nation on trial’ invokes a ‘creeping tide of asylum seekers’ (*Advertiser* 25/10/2001, p. 16).

In contrast, even at the early stages of the increase in boat arrivals, ‘human interest’ stories that presented the asylum seekers as individuals, mostly as ‘ideal refugees’, offset the

negative frames current in most news media. These were, in the great majority of cases, stories that profiled individuals and families, and presented them as worthy to stay. For instance, 'Faces of Our State: Driving taxis for the sake of his family' (*Advertiser* 21/4/2001, p. 37), profiles a Hazara man who exchanged his job as a school principal in Afghanistan to drive taxis in Australia so he and his family could be safe, 'A piece of Australia they love to call home in Adelaide' (28/8/2001, p. 5) presents a Hazara family on TPVs who love their new home despite living in poor conditions, and 'Job icing on cake for refugee family' (1/9/2001, p. 9), profiles a Hazara TPV holder happy in his new job as a baker and his new life.

These positive texts, indeed all of the texts in the *Advertiser* and *Sunday Mail* that treat TPV holders sympathetically, are examples of the content category of 'human face' (Gale 2004), whereas all the texts taking a negative slant conform to Gale's (2004) classification of 'border protection and our right as a nation'. The texts also show a consistent pattern of usage of the designation 'refugee' in 'human face' texts and 'asylum seeker' in 'border protection and our right as a nation' texts. There is one exception, however. In a report about a letter to the Australian public from people on the *Tampa*: 'Please, we want to live in your country: The Appeal' (*Advertiser* 3/9/2001, p. 6) the style is sympathetic and free of negative rhetorical devices and refers to the group as 'refugees'. Instead of 'floods of boat people' they are 'refugees stranded'. Although the reporting was not derived from face-to-face contact, the letter provides the 'human face' of the individuals on board through the written word. On the other hand, a text in the same edition, ('Support for detainees' 3/9/2001, p. 6), identifies the people on the *Tampa* as the 'Tampa asylum seekers'. This text, however, is not about the people on the boat as stranded individuals, but a story about protesters taking

action on their behalf. In this case, group stereotypes took precedence over individual humanity.

Large circulation media rarely focus on Murray Bridge. Nonetheless, when one of the Murray Bridge Hazaras, Dr W., hanged himself from a power pole in the town and left a note attributing his action to the unbearable stress of his visa restrictions, local, state, and national media ran stories about the Murray Bridge Hazaras and the group that had formed to support them. Both the *Advertiser* and the *Australian* reported the suicide, and both followed with a series of articles about the TPV holders in the town. A search of *Advertiser* texts from 2003 to 2005, the period under review in this study, for ‘asylum seekers ‘and/or ‘refugees’ and ‘Murray Bridge’ provided six texts (one editorial and five news articles).

There was a progression of themes in these texts. In the months following the suicide, they reported the suicide of Dr W. and consequently examined the stress caused by the TPV, and progressed to a discussion of the economic benefits that the TPV holders had brought to Murray Bridge and other regional towns, and finally to a focus on the goodness of Murray Bridge residents towards the TPV holders.

Table 7.1 (below) lists the headlines of texts relating to the Murray Bridge TPV holders from the *Australian* and the *Advertiser* between February 2003 and August 2004.

Table 7.1 Table of texts from the *Advertiser* and the *Australian* relating to TPV holders in Murray Bridge 8/2/2003 to 30/7/2004

Newspaper	Date	Headline	Theme
Advertiser	8/2/2003	‘One man's dream for freedom ends in tragedy’	Suicide of Dr W.- stress of life on TPV
Australian	8/2/2003	‘Man suicides after visa expires’	Suicide of Dr W.- - stress of life on TPV
Australian	2/7/2003	‘Refugees swim against the tide of suicide’	Suicide of Dr W.- - stress of life on TPV

Australian	25/10/2003	'Home, where the work is – "These guys want to get out and have a go, they're not just here to sit on their backsides"'	Economic benefits
Australian	8/12/2003	'Refugees build a proud record - National Volunteer Awards'	Goodness of Murray Bridge community
Advertiser	20/12/2003	'Refugees' heartfelt pictures of pain', the <i>Advertiser</i> , December	Suicide of Dr W.- stress of life on TPV
Advertiser	26/12/2003	'Afghan threat in rural seats'	Economic benefits
Advertiser	26/12/2003	'Helping refugees benefits all of us'	Economic benefits
Advertiser	3/01/2004	Why we should let these refugees stay'	Economic benefits
Advertiser	30/7/2005	'Refugee Welfare: Humanitarian project on trial/ City opens its heart to families seeking new life'	Goodness of Murray Bridge community

The first of these texts in the *Advertiser* relates to the death of Dr W.: 'One man's dream for freedom ends in tragedy' (8/2/2003, p. 5), and the next, 'Refugees' heartfelt pictures of pain' (Nunn 2003) describes art produced by the Hazaras of Murray Bridge that portray their anguish. In the *Australian* 'Man suicides after visa expires' (8/2/2003, p.3), reports the suicide. Five months later another text, 'Refugees swim against the tide of suicide' (*Australian* 2/7/2003, p. 2) continued the theme of the suicide and reported an initiative in Murray Bridge intended to avert further suicides.

Stories ensued highlighting the case of the Murray Bridge Hazaras, the goodness of the community volunteers, and the economic benefits the Hazaras brought to the town, making the case that they as well as other TPV holders in regional areas should have permanent residency. These texts portrayed TPV holders as 'ideal refugees' because they took less desirable jobs in regional areas. November 2003 saw a peak in the 'economic benefit' argument, when people from Murray Bridge joined members of other regional communities in Canberra to plead for the TPV holders working in their towns. The article titled 'Afghan threat in rural seats' (*Advertiser* 26/12/2003, page 7) took the view that support for the TPV holders was becoming strong enough to concern the Liberal and National Party members who held the seats in which they were employed. The theme of the economic

benefits of the TPV holders to their regional communities continued with ‘Home, where the work is – “These guys want to get out and have a go, they're not just here to sit on their backsides”’ (*Australian* 25/10/2003, p. 22), ‘Helping refugees benefits all of us’ (*Advertiser* 26/12/2003, p.16), ‘Why we should let these refugees stay’ (*Advertiser* 3/1/2004, p. 28), and ‘Right side of compassion’ (*Australian* 21/2/2004, p. 28).]

The final texts ‘Refugees build a proud record - National Volunteer Awards’, (*Australian* 8/12/2003, p. 32) and ‘Refugee Welfare: Humanitarian project on trial/ City opens its heart to families seeking new life’ (*Advertiser* 30/7/2005, p. 53), focus on the goodness of the Murray Bridge community in their welcome and support of the TPV holders. ‘Why we should let these refugees stay’ (*Advertiser* 3/1/2004, p. 28) is the only text among them all in which the trope of illegality appears, and that is contained in a quote from the then National Party Whip who said that although they may be ‘illegal’, the men are needed by employers in his electorate. Just as previous ‘face-to-face’ stories, these texts present a positive picture of TPV holders all reference the men as ‘refugees’. Nonetheless, ‘Why we should let these refugees stay’ (*Advertiser* 3/1/2004) does include the term ‘asylum seeker’. In this case, however, ‘asylum seeker’ refers to those Afghans who had taken the government’s offer of a reintegration package and returned to Afghanistan and not to the ‘ideal’ TPV holders who remained to help the prosperity of regional areas.

The economic benefit provided by many TPV holders, especially those employed in less desirable jobs in regional areas, was raised in other Australian news media: ‘Call for employer consideration in refugee visas’ (ABC 2003), ‘Nats MP goes in to bat for refugees’ (the *Age* 9/11/2003), ‘Afghan workers forced home to seek Young jobs’ (*ABC News Online*

2002) and 'Young fights to keep refugees' (the *Age* 26/2/2003). When a delegation from regional communities including Murray Bridge, seeking to highlight the economic and social contribution TPV holders were making, converged on Federal Parliament in Canberra, other news outlets carried stories including 'Group seeks to highlight plight of refugees in rural Australia' (ABC Radio 2003) and 'Where strangers are now welcome' (*Sydney Morning Herald* 10/1/2004).

Furthermore, as memories of 9/11 faded, attitudes portrayed in mass circulation newspapers generally began to soften, and an annual report from Reporters without Borders in 2003 notes that the Australian media became increasingly critical of 'the government's "xenophobic" immigration policies and "dictatorial" practices'.

7.3 The role of the *Murray Valley Standard* in the integration of the Hazara TPV holders

This section examines the role of the *Murray Valley Standard* in relation to the integration of Hazara TPV holders.

The *Standard* is typical of the small town paper genre in which 'human interest' stories predominate and controversy is avoided. Moreover, bi-weekly papers like the *Standard* have more time to develop a considered and empathic view (Emke 2001, 9) than do daily newspapers. A study of media reporting of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK noted the contrast between media language and the 'sympathetic responses from local communities, particularly as reported in regional papers' (Smart & McDowell 2007, 14).

Views expressed in the *Standard* cannot directly challenge the attitudes of the people of Murray Bridge, because it depends on acceptance by the local community for its audience, stories, and advertising revenue. On the other hand, like other local newspapers, readers perceive it as honest and trustworthy (News Community Media 2010), and thus it is able to exert a strong influence on community attitudes. Indeed, although small town newspapers may appear to be harmless relaters of daily minutiae, they have influenced public perceptions to the extent of changing the outcome of community projects (McIntosh et al. 1999). Papers such as the *Standard* rely less on prejudicial stereotypes than large circulation media. In order to collect information for local stories, journalists for papers such as the *Standard* must have personal contact with their subjects and are also likely to have personal relationships with at least some of them, in contrast to large circulation media journalists. Lived experience acts as a test of the veracity of stories in the media, and operates as a ‘filter’ (ICAR 2004, 7). Personal experience decreases the power of stereotypes, and makes negative framing based on prejudice less plausible (Philo 1999). Despite their power and influence, academic literature largely ignores local small circulation papers.

The *Standard* has an average circulation of 4,300, and services 23 towns with a total population of around 29,000 persons, of which two thirds reside in Murray Bridge. The other towns have resident populations of less than 2,000, most having less than 500. It is the only local newspaper in the area. A census was conducted of 262 editions of the *Murray Valley Standard* from 8/2/2003, when a report of an unidentified body ‘found hanging’ from an electricity pole in the town was published, to the edition of 11/8/05, when a report of the first Hazara family to arrive in Murray Bridge appeared and the volunteer support group was disbanding. The report of the first family arriving was a marker of the change of

circumstances of the Hazaras, and their lessening need for volunteer support and advocacy. The census identified 34 texts relating to TPV holders in Murray Bridge. There are no other texts during that period relating to refugees, asylum seekers or TPV holders. Although the person who committed suicide was not identified in the first text, the report of the hanging was chosen to begin the census because the identity of the body was to become clear over the next few editions of the paper and the subject matter was to play an important part in the acceptance of the Hazaras. These reports indicate the frame transformation in the community as well as portraying the transformation as it happened in *Standard* reportage.

7.3.1 Headlines in the *Standard*

Headlines of the *Standard* texts were analysed for content and syntax to determine editorial attitudes towards the Hazaras, and to provide comparison with the findings from the bodies of the texts. Table 7.2 (below) provides a list of the headlines in the census in chronological order.

Table 7.2 *Standard* Headlines 8/2/2003 to 11/8/05

Date	Headline
4/2/2003	Tragedy on Phillips St
11/2/2003	Refugee plight highlighted
17/6/2003	Children hear refugee's story
19/6/2003	Locals open up their hearts
19/6/2003	Profiling 'typical' refugee man
19/6/2003	Discovering new pleasures
24/6/2003	Refugees to celebrate Australian style
12/8/2003	Afghani refugees say thanks for town's support
3/9/2003	Celebrate with food
25/10/2003	'Bridge' declared refugee zone
28/10/2003	'Bridge' welcome zone
18/11/2003	Support group wins state award
9/12/2003	Morale boost for Refugee 'family'
27/2/2004	Refugee 'grandma' named top citizen
10/2/2004	PM to hear of refugees' plight
12/2/2004	Mayor secures meeting
12/2/2004	Afghani refugees wait for answers

12/2/2004	Secker pleads refugee case
26/3/2004	New beginnings celebrated
1/4/2004	'Determination and perseverance' shines
1/4/2004	Family or death: Sayed's grave choice
3/6/2004	Sheer joy Refugee to reunite with family
3/6/2004	Support group continues to help men conquer barriers
15/6/2004	'Snapshots' exhibition opens in Mannum
27/6/2004	'Grandma' Leta speaks at Red Cross tea
29/6/2004	Bridge refugee reunited with family after five years
5/8/2004	Asylum seekers to learn their fate
5/8/2004	Reason to party for Qadam
5/8/2004	Employer hesitant to support temporary visa applications
15/3/05	Relief for Afghani men
23/3/05	People put best foot forward
11/8/05	Volunteer capacity questioned
11/8/05	Local schools will need help with transition
11/8/05	Afghani family reunited and sets up life in 'Bridge

Headlines have a special importance, because even if people read nothing else when they pick up a newspaper, they at least scan the headlines, which 'subjectively define the situation and express the major topic of a news report' (van Dijk 1988, 221).

The representations of the Hazaras in the *Standard* headlines change progressively from impersonal and general to personal and particular, from passive 'patient' to active agent, and from an entity alien to the reader to 'one of us'. Agency is an important influence in the effect of a text upon the reader. The entity that carries out or initiates action may be referred to as the 'patient' or passive subject (Iwamoto 1995, 61-62). The 'agent' is implicitly endowed with attributes of volition, active energy investment, and responsibility (Cruse, 1973, 18-20), qualities that are generally admired. Table 7.3 illustrates the grammatical location of 'Hazaras' in *Standard* headlines.

Table 7.3 Grammatical location of Hazaras in the *Standard* 2003 to 2005

Grammatical location	2003	2004	2005
Named agent	3	9	2
Unnamed agent	2	1	1
Total agent	5	10	3
Named patient	2	1	0
Unnamed patient	2	1	0

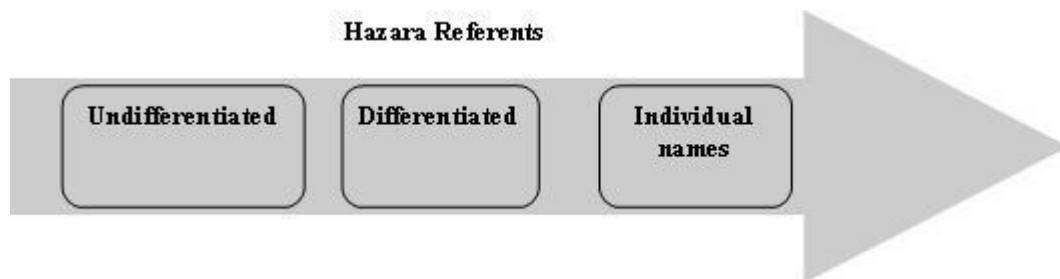
Total patient	4	2	0
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In 2003 they are located as named agents in three headlines, unnamed agents in two, two as named patient and two as unnamed patient, while in 2004 they appear as agent in ten headlines, nine named and one unnamed, as patient in two, one as named patient and one unnamed, and by 2005 all are located as agent. The first headline in which refugees are the named agent appears on 24 June 2003: 'Refugees to celebrate Australian style'. In the five texts that appeared before this, with the exception of 'Tragedy on Phillips St', 'refugee' appears as an adjective: 'Refugee plight' and 'Refugee story', and as 'patient', in 'Deaths to come' and 'Profiling "typical" refugee man'. In 'Discovering new pleasures' (19/6/2003) and 'Celebrate with food' (3/9/2003), they are the unnamed agent. In headlines in which they are the 'patient' they are the subject of study by other people, as in 'Children hear refugee's story' (17/6/2003) and 'Profiling 'typical' refugee man' (19/6/2003), and the beneficiary of other people's good will in 'Locals open up their hearts' (11/2/2003), 'Refugee plight highlighted' (19/6/2003), 'Bridge declared refugee zone (25/10/2003), 'PM to hear of refugees' plight' (10/2/2004), 'Secker pleads refugee case' (12/2/2004), and 'Support group continues to help men conquer barriers' (3/6/2004). In contrast, the location of the TPV holders as 'agent' rises from just over 50 percent in 2003 to 100 percent in 2005. The change of referents from patient to agent shows transformation of the Hazaras in *Standard* reportage from passive subjects to free-willed and responsible actors. This facilitated the frame of them as objects of pity outside of the mainstream of community life to transform to that of full members of the community, enabling the sense of belonging to grow.

Descriptors of the Hazaras become more personalised over time. In the eighth headline the generic appellation of 'refugees' becomes 'Afghanis', in 'Afghani refugees say

thanks for town's support' (12/8/2003), and when one of the men is reunited with his family he is described as a 'Murray Bridge' refugee (29/6/2004). In two headlines the group is included in a multi-ethnic referent; as a part of a 'family' that won a community award ('Morale boost for refugee "family"' 9/6/2003), and as 'people', that is people, including the Hazaras, who participated in a community event together ('People put best foot forward' 23/3/05). About one year after the suicide the inclusion of individual names begins: 'Family or death: Sayed's grave choice' (1/4/2004), followed by 'Reason to party for Qadam' (5/8/2004). Figure 7.1 shows this development as a timeline:

Figure 7.1 Transformation of referents used to indicate Hazaras in *Standard* headlines



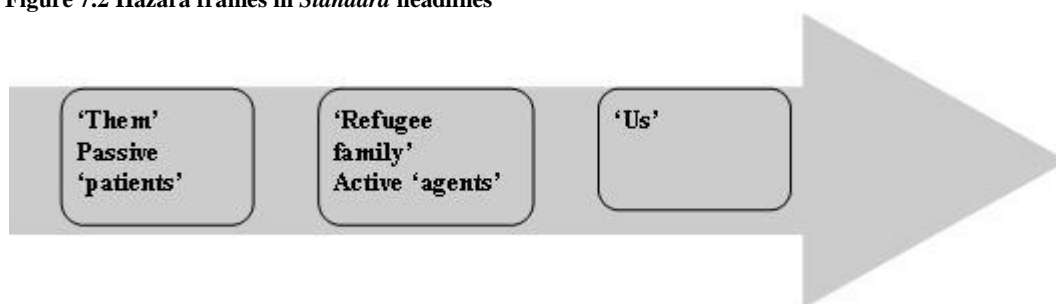
This shows a transformation from an anonymous group which was discussed in terms of 'our right as a nation' (albeit sympathetically) to individuals who are the named 'human face'. This therefore illustrates that the Hazaras were by then not considered as strangers but people with links to the Murray Bridge community, hence a part of the local community.

In contrast to later reportage, the use of referents in the headlines from early February to November 2003 implies a divide between 'the community' and the Hazaras. For example, the headline 'Locals open up their hearts to the refugees' (19/6/2003), designates the refugees as 'not local'. Refugees experience 'new pleasures', and 'celebrate Australian style' (both appearing on 19/6/2003), topics that underscore both their difference and their willingness to

adapt. In ‘Refugees say thanks for town’s support’ (12/8/2003), ‘Bridge declared refugee zone’ (25/10/2003), and ‘Bridge welcome zone’ (28/10/2003), the town is located as offering welcome, in turn locating the Hazaras as newcomers, not yet ‘one of us’. For the first time on 19/12/2003 (‘Morale boost for refugee “family”’), a headline refers to the Hazaras and the community as one group. From that time on, of the remaining twenty one news headlines, only three distinguish the refugees from others: ‘PM to hear of refugees’ plight’(10/2/2004), ‘Secker pleads refugee case’ (12/2/2004), and ‘Support group continues to help men conquer barriers’ (3/6/2004).

While ‘boatpeople’ were stereotyped as alien and threatening ‘others’ in mass circulation media, in the *Standard* headlines the same people are denoted as suffering, as part of a ‘family’, seeking help, ‘rejoicing’, and enjoying food and celebrations just like any other residents. This variety facilitated frame transformation by providing multiple links to core beliefs and values of the readers, and empirical credibility because they related to reader experience. Figure 7.2 (below) illustrates this transformation:

Figure 7.2 Hazara frames in *Standard* headlines



The changing headlines portray the story of the evolving integration of the Hazaras into the Murray Bridge community: from initial portrayals in which the rest of the community is located as agents, and in which the Hazaras are virtually anonymous ‘patients’ of pity and

curiosity, and recipients of acts of goodwill, the Hazaras gain agency and come to be mentioned by name. Initial headlines clearly place them as ‘other’, but by 2004 they refer to them as part of the Murray Bridge community.

7.3.2 Editorials in the *Standard*

The *Standard* editorials from 2003 to 2005 encapsulate the frame transformation that took place in Murray Bridge. Editorials are the voice of a newspaper’s ideological stance, and typically affirm events and ideas which match that position. They identify problems and propose solutions to them, providing frames for both problems and goals. The first editorial with the Afghan men as the focus appears four months after the suicide: ‘Give them a chance: this Friday is world refugee day’ (19/6/2003). In this the editor references the Hazaras merely as ‘refugees’ with no mention of their backgrounds, ethnicity, or gender, in fact nothing to personalise them except that Murray Bridge is described as ‘currently’ their ‘home’. The adjective ‘currently’ attenuates the impact of the word ‘home’ by implying their probable transience and reinforcing the sense that they are not part of the readership: they are ‘them’, not ‘us’. The subtitle of the editorial: ‘this Friday is world refugee day’ further dilutes the individuality of the Hazaras, relegating them to a ‘hook’ on which to hang a discussion of the world ‘refugee problem’. The readers are urged to ‘give them a chance’, which implies support conditional on them accepting the ‘chance’. The body of this editorial also contains the only reference to ‘illegality’ that would appear in the *Standard* editorials:

These people may have come to our country illegally, and that must be discouraged; but those who are determined to be genuine refugees should be welcomed with open arms.

The writer mitigates the impact of ‘illegally’ by resort to the construct of the ‘ideal refugee’, the ‘very young, very old, afraid, persecuted’ and ‘visibly grateful’ who are the counterpoint to the ‘illegal’ who are typically portrayed as undeserving and ungrateful (Pickering 2001: 179). The editorial notes that the group comes from ‘war-torn regions of the globe’, and that, ‘Despite their suffering and the uncertainty of their futures, they are doing their best to make new lives for themselves in the Murraylands community’. Although this is the least positive of the *Standard* editorials, it does juxtapose the possibly ‘illegal’ asylum seekers with the refugees from World War II ‘who helped build Australia into the nation it is today’. This casts a positive and somewhat nostalgic light on the Afghans, implying that they too might be worthy migrants.

Seven months later, in the next editorial ‘Compassion needed for our refugees’ (20/1/2004), ‘offering a chance’ has progressed to ‘compassion’ and ‘them’ to ‘our refugees’. The agent who should offer the chance or show the compassion is unspecified, but could be either the reader or the ‘socio-political elite’ (van Dijk 1991, 134) or both. The object of the compassion is, however, clear: it is ‘our refugees’ who should benefit from it. Significantly, the editorial transforms the group in Murray Bridge from an illustration of the ‘refugee problem’ to part of ‘our’ life. Whereas the first editorial mentioned their ‘illegality’ but counter-balanced that with an appeal on behalf of the ‘ideal refugee’, this editorial also provides ‘ideal refugee’ arguments, but this time personalises them with examples of the particular group in Murray Bridge. They ‘embody what it means to be a good citizen’, they are ‘lauded for their work ethic’ and they are ‘deeply appreciative’ of the support given to them by a ‘small network of unselfish locals’. The editorial counters mainstream media

stereotypes that they are taking jobs from locals with evidence from the largest local employer that it has ‘never found it harder to source local labor’.

This editorial identifies the government’s asylum seeker policies as a threat, not only to the Hazaras but to the community. ‘Good citizens’ who have a good ‘work ethic’ are under threat of being sent home: ‘The welcome mat that has been laid down for them by the community is in serious danger of being ripped out from beneath their feet by the Federal Government’. The metaphor of ‘ripping’ up the ‘welcome mat’ implies that the government is callous and uncaring. In this text, the ‘small network of volunteers’ is conflated with the ‘community’ through the logical fallacy of ‘hasty generalisation’ (Driscoll & Zompetti 2003, 47) and therefore with the reader, and so ‘we’ are now threatened along with the refugees themselves. The frame is of worthy refugees and a principled community in a mutual struggle against an insensitive Federal government. The ‘moral’, that the community is taking a righteous stance which the Federal Government should follow, is found in the final paragraph in which the Federal Government is reprised as the villain: ‘Does the Federal Government have a conscience?’ The editorial ends by noting that the mayor will speak to the (then) Immigration Minister Amanda Vanstone within the week on the refugees’ behalf. This is an implicit recourse to *argumentum ad verecundiam*: an appeal to authority (Driscoll & Zompetti 2003, 48). In other words, if the Mayor is taking the trouble to visit Canberra to argue their case with the Minister, then the refugees and their case must be worthy.

The frame of a righteous struggle by the community against the federal government is reiterated in the headline of the next editorial in which the award of a permanent protection visa to one of the men is presented in terms of a victory: ‘One down...now for the rest’, (3

June 2004). It is also an admonition to the political ‘elite’ that the Federal Government has done the ‘right thing’ in one case, and should now complete the task. The editorial attributes notions of asylum seekers as ‘illegal’ or ‘undeserving’, not to the readers or the general population, but to the government:

The remaining refugees must now be given these same opportunities - and soon. All would be worthy citizens: their stories are legitimate and their contributions to the Murray Bridge community unquestionable

(3/6/2004).

The ‘moral’ of this piece is that, after this one ‘huge step in the right direction’ the Federal Government should continue in the same manner for all of the Murray Bridge refugees.

The final editorial relating to Afghans in Murray Bridge as TPV holders¹ appears in March 2005: ‘Refugees win long battle’ (15/3/2005), and continues the frame of the struggle between the Murray Bridge community and the federal government in the headline and in the body of the text. The introductory sentence assumes the goodwill of the readers: ‘What a pleasure it is to learn of news that Murray Bridge's refugees will soon be given the opportunity to reunite with their families’ (15/3/2005). This sentence constitutes the ‘moral’ of the piece, that the victory on behalf of Murray Bridge’s refugees is unequivocally positive news. The reader is assumed to share in the joy expressed by the editorial. The piece directs a counter-argument towards those who may presume that everything may be too easy for the

men: ‘There will no doubt be further red tape these men must overcome, not to mention the staggering costs associated with international flights’ (15/3/2005). Arguments countering ‘illegality’ or ‘unworthiness’ do not appear, implying that they are no longer necessary. The editorials summarise the transformation of the frame of the Hazaras from possibly illegal and not one of us, to ‘our’ ‘ideal refugees’. The final frame transformation is to ‘community members whose struggle is also that of the community at large’. Figure 7.3 (below) illustrates this transformation.

Figure 7.3 Frame transformation in *Standard* editorials



This analysis shows how the evolving newspaper editorials functioned as a mirror of community sentiment regarding the Hazaras’ journey of settlement and integration in the Murray Bridge community.

7.3.3 Telling the story: *Standard* texts

None of the articles and editorials in the *Standard* from March 2003 to mid 2005 used any of the negative descriptors found by Pickering (2001) in her media analysis (see Section 5.3), except for the term ‘illegal’. ‘Illegal’ appears on the first occasions in a news item and in the editorial in the same edition:

They are viewed as coming to the country illegally, but contribute to the community and it is important they be recognised as such. We need to emphasise it is true they

came to the country illegally, but they have been assessed and found to be true refugees and they need to be recognised as true refugees

(Mental health worker Mohammad Amirghiasvand quoted in 'Profiling "typical" refugee man' 19/6/2003).

These people may have come to our country illegally, and that must be discouraged; but those who are determined to be genuine refugees should be welcomed with open arms

('Give them a chance: This Friday is World Refugee Day', editorial, 19/6/2003).

In both cases the assertion, that those found to be 'genuine' should be welcomed, tempers the use of 'illegality'.

Five articles highlight conditions in Afghanistan to make a case, explicitly and implicitly, against the return of the Hazaras, no matter their 'legality':

Mr Jaffari spoke to the students about how children in Afghanistan were forced to take a small square cloth or carpet to sit on the bare floor and shared a small piece of paper with other children at school..."He said how his family would have to drink a glass of brownish water and eat a piece of flat bread three times a day, and that was all.

('Children hear refugee's story' 17/6/2003)

Mr Jafari said he hoped and prayed that the Australian government would show compassion to those who had suffered so much and were afraid of the many dangers they still knew existed in the rural areas of Afghanistan. "Then no others will consider following the course of Dr Habib and he will not have died in vain," he said.

('Deaths to come' 11/2/2003)

Ms Fitzpatrick said the Afghani men felt extreme fear and shame at the prospect of being sent back to Afghanistan. "They have lost so much in the journey from their villages to Murray Bridge, via detention centres such as Woomera," she said.

('Refugee plight highlighted' 11/2/2003)

"It is a crucial time for these men for although they've been deemed genuine refugees, most of them have only been granted temporary protection visas with a three year

limit," she said."Many of them are now facing the possibility that their visa will not be extended and are being told they must return to Afghanistan. Reports from their home indicate that their lives will still be in danger if they return.

(‘Bridge declared refugee zone’ 25/10/2003)

Many of the men the group supports have faced a history of persecution, suffering, and separation from their families.

(‘Support group wins state award’ 18/11/2003)

The above quotations correlate with the evidence presented in Chapter 6 from interviews with Hazaras and the Murray Bridge community volunteers, which showed that fear and despair were common, especially related to the possibility of being ‘sent back’ to Afghanistan. This shows that the frames of the Hazaras and the Murray Bridge volunteers influenced the choice of frames by and the frame transformation within the *Standard*.

Four articles argue that the Hazaras’ contributions to the community and their gratefulness for the help of the community volunteers out-weigh questions about the means of their arrival, invoking the trope that Pickering (2001) designated as the ‘ideal refugee’:

“All the volunteers who work in this program are impressed by the willingness of the refugee men to make a contribution to Australia," Ms Fitzpatrick said.

(‘Refugee plight highlighted’ 11/2/2003)

“It was a very special experience for the students and their arms were waving to ask questions," Ms Padman said. She said Mr Jafari had not spoken of the horrors he had experienced in his life, choosing instead to focus on the children.

(‘Children hear refugee’s story’ 17/6/2003)

“I think it's important for these people to be recognised for what they do," he said."They are viewed as coming to the country illegal , but contribute to the community and it is important they be recognised as such.

(‘Profiling “typical” refugee man’ 19/6/2003)

Mr Secker said he would ask for compassion from all Australians for the refugees, because they were 'deserving' of it.' They are all on temporary protection visas and at this stage they are all running out or getting close to, he said. Learning the refugees were from a persecuted ethnic group and it was not safe for them to go back, Mr Secker said these were "good people" and he wanted them to stay.

(‘PM to hear of refugees’ plight’ 10/2/2004)

Some texts also provide ‘evidence’ against any possible threat from the men by emphasising their normality and desire to ‘fit in’. The men are said to ‘embrace their new culture’ (‘Discovering new pleasures’, 19/6/2003), and to be making ‘new beginnings’ (‘Refugees to celebrate Australian style’, 24/6/2003).

Illegality disappears as an issue by the end of 2003, except for a quote from Patrick Secker, the local Member of Parliament and member of the Howard government: “I put it as a heartfelt experience in that that they really did have some serious problems and haven’t the certainty in their life as everyone else does” (‘PM to hear of refugees’ plight’ 10/2/2004). (It is interesting to note that the only use of ‘illegality’ in the *Advertiser* and *Australian* texts about Murray Bridge is also in a quote, on that occasion also from a member of the Howard government.)

The men are increasingly represented as the ‘ideal refugee’ (Pickering 2001, 179), the ‘good’ migrant (Tilbury 2004, 9), ‘worthy’ of a place in Australia because of the economic benefit of their presence in regional areas. The *Standard* argued their value as good workers:

An argument raised against their staying is that they are keeping locals out of a job. But this is simply not true. Since taking over the Murray Bridge meat works in 1999, the region's largest employer, T and R Pastoral, says it has never found it harder to source local labor. The company is obviously happy with the Afghani refugees it employs, having thrown its weight behind the campaign to keep them here.

(‘Compassion needed for our refugees’ 20/1/2004)

They are lauded for their work ethic and appear to be deeply appreciative of the support afforded to them by a small network of unselfish locals.

(‘Compassion needed for our refugees’ 20/1/2004.)

“These men haven't taken any jobs away (at T and R Pastoral), there are still jobs there, and they (company directors) need more people there”.

(Local Member of Parliament, Patrick Secker, quoted in ‘PM to hear of refugees' plight’ 10/2/2004)

This development shows the utility of the Hazaras to the community becoming a powerful factor in shaping community and media attitudes.

Table 7.4 below tabulates these frames of the Hazaras as people unable to return to Afghanistan and also as people of value to the town as arguments 1, 2, and 3.

Table 7.4 Listing of *Standard* reports making arguments against returning the Hazaras because of possible ‘illegality’

Argument 1.	Argument 2.	Argument 3.
Can't return because of conditions in Afghanistan	Hazaras as ‘ideal refugee’	Normality and desire to ‘fit in’
‘Children hear refugee’s story’ 17/6/2003	‘Refugee plight highlighted’ 11/2/2003	‘Discovering new pleasures’ 19/6/2003
‘Deaths to come’ 11/2/2003	‘Children hear refugee’s story’ 17/6/2003	‘Refugees to celebrate Australian style’, 24/6/2003
‘Refugee plight highlighted’ 11/2/2003	‘Profiling “typical” refugee man’ 19/6/2003	
‘Bridge declared refugee zone’ 25/10/2003	‘PM to hear of refugees’ plight’ 10/2/2004	
‘Support group wins state award’ 18/11/2003	‘Compassion needed for our refugees’ 20/1/2004	

These arguments framed the Hazaras as people who, regardless of ‘legality’ could not return to Afghanistan (Argument 1.), as ‘ideal refugees’ who were worthy of staying (Argument 2.), and as people who are ‘just like us’ and therefore should not be sent away (Argument 3.). Arguments 1, 2 and 3 frame the Hazaras as ‘other’, but also as people who deserve sympathy and are neither alien nor threatening.

The texts, as noted above, correlate with interview evidence about the frames of Hazaras held by the community volunteers shown in Chapter 6. They illustrate the influence of the community volunteers on frames held by the wider community that enabled the integration of the Hazaras.

7.3.4 In-depth analysis of texts

Ryan's (1991) scheme of categories, i.e. the key issue, the responsible entity and solution, symbols, and supporting arguments, provide the framework for the following in-depth analysis of the texts. Three key issues dominate the *Standard* articles: 'plight', 'worthiness', and 'goodness of community members'. Table 7.5 (below) shows the key issues in *Standard* texts.

Table 7.5 Key issues in *Standard* texts

Date	Headline of text	Plight	Worthiness	Goodness of community members
11/02/2003	Tragedy on Phillips St	KI		
13/02/2003	Refugee plight highlighted	KI		
19/06/2003	Children hear refugee's story	KI	KI	
19/06/2003	Locals open up their hearts	KI		KI
19/06/2003	Profiling 'typical' refugee man		KI	
24/06/2003	Discovering new pleasures		KI	
19/06/2003	Refugees to celebrate Australian style		KI	
12/08/2003	Afghani refugees say thanks for town's support		KI	
3/09/2003	Celebrate with food		KI	
25/10/2003	'Bridge declared refugee zone			KI
28/10/2003	'Bridge welcome zone			KI
18/11/2003	Support group wins state award			KI
9/12/2003	Morale boost for Refugee 'family'			KI
27/01/2004	Refugee 'grandma' named top citizen			KI

10/02/2004	PM to hear of refugees' plight	KI		
12/02/2004	Mayor secures meeting	KI		
12/02/2004	Afghani refugees wait for answers	KI		
12/02/2004	Secker pleads refugee case	KI		
23/03/2004	New beginnings celebrated			KI
26/03/2004	'Determination and perseverance' shines		KI	
1/04/2004	Family or death: Sayed's grave choice	KI		
3/06/2004	Sheer joy Refugee to reunite with family			
3/06/2004	Support group continues to help men conquer barriers	KI		KI
15/06/2004	'Snapshots' exhibition opens in Mannum		KI	
15/06/2004	'Grandma' Leta speaks at Red Cross tea			KI
29/06/2004	Bridge refugee reunited with family after five years			
29/06/2004	Asylum seekers to learn their fate	KI		
5/08/2004	Reason to party for Qadam	KI		
5/08/2004	Employer hesitant to support temporary visa applications			
5/08/2004	Relief for Afghani men			KI
15/03/2005	People put best foot forward			KI
11/08/2005	Volunteer capacity questioned			KI
11/08/2005	Local schools will need help with transition			KI

Note: KI= 'key issue'

'Plight' is the key issue in 12 texts, 'worthiness' in eight and 'goodness of community members' in 14 texts. 'Plight', that is, texts in which the key issue is the suffering of the men, is the earliest to appear and is the key issue in the body of eight of the news items and one editorial, and in two news headlines: 'Refugee plight highlighted' (11/2/2003) and 'PM to hear of refugees' plight' (10/2/2004). It is the key issue in every one of a series of four items between February 11 to June 19 2003, and in another series of four articles appearing in February 2004. In the following four texts the men, the Mayor and a mental health worker employ the suicide of Dr W. to illustrate 'plight' and emphasise its seriousness:

He said the death of Dr W. had made it obvious how awful it was to contemplate going home to Afghanistan.

(Ghulam Jafari quoted in 'Deaths to come' 13/2/2003)

"The hope was to get the men together in a safe, friendly space and provide some recreation and social network," she said. "It came about in response to Dr Habibi's suicide".

(Fiona Hamilton, mental health worker, quoted in 'Profiling "typical" refugee man' 19/6/2003)

"It is very, very hard, too hard, if they tell us we have to go back", Mr. Jafari said. "If it was not too hard why would our doctor kill himself instead of going?"

('Afghani refugees wait for answer' 12/2/2004)

One would hope some common sense would prevail and have a decision made to stop a repeat of last year's incident (a refugee death).

(Mayor of RCMB quoted in 'Mayor secures meeting' 12/2/2004)

'Plight' quickly becomes the main frame for the Hazaras. Other aspects reinforce the key issue of 'plight'. Four catch phrases, repeated in several texts, underline the 'plight' of the men: they come from a 'history of torment' ('Relief for Afghani men' 15/3/2005) in a 'war-stricken homeland' ('Support group wins state award' 18/11/2003), and are 'torn apart' in a 'tragic separation' from their families ('Reunited' 29/6/2005).

'Supporting arguments' that sustain key issues consist of causal 'roots', 'consequences', and 'appeals to basic values or principles' (Ryan 1991). The roots of the key issue of plight in the first texts is the Hazaras' experiences in Afghanistan ('Children hear refugee's story' 17/6/2003; 'Locals open up their hearts' 19/6/2003; 'Profiling "typical" refugee man' (19/6/2003). By early 2004 the causal root of their 'plight' changes to the conditions of the TPV ('PM to hear of refugees' plight' 10/2/2004; 'Mayor secures meeting',

‘Secker pleads refugee case’ and ‘Afghani refugees wait for answers’ 12/2/2004; ‘Determination and perseverance shines’ and ‘Family or death: Sayed's grave choice’ 1/4/2004; ‘Sheer joy: Refugee to reunite with family’ 3/6/2004). This shift illustrates how contextual factors in the Murray Bridge region and nationally influenced frame transformation in the reporting over time.

The on-going suffering experienced by the men constitutes the ‘consequences’. This gains importance when the visa conditions enforced by the Immigration Department are identified as the source of the prolonged suffering. Examples of this occur in ‘Afghani refugees wait for answers’ 12/2/2004, ‘Bridge refugee reunited with family after five years’ 29/6/2004, and ‘Asylum seekers to learn their fate’ 5/8/2004. The basic value or principle appealed to in the key issue of ‘plight’ is the fact that all human beings suffer, no matter where from or how they arrived, and that suffering should be alleviated wherever possible, and not prolonged. The early texts assume that the ‘plight’ is the result of conditions in Afghanistan to which locals can offer no solution, valorising Australia as civilised in contrast to ‘uncivilised’ Afghanistan. Within months, however, the texts begin to propose that the solution to the men’s ‘plight’ is amelioration of their visa conditions. This transformation reflects the same transformation in the community volunteers’ frames.

The ‘worthiness’ of the men is the key issue in seven texts, five of which appear in 2003. The ‘worthiness’ issue is invoked to address, dispute, and dismiss the salience of possible ‘illegality’, in the same manner as the issue of ‘plight’. This key issue also valorises Australia as a country which one must be ‘worthy’ to enter. The issue is supported through reference to the history of the ‘good’ migrants who arrived Post World War II (‘Give them a

chance: this Friday is world refugee day' 19/6/2003), through metaphors and catch phrases such as 'putting their best foot forward' ('People put best foot forward' 23/3/05); 'Embracing their new culture' (24/06/2003), and making 'new beginnings' ('New beginnings celebrated 26/3/2004). Further suffering for the Hazaras and the loss of good workers from the community are proposed as the consequences of losing these 'worthy' men. The texts present the men as good neighbours and mates, implying that the community should therefore stand up for them. This shows a degree of acceptance in the community which had implications for Hazara settlement and integration.

The key issue of 'goodness of community members', that the volunteer supporters are exemplars of the best in the Murray Bridge community, is the last to develop and becomes dominant. The focus of this issue is on the volunteers and by extension the entire community. The Murray Bridge community is framed as gaining in prestige and self-esteem through the acts of the community volunteers in texts referring to the declaration of Murray Bridge as a Refugee Welcome Zone, reporting the national award won by the community group, and the Citizen of the Year award won by the volunteer 'grandma' of the group. The *Standard* situates the volunteer action as the causal root of the goodness of community members, and appeals to Australian values of 'mateship' and good neighbourliness in support of this frame. The message conveyed by these texts is that the volunteers, and by implication all in the Murray Bridge community, are good people. Leta Padman, quoted in the *Standard* (27/1/2004), invokes mateship as the motivation for supporting the Hazaras, and so connects the events in Murray Bridge with Australian cultural heritage:

“I am so proud of many of the young South Australians in our community who have been supportive of our Afghani refugees,” she said. “The great Aussie tradition of caring for a mate is alive and well in Murray Bridge”.

The Australian folk value of ‘mateship’ is a frame that resonates with ‘... stories, myths, and folk tales that are part and parcel of one’s cultural heritage’ (Snow & Benford, 1988: 210).

The transformation of frames in the *Standard* is evident in the transformation of the three ‘key issues’ in the texts. There is a progression in the key issues over time, with ‘worthiness’, which is a common issue in early texts, disappearing altogether by mid 2004, and ‘goodness of community members’ growing in dominance over the same period. The goodness of the volunteers, which segues into the goodness of the whole community, appears only once as a key issue in the first 10 texts, and then 12 times from October 2003 onwards. The diminution of ‘plight’ and ‘worthiness’ and the ascendance of ‘goodness of community members’ evidence the transformation of frames of the Hazaras from people who need help and are worthy to stay in Australia, despite possible illegality, to members of the community engaged in righteous actions.

Figure 7.4 illustrates this transformation of dominance of the key issues.

Figure 7.4 Transformation of dominant key issue from 2003 to 2005

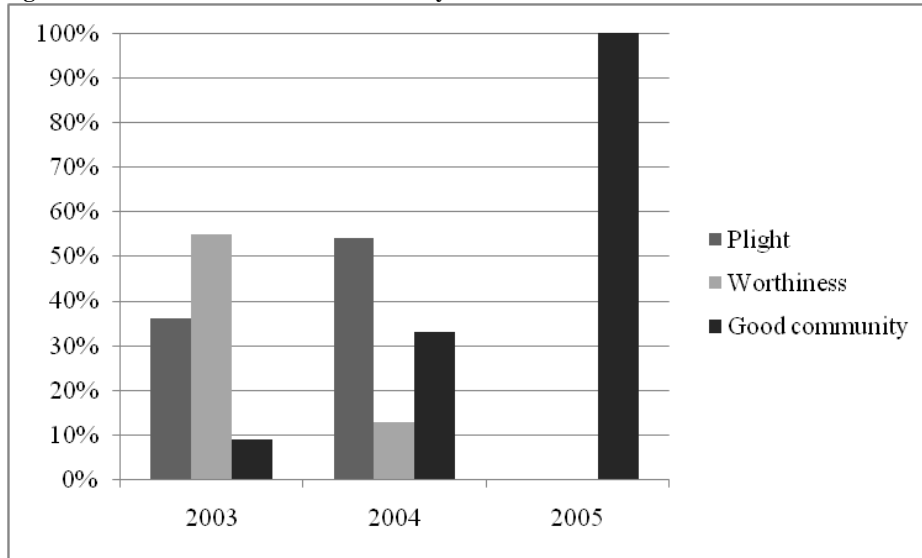


Figure 7.4 represents the change in dominance of the key issues through changes in the percentages of texts based on the three key issues over the years 2003, 2004, and 2005. The Figure graphically illustrates the transformation of the ‘Hazara’ frame through depicting the increase in incidents of ‘goodness of community members’. The Hazara frame transforms from a problem whose worthiness must be determined and whose plight must be resolved to a community asset.

The progression of the key issues in the *Standard* texts is similar to the development of the themes in the state and national media stories relating to Murray Bridge (as shown in Table 7. 1). In the state and national media the first theme was the suicide of Dr W. and the stress of life on the TPV, similar to the key issue of ‘plight’ in the *Standard*. This progressed to the theme of the economic benefits of the Hazaras, which was a part of the ‘worthiness’ key issue, and finally the national, state and local papers focus on the ‘goodness of the community’, including the Hazaras. This shows that the influence of the acceptance of

Hazaras in Murray Bridge had some effect on the national discourse which was otherwise predominantly negative.

7.3.5 Symbols and Images

Symbols carry the story line, and symbols and images are more powerful than reasoning, especially in the news media where the reader is generally looking for a speedy comprehension of the main point of the article (Ryan 1991: 56). Twenty-two photos appeared in the *Standard* texts from February 2003 to August 2005. All photos support a frame of the Hazaras as ‘worthy’, as ‘good residents’, as non-threatening, and as local residents to be proud of. Nine of the photos, all of which appear by early April 2004, show images of Hazara men in the company of local people of Western appearance. Photos of them accompanied by ‘Aussies’ serve as symbols of inclusion and acceptance, and any fears that men from Afghanistan, the home of the Taliban, may evoke, are allayed by the use of benign settings: a man is situated behind a group of children, and other men are shown wearing traditional Afghan dress, but accompanied by a woman of Western appearance who is holding flowers and smiling (see Photo 7.1).

Photo 7.1 ‘New beginnings celebrated’ 26/3/2004



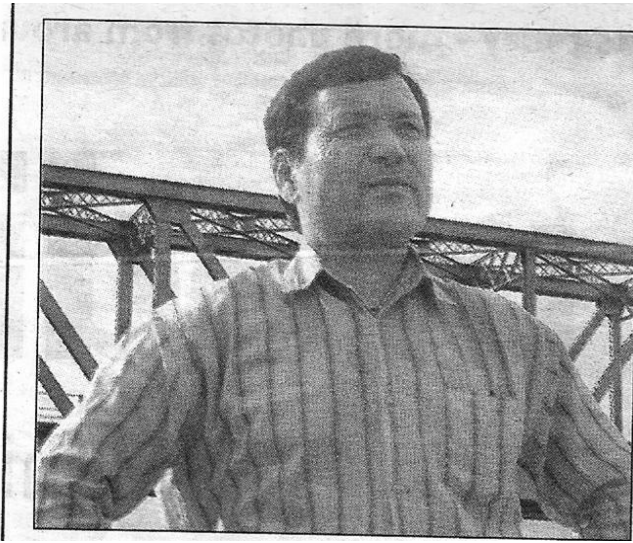
The men are shown as ‘ideal refugees’ who learn and adapt to Australian life by learning to swim (‘Discovering new pleasures’19/6/2003), in front of computers at a computer class, and cooking a BBQ with ‘Aussie’ men (see Photo 7.2).

Photo 7.2 'Bridge welcome zone 28/2/2003



Photo 7.2 shows the closeness of the Hazaras with mainstream Australian men, and this closeness is emphasised by the arm of one man around one Hazara’s shoulders. Other photos convey messages reinforcing worthiness: a Hazara man stands in front of the local icon, the Murray Bridge (see Photo 7.3), another shows Hazaras with a child and a banner supporting a good cause, and in another a group of Hazaras is shown speaking with the local Member of Parliament.

Photo 7.3 'Mayor secures meeting' 12/2/2004



The photos that do not include the men as subjects are of mental health workers and of the volunteers. One photo shows a volunteer in front of the Murray Bridge holding an Australian flag and her Australia Day Citizen of the Year certificate for her work as 'refugee grandma' (see Photo 7.4 below). support the frames of the Hazaras as 'worthy' and 'just like us', and of the volunteers as 'good'.

Photo 7.4 'Refugee Grandma named top citizen' 27/1/2004

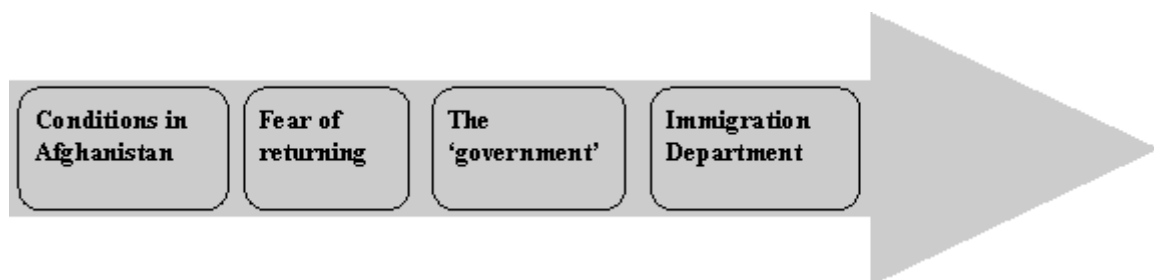


This shot is particularly salient in its combination of refugees, a respected member of the local community, the Australia day award, the symbol of Murray Bridge, and symbols of Australia. The photo serves to legitimise the moral propriety of standing up for one’s beliefs (Snow et al 1986, 471) and since such a well-respected member of the community is leading the action on behalf of the Hazaras, ‘the responsibility to contribute one's share to just causes’ (Fireman & Gamson, 1979, 32) is invoked on behalf of the wider community.

7.3.6 Solution proposed and /or responsibility attributed

While in 2003 in most instances the ‘responsible entity’ for the men’s ‘plight’ is internal, that is, their prior suffering in Afghanistan and fear of returning, three early texts do attribute responsibility to ‘the government’. During this period the Murray Bridge community is located as the entity responsible for helping the men and making their lives easier. From late 2003 onwards, however, the body of both the *Standard* news articles and editorials identify the Immigration Department as responsible (‘Support group wins state award’ 18/11/2003; ‘Morale boost for refugee “family”’ 19/12/2003; ‘Bridge welcome zone’ 28/10/2004; ‘Afghani refugees wait for answers’ 12/2/2004; ‘Mayor secures meeting’ 12/2/2004; ‘Secker pleads refugee case’ 12/2/2004; ‘Family or death: Sayed's grave choice’ 1/4/2004). Figure 7.5 (below) illustrates the transformation of the location of ‘responsible entity’.

Figure 7.5 Frame transformation: ‘responsible entity’



The responsible entity moves from the men themselves (their homeland, their fears of return, and their possible illegality) to an unspecified ‘government’ entity, and finally to the Immigration Department.

Table 7.6, below, summarises the analysis of the *Standard* texts in Ryan’s scheme. This summary shows that the issues that framed much of the large circulation reportage, namely border protection and ‘our rights as a nation’ did not figure in the *Standard*.

Table 7.6 Summary of *Standard* texts in Ryan's scheme

What is the issue?	Responsibility	Solution proposed	Visual images:	Metaphors & catch phrases:	Roots:	Consequences:	Appeals to basic values or principles:
Plight: The Hazaras have suffered and continue to suffer	Afghan conditions Visa conditions	Government should revoke the visa conditions	Hearts Suffering faces of men	'lucky' Australians families 'torn apart' 'war-stricken homeland'	Afghanistan Immigration legislation	Still suffering even though they have escaped Afghanistan	All human beings suffer, no matter where from or how they arrived
Worthiness: The Hazaras are worthy to stay and have their visa conditions changed	Proofs of worthiness	Changing visa conditions	Men with community leaders Men with children Men with 'Aussies'	Post WWII migrants Best foot forward Embracing the culture New beginnings	Insensitive immigration legislation	Suffering Families torn apart Community may lose good workers	These are good neighbours and mates
Goodness of community members: the volunteer supporters are exemplars of the best in our community, and represent all of Murray Bridge community	The community	All residents emulate the volunteers	Australia Day Award Australian flag The Murray Bridge Men supporting 'good causes'	'Good neighbour' movement Mateship Rallying Conquering barriers	Volunteer action	Community gains prestige Community builds its self-esteem	Mateship and good neighbourliness

Table 7.6 shows in summary form the three key issues in the *Standard* texts disaggregated by responsibility, solution proposed, visual images, metaphors, and catch phrases, the roots of the issue, the consequences, and appeals to basic values or principles. The table thus shows the aspects of the reportage that influenced the transformation of frames and thus facilitated integration. While the actions and frames of the community volunteers drove the content of the texts and thus provided the information that established the roots of the issue, the consequences, and assignment of blame, the *Standard* augmented the frame transformation. It appealed to basic values of helping mates and the goodness of a rural community through the use of metaphor and photos, epitomised by the picture of the ‘refugee grandma’ which promoted the frame of the Hazaras as ‘Aussies’ and the expectation that ‘good Aussies’ support their mates. Once the volunteers proposed change in asylum seeker policy as the solution to the problem, the *Standard* took up the proposal and reinforced it with metaphors suggesting a righteous battle.

While the community volunteers were the key to the transformation, the characteristics of the *Standard* meant that the paper focussed on the ‘human face’, was receptive to stories about the local community, and was interested in promoting the interests of the local community. All of these characteristics supported the reporting of the community volunteers’ stories and activities. These characteristics are common to all small circulation local papers which therefore provide a natural site for texts that promote integration.

While the frame of ‘illegals unworthy to remain’ was hegemonic in the mainstream media, that frame gained almost no foothold in the *Standard*. Instead the Hazaras’ ‘plight’ was the initial focus, and as the story developed, the Hazaras progressed from being

representatives of the generic frame of undifferentiated ‘refugees’ to community members with individual stories and names; from inactive ‘patients’ to active agents; from ‘them’ to ‘us’; and parallel with this progression, empathy with their situation grew until it became ‘our problem’ and not ‘theirs’ alone. The texts tell this story, the headlines guide the reader through, and the editorials summarise the story and the change in frames. The frame of the ‘good community of Murray Bridge versus the Immigration Department’ became dominant, the ‘natural’ frame of the situation of the Hazaras in the *Standard*. The paper eventually depicted the Hazaras as partners in a heroic Murray Bridge story. The *Australian* and the *Advertiser* covered the suicide and, in those texts and later articles relating to Murray Bridge and the Hazaras, also focused on the goodness of the Murray Bridge community, echoing the dominance of that frame in the *Standard*.

7.4 Frame transformation in Murray Bridge

The following section analyses frame transformations as they progressed amongst the community volunteers, other residents, and in the *Standard*, and how the nature of the town and the events of the time influenced the progression.

7.4.1 The intersection of place, time, volunteers, and the newspaper in frame transformation in Murray Bridge

The feeling of belonging, of being at home, is central to integration as it is understood in this study, and the development of this feeling depended on the transformation of the Hazaras’ and Murray Bridge community’s frames of ‘stranger’ and, in the case of the wider community, of TPV holders as unworthy and possibly illegal. The Hazaras shared their

stories, and these became the catalyst for frame transformation among the community volunteers and their contacts (Section 6.5). Just as the community volunteers took some time to understand and appreciate the Hazaras’ stories to the point where frame transformation took place, so too did the paper and its readership. Within a few months, however, the paper was framing the issues as the community volunteers did. Erroneous beliefs were supplanted and new values developed. Many of the volunteers shared the stories with their friends, and so change rippled throughout the community.

The changes in attitudes (frames) among the community volunteers as expressed in the *Murray Valley Standard* and among the wider community can be understood by applying the principles of frame transformation as explained in Section 2.5.1. Section 2.5.1 described the process of frame transformation through which new frames that do not resonate and may even appear antithetical to extant frames align with and transform the old. Snow and Benford (1988, 208-210) note that frame transformation depends upon the fulfilment of three core tasks, that is, the diagnosis of the issue and assignment of blame, proposal of a solution, and a ‘call to arms’. The appeal or power of the new frame for the audience depends upon its salience (importance to the audience) and degree of fit with the audience’s existing narratives. Table 7.7 (below) shows the elements as categorised by Snow and Benford that enabled frame transformation of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge.

Table 7.7 Frame transformation of ‘Hazaras in Murray Bridge’ disaggregated by core framing tasks, salience, and fit with existing narratives

Core framing tasks		
Problem	Diagnosis of issue/assignment of blame	Temporary nature of the Hazaras’ immigration status Blame assigned to Immigration Department
Solution	Proposal for change	Give the Hazaras permanent resident status/ Support their efforts to gain permanency
‘Call to arms’	Justification for action	TPV causing unnecessary suffering for our

		neighbours/ Good neighbours look after each other
Appeal of new frame (power to transform old frames)		
Saliency	Centrality Empirical support Narrative fidelity	Emotions of Hazaras and community volunteers Local credibility of supporters Direct and regular experience of Hazaras and their supporters
Fit with existing narrative	Hierarchical significance Links to existing frames	Central government insensitivity to small town issues 'Mateship' 'We look after our mates'

Through the application of these categories we are able to see the processes at play in the integration of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge. The community volunteers were the source of the core framing tasks. They defined the problem as the temporary nature of the TPV, blamed the Immigration Department, proposed that the community solution support the Hazaras' efforts to gain permanency, and invoked 'good neighbours look after each other' as the call to arms. The *Standard* adopted these and they came to be accepted in the wider community. While this framing was counter to the discourse in the wider community, it was powerful because it was based on intimate empirical experience. This shows that the attitudes in a regional community are grounded in personal experiences rather than what they read or hear in national media per se.

The emotionality of the Hazara's stories and the responses to those stories by community volunteers enhanced the power and appeal of the new frames. In time, many members of the broader Murray Bridge community directly experienced the emotional power of the Hazaras' stories, thus giving the frame transformation evidenced in the *Standard* narrative fidelity, and the credibility of the community volunteers lent empirical support. As noted in Section 6.5, the Murray Bridge community volunteers were not initially politically motivated. Their actions from their hearts and values instead of from political agendas gave additional empirical credibility to a frame of their actions as neighbourly rather than political.

‘Neighbourliness’ appeals to most people regardless of their political attitudes. Additionally, most of the volunteers were regular churchgoers and active in a wide variety of volunteer groups in the town, and therefore enjoyed high regard across many sectors of the community. The reputations of the volunteers also gave empirical support to the veracity of the stories they shared. The fact of Dr W.’s suicide added credibility to the developing frame, and its public nature caused the issue to have centrality, adding salience to the Hazaras’ claims and to the stories the volunteers were passing on.

The salience of the Hazaras’ stories grew as community leaders such as the Mayor and the local Federal Member of Parliament aligned themselves with the group. The council declaration of Murray Bridge as a Refugee Welcome Zone and the recognition by the National Bank and the Australia Day committee reinforced credibility and salience. These events also provided hooks for stories in the *Standard* which promulgated frames of ‘community goodness’. The actions of the volunteers fitted existing narratives of ‘mateship’ and ‘small communities versus insensitive central government’, both enduring Australian cultural themes, which the *Standard* promoted.

The absence of any contrary reportage appears remarkable, but as was argued in Section 7.3, this positive approach to the local community is characteristic of small circulation local papers, and there were no newsworthy negative incidents regarding the Hazaras or the community volunteers to report during the period under study. Since they were performing an economically useful function within industry, and did not display any anti-social behaviour, these attitudes took hold in the community.

The involvement of the volunteers was a key factor in shaping the *Standard* editors' attitudes to Hazaras. After the initial report of the suicide, the volunteer group in Murray Bridge was either the source or the focus of most reports, and so it is unsurprising that the frame transformation in the *Standard* developed increasing complementariness to that of the volunteers, even though editorial values were the basis for selection and presentation of the stories. This indicates that the *Standard* editors looked at Hazaras through the prism of the community volunteers, evidencing their key role in frame transformation.

Characteristics of Murray Bridge as a small regional centre facilitated frame transformation. Murray Bridge has a strongly augmentive population policy, as do many regional areas in Australia (see discussion in Section 5.3). As described in 6.4, by the time the Hazaras arrived, Murray Bridge was beginning to experience a boom and a consequent need for more workers, lessening the salience of the frame of 'foreigners taking jobs from locals'. As a small town paper, the *Standard* provided more coverage than would a mass circulation news outlet, thus reinforcing the newly-dominant frames. Because of the small size of the town, the frames held by the volunteers initiated frame transformation in the wider community more easily and pervasively than in a metropolitan area.

Figure 7.6 presents the frame transformation among the Murray Bridge community volunteers in timeline with the change of frames in the *Standard*, in the context of the major events that affected the transformation.

Figure 7.6 Timeline of frame transformation in the *Standard* and among volunteers in the context of events affecting the Hazaras

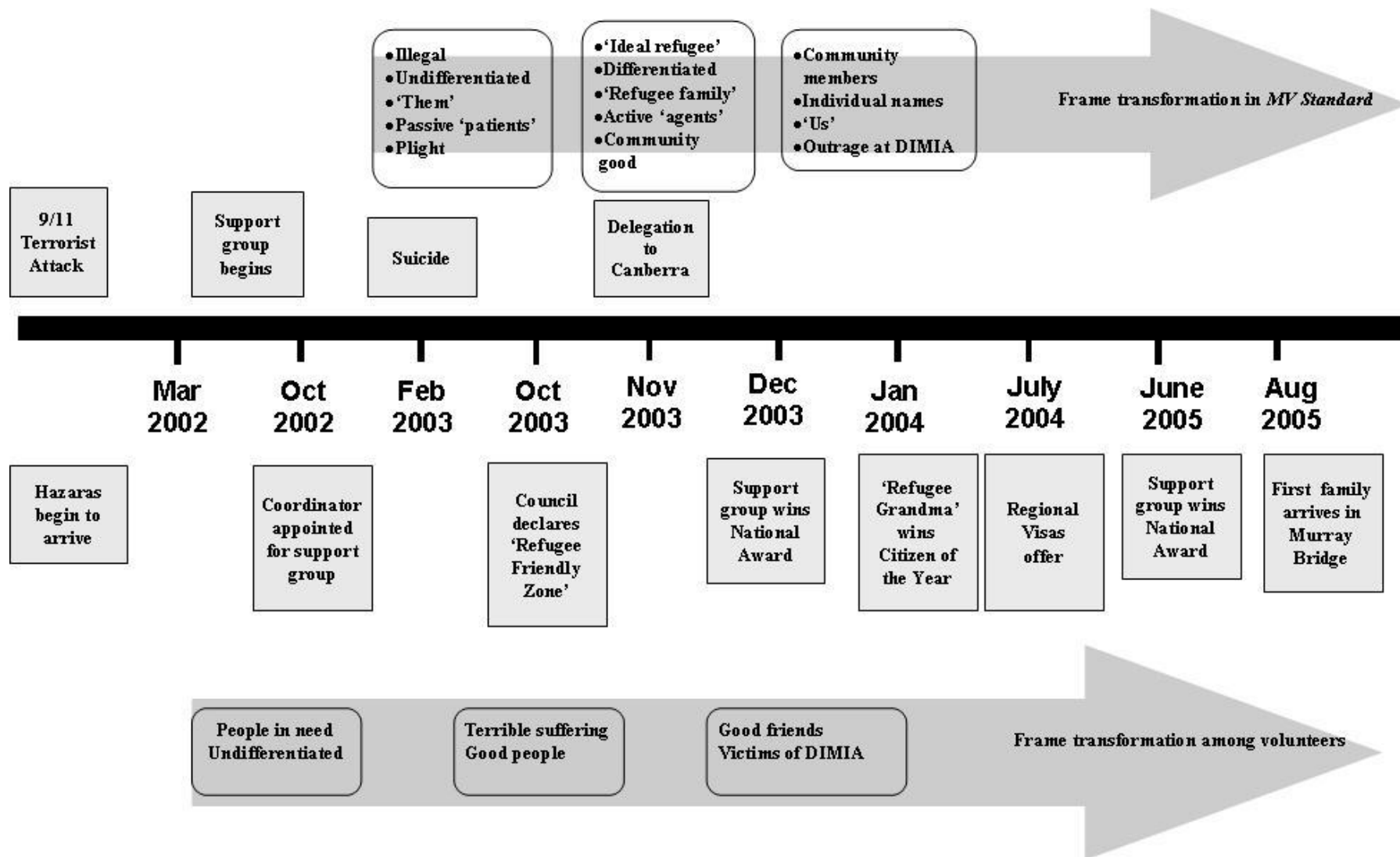


Figure 7.6 tells us that in regional centres local media, community groups, and the local council have close affinities when supporting a group of strangers even when national and state media and federal government discourses vilify them. Each sector mutually reinforced the messages that originated when the Hazaras shared their stories and supported the transformation of frames that occurred across the community. These transformations provide the basis of the main argument in this thesis regarding the integration of Hazaras in Murray Bridge as they developed a deeper sense of bonding with the Murray Bridge community and a sense of belonging and inclusion.

7.5 Frame hegemony in Australia and in Murray Bridge: Contrasts between the Local and the National

Frame building, resonance, and transformation take place at all levels of communication, and each sector influences the other (Benford & Snow 2000). Political elites, journalists, and the public engage in a reciprocal process of framing, but once a frame in the public domain establishes hegemony, frames that directly contest the dominant frame have little potency. Nevertheless, personal experience mediates and often ameliorates the impact of public rhetoric, as it did in Murray Bridge.

The *Standard* in effect became the voice of the personal experience of the volunteers and the Hazaras, fulfilling core-framing tasks that transformed the frames promulgated by the government and large-audience media. The interactions of the volunteers and the Hazaras constructed and sustained a changed community, and the

Standard provided the ‘rhetorical tools’ (Rollwagen 2007: 1) that framed the new community.

As a result of the sudden large increase and the dramatic manner of arrival of new boatloads, metaphors of ‘floods’ of ‘queue jumpers, criminals, and lawbreakers’, promulgated by government and media, resonated with the Australian public. Government rhetoric framed the issue as ‘us’ being threatened by the ‘other’ and further increased the salience of the issue by invoking fear of terrorism. The frame reached the stage of seeming to be ‘natural’ (Miller & Riechert 2003, 146), establishing hegemony.

Government and media assigned the ‘blame’ for the ‘problem’ of increasing numbers of boat arrivals to the asylum seekers and people smugglers, and the solution offered was deterrence. The government represented the swingeing TPV conditions as necessary to deter arrivals. Defending Australia from ‘illegals’ was the motivation offered, the ‘call to arms’ and the rationale given was the prevention of people smuggling. The credibility of these frames depended on the perceived integrity of the government and the media. The ‘boatpeople’ were inaccessible to the public, so participant experience did not create dissonance, in contrast to the Murray Bridge experience. Table 7.8 below presents the development of frames of ‘boatpeople’ in government rhetoric and large-circulation media compared with the development of frames of Hazara TPV holders in Murray Bridge.

Table 7.8 Frames of ‘Boatpeople’ and ‘Hazaras in Murray Bridge’ disaggregated by core framing tasks, salience, and fit with existing narratives

Core framing tasks				
	Problem	Solution:	‘Call to arms’	Rationale
Murray Bridge	Temporary nature of the Hazaras’ immigration status Blame assigned to Immigration Department	Give the Hazaras permanent resident status/ Support their efforts to gain permanency	TPV causing unnecessary suffering for our neighbours/ Good neighbours look after each other	Immigration Department causing unnecessary suffering for our neighbours
Wider Australian public	Increasing numbers of boat arrivals are ‘flooding’ the country	Defend Australia from ‘illegals’	Prevent people smuggling	Prevention of people smuggling
Appeal of new frame (power to transform old frames)				
	Salience	Fit with existing narrative(s)	Relates to participant experience	
Murray Bridge	Emotions of Hazaras and community volunteers Local credibility of supporters Direct and regular experience of Hazaras and their supporters	Central government insensitivity to small town issues ‘We look after our mates’ ‘Christians help the needy, whoever they may be’	First-hand knowledge of Hazaras and/or supporters	
Wider Australian public	Potency of fears of invasion, of the ‘other’ and of terrorism Linked to issue of terrorism dominant at the time	Invasion from the north	Boat people inaccessible to public	

Table 7.8 shows that the major influence on acceptance of new frames of asylum seekers in Murray Bridge was the high salience of the emotive stories of the Hazaras and the community volunteers, the strong empirical credibility formed by direct and regular experience, and the links to existing narrative frames of ‘mateship’, of Christians who help the needy, and ‘central government insensitivity to small town issues’. The table illustrates the effect of first-hand knowledge that tests empirical credibility of proffered

frames on frame transformation. This is an instance of the power of personal experience to displace hegemonic frames.

Frames in large audience media reportage that resulted from face-to-face contact also employed positive frames, invariably referring to boatpeople as ‘refugees’, not ‘asylum seekers’, and portraying them as ‘ideal refugees’, not ‘illegals’. Firsthand experience is the determining variable in each case in enabling positive frames.

7.6 Theoretical model of integration developed from the study

The researcher offered the ‘Model of integration showing the influence of community members and frame transformation’, developed in Section 2.5, as the conceptual framework for the study. This section critically examines the Model in the light of the findings from the study.

The bio data of the Hazara respondents at the time of the interviews in 2007 shown in Table 6.7 are positive for the political, social, cultural, and economic dimensions of integration. This indicates a high degree of integration success for asylum seekers like Hazaras when they re-locate to a setting like Murray Bridge.

‘Flight related factors’ and ‘Refugee characteristics’, while touched on in the thesis, were not as important as other dimensions. The dimension of ‘Policies’ influenced integration through the imposition of the visa restrictions at the national level and the augmentive policy at regional levels. The augmentive stance of Murray Bridge was a

factor of the 'socio-political orientation' of the host society that worked to advantage for integration. This clashed with the reluctance at the national level to accept the Hazaras at all. 'Status of residence', included in the dimension 'Residence in host country', was embodied in the TPV, and profoundly affected the integration of the Hazaras, both negatively and positively, thus supporting the inclusion of this sub dimension. The visa conditions limited achievement of objective measures of integration such as equality of opportunity and citizenship, but paradoxically it also was the prime driver of the development of their 'sense of belonging'. The dimension of 'movements within country' affected the integration of the Hazaras because they moved to a site which, as well as providing full employment, by its nature had the foundation for community welcome. In contrast to the confines of government legislation and requirements, the Murray Bridge community provided a solution to the asylum seeker issue in a creative way while cutting across a lot of red tape.

This study has shown the importance of community members in the integration of the Hazaras, thus substantiating the need to include a sub-category of 'Community members' among the 'Host related factors' in the Model. Notwithstanding the importance of hospitality embodied in individual members of the host society, neither individuals nor civil society could act without freedoms guaranteed by the legislated protection of individual rights, membership of a representative democracy, and the rule of law. The actions of the Howard government denied access to information about individual asylum seekers and interaction with them, thus circumscribing an important political freedom.

Once TPV holders were released on TPVs, however, the freedoms of movement, congregation, and dissent enabled community members to meet and assist them. Therefore, 'Politically guaranteed freedoms' is included under 'Host related factors: Socio-political organisation' as an influence on integration in the reworked Model shown in Figure 7.7 below.

The results of this study have supported the definitions, cited in Sections 1.2 and 2.5, which conceptualise integration as a dynamic and two way process with outcomes for both refugees and host. In the Kuhlman/Hinsliff Model the impact of integration on subjective dimensions is conceptualised differently for the host and for the refugees. As noted in Section 2.5, the 'sense of belonging' has primacy as an indicator of integration, and the results of the study support the incorporation of the 'sense of belonging' as a central subjective variable. Thus the 'sense of belonging' is incorporated in the amended theoretical model as the primary impact of integration on both community and refugees.

The study showed that conceptualising the process of integration as a progression of attitude changes understood in terms of frame transformation provides the means to analyse the dynamic course of integration. Frame transformation is thus included in the amended model as a cycle that affects the sense of belonging of members of the receiving community and the new comers.

Figure 7.7 Model of integration showing the influence of community members, politically guaranteed freedoms, and frame transformation on the development of a 'sense of belonging'

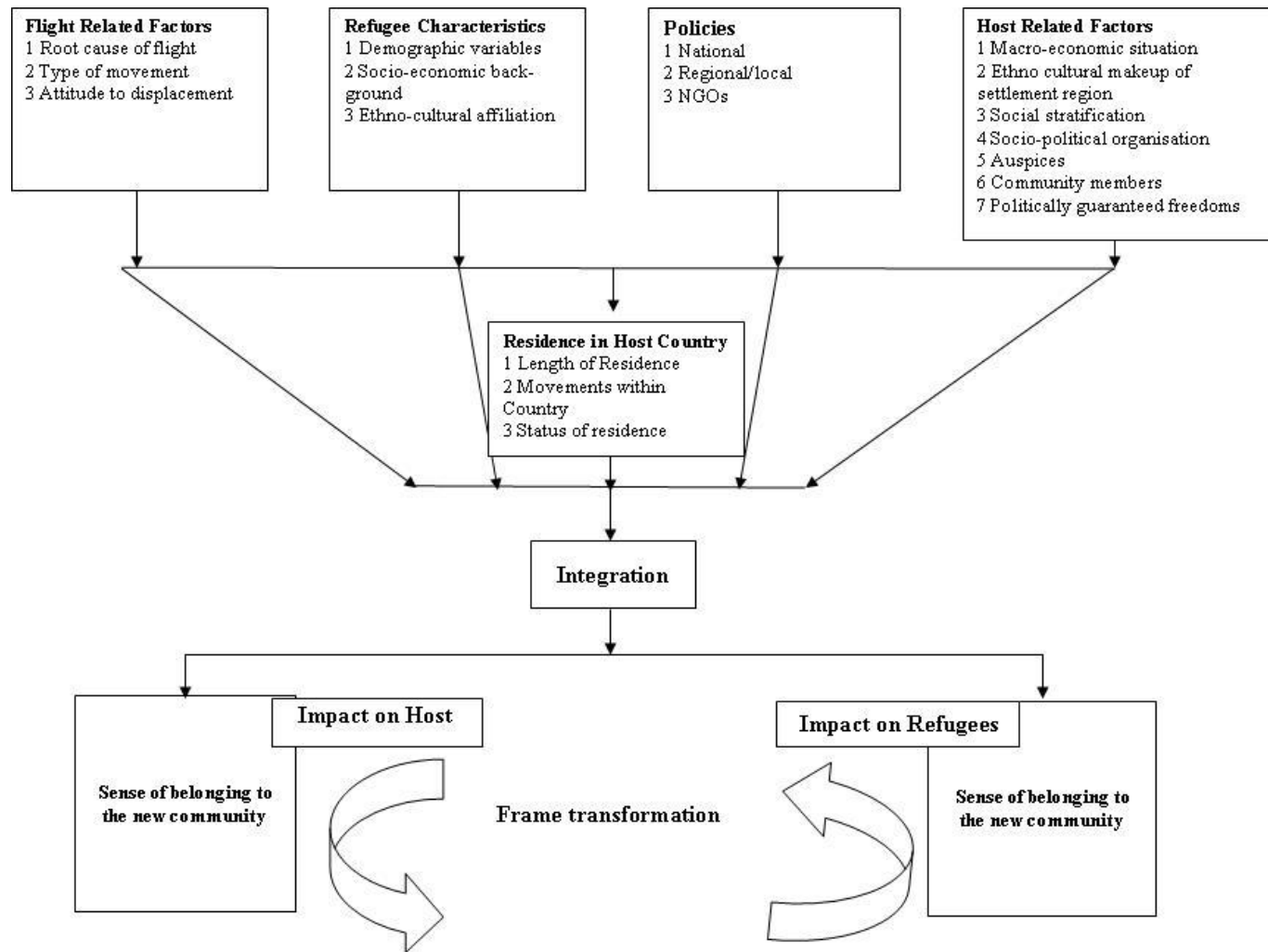


Figure 7.7, the ‘Model of integration showing the influence of community members, politically guaranteed freedoms, and frame transformation’ (above) illustrates the importance of community members in integration. It also provides for the influence of politically guaranteed freedoms in the expression of humanitarian values. The Model offers a conceptualisation that represents integration as a mutual process, and provides for its dynamic nature by including frame transformation as the dynamic influence on the key measure, the sense of belonging. This modified model is the author’s original contribution to the theory of integration of persons from refugee backgrounds.

7.7 Summary

The *Standard* was an important influence in the integration of the Hazara TPV holders in Murray Bridge. The *Standard*’s reportage is predominantly human-interest, and therefore presented positive frames of the Hazaras, as did human-interest reportage in the large audience media. The story of the Hazaras in the paper was framed by the attitudes of the community volunteers, and thus as the volunteers’ frames transformed, so did the frames expressed in the newspaper. State and national media took up this story and its positive framing. Thus the acceptance and integration of the TPV holders in Murray Bridge influenced acceptance more widely.

The acceptance of the Hazaras in the Murray Bridge community happened in the face of national discourses on refugees and asylum seekers. Compared to abstract discourses conditioned by politics at national level, the newspaper provided a local perspective grounded in the community. The *Standard* eventually framed the problem faced by the Hazaras as one shared by all of the community who, in the face of a callous federal government, were

demonstrating the spirit of mateship. The *Standard* thus promoted the essence of integration as understood in this thesis – the feeling of belonging together of the Hazaras and the rest of the community.

The community volunteers were the key to the transformation of frames in Murray Bridge, in the *Standard*, and beyond, and therefore to the integration of the Hazaras and the wider Murray Bridge community. For this reason the theoretical framework proposed for the study was amended by the researcher to account for the importance of community members and their freedom to act in the process of integration. The direct experience of the community volunteers and their influence on the local community through the *Standard* overcame the domination of negative frames in public discourse, and this influence eventually spread through the wider media.

In a liberal democracy the hegemonic process is never finished and social mechanisms keep it incomplete (Holstein 2003). Once Australians were able to meet the ‘boatpeople’ face-to-face, personal experience challenged hegemonic frames. Meeting asylum seekers and TPV holders caused those in Murray Bridge, and many others, to contest the structures of the ‘official mind’ (Appadurai 2004), realising the ‘jurisgenerative potential of ... human interaction and presence’ (Waldron 2006, 95).

The next chapter provides a conclusion for the thesis, recommendations for further work, and lessons for policy makers.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The thesis aimed to elucidate how refugees who arrived by boat during the Howard government regime were denied full rights as residents and vilified by members of government and the mass media, but were, on the other hand, welcomed by many Australian residents. It also shed light how the integration of refugees occurred in the regional centre of Murray Bridge in the face of the vilification and restrictions on rights. The Murray Bridge case study examined in this thesis is a further addition to the understanding of the development of positive frames at the national and state levels, and can inform these discourses.

This chapter summarises and expands on the objectives of the thesis and the key findings in the context of these objectives, as well as the contributions and implications of the case study of Murray Bridge for the broader political discourse on asylum seekers and refugee claimants in Australia.

Overall, the thesis articulated the responses to key research questions raised at the beginning through systematically analysing key policy documents and media publications, while drawing micro conclusions in each chapter and section. The study also analysed qualitative information generated through interviews with Hazara TPV holders from Afghanistan, examination of results of opinion polls, analysis of web-based

and other documents relating to CSOs concerned with asylum seekers in Australia, and a review of academic literature.

The research questions were:

1. What have been the policies regarding refugee and asylum seekers in Australia?

How did they develop?

2. What is the relationship between Australian government policies regarding refugee and asylum seekers and the Australian people?

3. How did the integration of Hazara Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders progress in Murray Bridge?

Under each of these questions a set of sub-questions were also proposed (see Chapter 1).

Several parts of the thesis examined research question 1, and Chapter 1 found that Australia's asylum seeker regime, while it has some unique aspects, broadly reflects trends and policies across most developed countries during the period under review. In recent decades several factors converged to harden attitudes and policies towards asylum seekers. Developed countries became asylum destinations for the first time during a period in which widespread economic restructuring and subsequent job losses were taking place in those countries. The arrivals were from unfamiliar ethnic and cultural groups which fuelled racial intolerance. As well, these refugees did not offer foreign

policy advantages and governments did not regard them as economically advantageous. Finally, there was no end in sight to arrivals.

Chapter 1 further showed that, in terms of refugees settled per head of population, Australia's resettlement program fares well in comparison to other developed countries, but that this contribution is small when compared to the burden of asylum seekers on developing countries. Nevertheless, Australia, as do other resettlement countries, frames itself as a good international citizen because of the resettlement program, even though resettlement accounts for only a small percentage of refugees seeking asylum. In addition, all governments of developed countries employ the myth of the 'real' refugee who waits patiently in overseas camps for resettlement, to bolster their frame of asylum seekers as 'queue jumpers'.

Broadly speaking, attitudes towards and approaches to asylum seekers are very similar across developed countries. Chapter 1 found that only a small proportion of refugees in the world now benefit from protection under UNHCR programs, and more are attempting to determine their own destinies through travelling further to seek asylum. Consequently, governments have criminalised conceptual, political, and policy frames relevant to asylum seekers. The chapter showed how governments employ the fact that asylum seekers use people smuggling routes common to all irregular migrants to reinforce implications of criminality, to justify anti-asylum seeker legislation, and also to imply that asylum seekers are merely opportunistic economic migrants. The chapter also showed that Australia's response under the Howard government to asylum seekers who

arrived by boat between 1999 and 2003 was more extreme than that of any other developed country.

Chapter 2 argued that no state can be expected to prioritise the best interests of asylum seekers without influence from its citizens to do so, and thus that citizens' influence on their governments is vitally important in asylum seeker protection. Due to considerations concerning the vital issues of state sovereignty and protection of borders, states cannot be expected of themselves to extend hospitality towards asylum seekers. On the other hand, citizens are able to experience both the impulse to hospitality and the imperatives of personal values and therefore, in democratic states, may act to protect and promote ethical responses. The chapter argued that in liberal democratic states the dynamic tension between the state, which has the power to accept asylum seekers, and those of its informed citizens who value hospitality towards asylum seekers, creates the only possible protection for asylum seeker rights. This was important in the struggle for protection of asylum seekers under the Howard government.

Notwithstanding the UNHCR's role as the major source of protection of refugees in the world, developed countries interpret their obligations under international human rights laws predicated on refugees as passive recipients of their generosity, and attempt to exclude those arriving uninvited by using various discourses and related policies. Chapter 2 found that, over time, the political needs of member states have increasingly influenced UNHCR policy until its focus is now on the needs of states rather than refugees. This is nowhere more apparent than in the treatment of asylum seekers. The UNHCR thus cannot

effectively protect asylum seekers without the influence and actions of concerned citizens. Beyond appealing to destination countries to act in accordance with international instruments, the UNHCR has become increasingly irrelevant, as asylum seekers have taken access to developed countries into their own hands.

On the other hand, reinforced by pressure from NGOs and the international community of states, international human rights instruments have moved states in humanitarian directions. Initiatives such as the refugee resettlement regime and the Comprehensive Plan of Action are some positive results of this for refugees. A modified Comprehensive Plan may succeed in addressing the numbers of asylum seeker arrivals continuing to arrive. It must be taken into account, however, that contemporary asylum seekers come from several source countries and the source countries change as world conditions alter, so such a plan would need to be sustainable in a longer term.

Mere ratification of international agreements has little effect on responses to asylum seekers. Chapter 2 found that a country's agreement not to refoule is of little use in preventing actual refoulement. Like other developed countries, Australia attempts to circumvent its obligation not to refoule by deterring and preventing asylum seekers from crossing its borders. The section examined interpretations of international law relating to asylum and found that methods designed to prevent their arrival deny asylum seekers the opportunity to claim asylum and are thus an indirect form of refoulement.

Chapter 2 specifically examined the arguments made by the Howard government in attempts to prove that international law allows classification of asylum seekers as 'illegal' or 'unlawful', and concluded that there are no valid arguments to support this contention. As a consequence, conditions such as the TPV imposed by the Howard government did not comply with Australia's international obligations, and there is no justification for it in international refugee law. This is an important finding in the context of the overall thesis and its focus area, and needs to be remembered if and when another government proposes to reinstate it.

The thesis showed that, as well as international forces and foreign policy imperatives, domestic social, political, historical, and geographic forces have also shaped Australian responses to asylum seekers. Chapter 4 examined these forces and found that a continuing theme of the story of immigration to Australia has been the clash of the economic necessity to encourage immigration with the desire to preserve the nation's existing racial, cultural, and religious nature. Governments must balance these while at the same time attempting to assuage the community's fears of the unknown 'other'. As a result, a regime that allows immigration in a carefully regulated manner and that the Australian public perceives as in control has been a prime policy goal. As well as general migration, Australia's refugee resettlement program also allows the Immigration Department to settle refugees in a carefully regulated manner. So pervasive is this culture of control that, as Chapter 4 showed, it extends even to Australia's choice of refugees from among those recommended by UNHCR for resettlement, in order to ensure 'fitness

for settlement'. This is an important factor in the strong resistance from Australian governments against asylum seekers who, by their nature, circumvent the orderly formal process.

Other than its responses to asylum seekers, Australia has experienced more than 30 years of successful resettlement of refugees. This also included the first so-called 'boat people', asylum seekers from Vietnam and Laos who, during the 1980s and early 1990s, Australia accepted in cooperation with a number of other countries. In addition to these successes, Chapter 4 found that, despite its past as a 'white' seclusionist country, Australia is now a successful multicultural community.

Notwithstanding the overall success of multiculturalism, the chapter also found that the Howard government downgraded multicultural policies and redefined them in Anglo-Celtic Australian themes. This dilution of multiculturalism contributed to the vilification and racism towards asylum seekers. Moreover, as a further consequence of its geography, Australia does not have a tradition of protection of exiles which could have mitigated anti-asylum seeker feeling and action. These factors together militated against any significant potential for success of asylum seeker protection in Australia, and aggravated the effects of the anti asylum seeker legislation.

Chapter 4 examined the Howard government's legislative responses to asylum seekers in detail. This examination was important because the response to asylum seekers by the government at that time forms one major aspect of the focus of this thesis. Chapter

4 showed the responses to be more punitive than any such legislation before or since in Australia, and in addition, although most legislation under the Howard government was similar to that in other developed countries, mandatory detention and the TPV were unique to Australia. As well as continuing the mandatory detention regime, the Howard government introduced interdiction of boats by the Navy, the 'Pacific Solution' of detention camps located outside of Australian territory, the excision of Australian territory from the so-called 'migration zone', and curtailment of rights of asylum seekers through the TPV. The chapter critically examined the government's arguments for its anti asylum seeker measures and found all but one to be spurious, and established that the only well-founded argument was that asylum seekers reduced the number of places available for offshore claimants. It also found, however, that the government arbitrarily limited the number of places and could have increased the cap to offset this effect.

Chapter 4 also critically examined the Howard government's claim that the TPV would deter future arrivals and found that, on the contrary, numbers of boat arrivals increased dramatically after its introduction. In addition, hundreds of women and children who attempted sea journeys to reunite their families in the face of the TPV restrictions drowned in the process. Moreover, despite government claims that accepting the asylum seekers as full refugees would have been a drain on the national economy, enforcing the provisions of the TPV caused much more expense for the government than accepting them on permanent humanitarian visas.

Chapter 4 showed that while the Howard government used the Tampa affair, the ‘children overboard’ affair, and the events of 9/11 to publically justify the imposition of the increasingly harsh legislation, the government’s actual motivation was to gain electoral advantage. Moreover, there was no challenge to the harsh Howard policies except from minor parties. Both major political parties had learned from the success of Pauline Hanson that hardline anti-asylum seeker sentiment was popular with voters, and their policies hardened accordingly. The Labor governments of Rudd and Gillard have avoided direct vilification of asylum seekers, but it remains for future study to determine how much, if any effect this has had on public attitudes.

The chapter also showed that, despite more positive rhetoric on the part of the Labor governments that followed the Howard regime, little has changed for asylum seekers in Australia. While the Rudd government abolished the TPV, the Gillard government has since introduced a new form of bridging visa to allow some applicants into the community while they wait for assessment of their claims, but the chapter argued that these bridging visas will cause intense stresses similar to those caused by the TPV. The chapter also found that since the Comprehensive Plan of Action, regional agreements concerning irregular maritime arrivals, including the ‘Malaysia Solution’ attempted by the Gillard government, have all but ignored the welfare and rights of asylum seekers. On the contrary, the agreements have attempted to engage Australia’s neighbours as supplementary border protection regimes. A modified Comprehensive Plan of Action

would be more promising, but will require cooperation between countries of the Asia Pacific auspiced by the UNHCR.

Another key research question considered in the thesis was the relationship between Australian government policies regarding refugees and asylum seekers and the Australian people. Several parts of the thesis examined this question, and the overall finding was that although many people mimicked the government's negative slant when responding to opinion polls and surveys, once Australians met asylum seekers and TPV holders, their responses were predominantly positive. This is an argument for private sponsorship to resettle refugees since it indicates that such personal contact will improve public perceptions of refugees.

Chapter 2 critically examined the results of nation-wide surveys and showed that, whereas members of the Australian community positively accept migrants and refugees, Muslims face more prejudice because of their religious affiliation. Nevertheless, acceptance of them in Australia is in general positive, particularly if they are not visibly different. The great majority of Muslim TPV holders were Iraqis and Afghans whose facial features do not differ from many of the resident Australian population, and their dress did not distinguish them as Muslim. This was a factor in the acceptance of the Hazara men into the community of Murray Bridge but when their female relatives, who wear Islamic dress, arrived they did attract some negative comments.

Nevertheless, it appeared from results of opinion polls and surveys that the asylum seekers would be an exception to this general acceptance. Chapter 5 critically examined the responses of the Australian community to refugees and asylum seekers between 2001 and 2005 and found that the results of mainstream polls and academic opinion surveys of the attitudes of the Australian community to asylum seekers in the period under study were negative. The chapter also found, however, that they were unreliable indicators of subsequent behaviour. Indeed, the chapter showed that the actual reception of the asylum seekers in the community was mostly positive. In addition, by 2003 hostility towards asylum seekers expressed in public opinion polls and surveys softened considerably. Based on findings from this thesis, it is likely that the contact between citizens and asylum seekers afforded by the TPV contributed to this effect.

Media reporting fed off and inflamed the vilification of asylum seekers by the federal government. Although most reportage in large circulation media was negative, positive representations did appear, but were restricted to human-interest stories which were all positive. This finding is important because the local newspaper, the *Murray Valley Standard*, had a key influence on the integration of asylum seekers in Murray Bridge. Reportage in the *Standard*, typical of its genre, is predominantly human-interest, and this characteristic was a major influence in the positive nature of its stories of the Hazaras and therefore of their acceptance in the community.

In contrast to the welcoming behaviour of many Australians on meeting the TPV holders, Chapter 5 found that the responses from the asylum seekers' ethnic communities

were an exception. The chapter showed that this negative response was the product of resentment engendered by the restrictions on numbers of family reunion visas because of the allocations of TPVs. This attitude was encouraged by the Immigration Minister, Phillip Ruddock, who blamed TPV holders for ‘taking the places’ of their family members. Moreover, the communities also feared that, as the TPV holders’ compatriots, the vilification of the asylum seekers by the government and media would spread to them. Additionally, in the case of the Hazaras, the resident Afghan community was predominantly Pashtun, a group from which they had fled and which they did not trust. Thus asylum seekers’ experiences of negativity were dependent on context. Racist rhetoric increased when political parties pandered to public opinion to gain electoral advantage. Members of ethnic communities who resented asylum seekers did not welcome them, but they were met more positively when the wider community interacted face-to-face with asylum seekers.

Acceptance was also situation-specific. A critical review of the literature in Chapter 2 found that in many ways the unique nature of regional centres facilitates settlement and integration. Moreover, regional centres accepted TPV holders better than metropolitan areas, and despite popular images of rural Australians as intolerant, Chapter 5 found that a significant source of CSO support for Afghan and Iraqi asylum seekers came from rural residents. Notwithstanding studies cited in Chapter 6 that show lower levels of education, low socio-economic standing, and conservative voting patterns are associated with negative attitudes towards asylum seekers, Hazara TPV holders

integrated well in the towns of Albany, Young, and Murray Bridge and reported very low incidences of prejudice or racism. These findings show that while population characteristics may predict attitudes, they do not reliably predict behaviour. These are significant findings that reject the popular view often propagated by the media that rural and regional Australians and those of lower socio-economic status are intolerant.

Even though most studies of asylum seeker life on the TPV focussed on the negative effects of the visa sub category, they also reported positive acceptance from mainstream Australians. This literature did not examine these positive findings in any depth, however, and Chapter 5 argued that this uneven treatment, highlighting the egregious nature of the visa conditions, shows bias toward considering the negative rather than positive aspects, possibly due to the influence of government policy at the time on the researchers. This study, which focuses on the positive responses to asylum seeker settlement in a regional setting from the perspectives of the community and media, is an important addition to these previous studies of TPV holders which mostly focussed on the exigencies of the visa.

The examination of asylum seekers' experiences in the Australian community in Chapter 5 and the results of the case study of Murray Bridge in Chapters 6 and 7 showed the positive impact of face-to-face contact. This effect extended to media, which also tend to change their perspectives when locals get involved in activities related to refugee settlement. As noted in Chapter 4, the government appeared to be aware of the power of this contact, because it took action to locate immigration detention centres that housed

irregular boat arrivals in remote areas and prevented audio and visual recordings of asylum seekers by outsiders. This is a key point that emerges from this thesis, creating reasonable doubts about the basis of such a policy decision. The government appeared to choose a certain view and exclude other views supportive of refugee and asylum seeker plight.

The role of civil society in addressing refugee and asylum seeker issues is a core aspect of this thesis. Chapter 2 argued that civil society groups founded on religious faith (FBOs) can have a unique role in protecting and advancing the humanitarian principles which are the basis of the democratic system, because their faith calls them to apply humanitarian principles regardless of their political affiliations and the background or origin of those they are called on to support. Nevertheless, refugee and asylum seeker literature focuses in the main on international CSOs, and small and more informal groups are either absent or given little attention. In contrast, this thesis focused on the small and informal groups which formed the bulk of asylum seeker and TPV support in Australia. Chapter 5 found that much asylum seeker support and advocacy arose from informal groups that organised around the issue, many of which were church groups. Chapter 5 demonstrated their positive role and importance in asylum seeker acceptance and integration in Australia. This is another specific contribution of this thesis.

The thesis examined another key question, the integration of Hazara TPV holders in the local community, and showed the actions of the Murray Bridge community and the effects of frame transformation that led to successful integration.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the results of the Murray Bridge case study is that unintended effects of the TPV contributed to the success of holders' integration in Murray Bridge. As shown in Chapter 4, the intention of the TPVs was to prevent the integration of holders into the Australian community. Chapter 5 showed that the conditions of the TPV caused holders to bond more readily with mainstream Australians, and the Murray Bridge case study found the same paradoxical effect. The TPV thus functioned to enable and to reinforce face-to-face contact by Hazara refugees with Murray Bridge residents, facilitating integration. Chapters 6 and 7 illustrated how the ongoing suffering shared between the Hazaras and the community volunteers during their interactions contributed to the strength and depth of the bonds created. Shared crisis cements social bonds, and the crisis that the Hazaras faced evolved to be a crisis shared among the community volunteers. The Hazaras and volunteers became very close and these relationships engendered 'watan', the sense of belonging.

Chapter 5 found that another unintended effect of the TPV on integration of the Hazaras was that they settled in regional centres like Murray Bridge, where as Chapter 6 showed, their integration proved to be very successful over a period of time. This section provided data that showed that, in terms of objective political, social, and economic measures, the Murray Bridge Hazara participants had integrated well. The qualitative analysis showed that they had developed the sense of being at home in the town, which this study took as the principal marker of successful integration.

While the arguments put forward by formal CSOs had little impact on community attitudes, and risked the incidental effect of reinforcing the government frames, CSOs like that which supported the Hazara TPV holders in Murray Bridge were more effective in influencing community opinion. They were able to speak about individual human beings with whom they had formed personal relationships rather than anonymous members of stereotyped groups. The credibility of such informal ad hoc CSOs rests in large part on the fact that their responses come from the heart rather than from ideology or political affiliation. Moreover, their personal relationships enabled the volunteers to respond with personalised support that facilitated successful settlement. This finding is important in the context of the overall thesis and its focus area and indicates that private citizens and groups may be successful in supporting the settlement process.

Another effect of their movement to regional centres was the opportunity for such communities to learn about the TPV holders through local media. Chapter 7 found that the *Standard* made an important contribution to the integration of the Hazaras in Murray Bridge. The chapter showed the *Standard* reportage was based on stories provided by the community volunteers, and mirrored the frame transformations among them. The paper reported the on-going story of the volunteers and the Hazaras as a local 'hero tale' which, because of the 'hook' of the suicide of Dr W., subsequently came to be reported in national media as well. In doing so, the paper presented the Hazaras' story as one relevant to the whole community, thus facilitating the sense of belonging together.

The analysis of the results from the case study relied on the principles of frame transformation. As defined in Chapter 2, 'frames' refer to basic cognitive structures, the organising principles of subjective experience with which we make meaning. Frame transformation occurs when frames, that may not resonate with or even appear antithetical to extant interpretive frames, are accepted as new frames. Chapter 6 found that the Hazaras initially held powerful frames of themselves as strangers, which caused them to accept their harsh treatment on arrival and in detention. This frame of themselves as strangers also initially caused them to suspect that the community volunteers had ulterior motives for helping them. Once their empirical experience refuted this and provided grounds for new frames of the volunteers, the Hazaras told the community volunteers their stories of persecution in Afghanistan and spoke about the stress caused by the visa conditions. These stories provided the volunteers with new frames of the Hazaras.

The analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 of the data from the study through the lens of frame transformation showed that the most important factor in the success of integration in Murray Bridge was the influence of the community volunteers on attitudes in the rest of the community. The community volunteers framed the Hazaras in ways that were in direct contrast to those of right wing politicians. Chapter 6 analysed the effect of the community volunteers on the rest of the Murray Bridge community and found that, by sympathetically retelling the Hazaras' emotionally powerful stories, they overcame wider community frames based on media and government rhetoric. The community volunteers'

reputations as worthy citizens who were not politically motivated enhanced their influence. As well as relating the stories to their family, friends, and other community connections, and because they came to be the source of the *Standard's* reportage, the community volunteers influenced the wider community's frames. As Chapter 7 showed, the transformation of frames in the *Standard* mirrored the transformation of frames amongst the volunteers. The frames in the *Standard* consequently influenced frames of asylum seekers in the state and national press, thus spreading the influence of the community volunteers. The influence of community volunteers on integration is sparse in refugee literature in Australia, whereas it was the most important factor in the integration of the Hazaras into the wider community of Murray Bridge. The thesis therefore has identified an important factor in refugee integration that merits further attention.

Whereas the Federal government promulgated negative frames of boatpeople and much media and most public opinion polls reflected this attitude, the events in Murray Bridge and in other regional locations showed that in a liberal democracy the hegemonic framing process does not go unquestioned. The actions of community volunteers in Murray Bridge challenged the federal government's legislation and the prevailing dominant policy-political discourse. Chapter 6 showed that their actions motivated their local federal representative, a member of the Howard cabinet, to contest the party's line, and Chapter 7 found that the frames developed among the community volunteers and the wider community of Murray Bridge eventually affected media discourse more broadly and motivated some members of the Howard cabinet to contest the party's line. It is

necessary to recall that this study set out to examine integration as a two-sided process which leads to the feeling of being at home through frame transformation. This was a significant choice. As argued in Chapter 2, refugees identify the feeling of being at home as the most significant measure of integration for themselves, but most studies of refugee integration focus on objective measures and overlook this aspect. In contrast, this study honoured the refugees' experience. Moreover, the study accounted for both the new comers and the host community, an approach that is rare in the literature, despite the emphasis in contemporary definitions of integration. This approach enabled the study to examine the relationship between Australian government policies regarding refugees and asylum seekers and the Australian people.

The process of change of attitudes that enable integration was central to the study, and analysed through the application of the principles of frame transformation. Notwithstanding definitions of integration as a dynamic process, the researcher is not aware of any other refugee studies that have attempted to present it as a dynamic process that is subject to change or frame transformation over time. These are new directions for refugee settlement research.

As a result of these approaches to the conduct of the research, Chapter 7 reviewed the conceptual framework for the study presented in Chapter 2. Based on the findings from the study, the researcher modified this conceptual framework. As a result, the new model proposed by the researcher includes 'Community members' and the 'Politically guaranteed freedoms' that ensure their freedom to act as 'Host related' factors and

presents integration as a 'sense of belonging' created by the dynamic process of frame transformation. The model is the author's original contribution to the theory of integration of persons from refugee backgrounds.

The Murray Bridge case is a classic example of the failure of government responses to asylum seekers. The Howard government attempted to regulate the flow of asylum seeker boats through prevention and deterrence, and the TPV, which was a major plank in its attempts at deterrence, failed on all fronts. It did not stop or reduce the numbers, but in fact increased the numbers of women and children on the boats. It did not save money. It was in contravention of UNHCR principles, and it caused egregious suffering. On the other hand, because it enabled the public to meet asylum seekers, it undermined the government's attempts to dehumanise and demonise the 'boat people'. Moreover, the extremity of suffering of TPV holders motivated many Australians to rally against it, and produced strong bonds between its holders and residents.

The Murray Bridge case is also an example of the failure of opinion polls and surveys to predict behaviour, and of the power of ordinary people. The integration of the Hazara TPV holders was a success. The community volunteers in Murray Bridge were the engine of integration of the TPV holders and influenced mindsets in the town and beyond. The local paper narrated the changing attitudes and framed the events as a hero tale. Not only did the community volunteers behave contrary to predictions based on opinion polls, they influenced many others to do so. This happened in the face of predictions that, because the town was in a rural area and of low socio-economic and

educational status, residents would reject the Hazaras, and because they were members of churches, the community volunteers would not accept them. This is a case of real life events overturning opinions, not only those relating to asylum seekers but also stereotypes of rural and regional areas and of church members.

A major lesson from the study is that, left to themselves, governments are unlikely to make humanitarian responses to asylum seekers, but that ordinary residents can do so. Once residents have the opportunity to know asylum seekers as human beings very like themselves, they can respond from humanitarian values and beliefs, and in Australia many do. It is the responsibility of these citizens to move government in humanitarian directions. It is the responsibility of government to uphold the freedoms that enable them to respond, including the freedom to know asylum seekers as individuals.

8.2 Limitations of the study and directions for future study

This study has illustrated the importance of contact with vilified asylum seekers to change the frames of the receiving community. Information about asylum seekers as individuals sited in particular places and times can facilitate frame transformation. Although this study was of the effect of face-to-face contact, there are other means. The face of the other is increasingly available through electronic media. Research on the function of media on humanitarian responses is therefore recommended.

The study has also shown the influence of faith on the volunteers who assisted the Murray Bridge Hazaras. The researcher recommends that studies of civil action of all kinds pay attention to the influence of faith and of FBOs.

This study is unique in that it illustrates integration as a process of interaction and change in the refugees, the host community and the larger society through the means of a case study, using frame analysis to examine the results. The case study approach enabled the incorporation of three strands of information about the same phenomenon: the experiences of the refugees, of members of the local community, and reports in the local media, and thereby provides a multi-faceted picture of settlement and integration in which all actors are considered. The use of framing also enabled the process of integration to be portrayed as a dynamic process of change over time. The author therefore recommends that further case-based studies incorporating the tools of frame analysis be undertaken in order to contribute to understanding the complex processes of integration.

8.3 Asylum seekers and Australia: some after thoughts

For the near future the numbers seeking asylum worldwide will far exceed the amount any country would be prepared to admit. Migration policies, including control of the entry of asylum seekers, consistently fail to meet their goals because the primary determinants are largely beyond the control of direct state intervention. If asylum seekers are prevented from getting in legally, they will get in other ways. In addition, the

tightening of border controls in all developed countries has had the unintended effect of fostering the people smuggling industry, which has a stake in keeping the movements going.

There are suggestions that more aid to source nations would reduce or even eliminate refugee and asylum seeker flows, but there is no guarantee that this would reduce the numbers, and indeed improvement in conditions is associated with increases in emigration, at least initially (Weiner 1992, 123). Economic assistance can reduce numbers, however, when the sending or transit country has the means to stop the movement by preventing refugees from leaving (Ibid 1992, 101), but major sending nations like Afghanistan and most African nations do not have the capacity to do so, and indeed prevention of flight would constitute a major violation of human rights.

The bulk of the world's refugees in fact seek asylum in developing countries without adequate financial resources for their care and maintenance. There are very few studies of the fiscal costs of asylum seekers, but those few show that per annum costs per asylum seeker are very much lower in developing countries (Jandl 1995; Betts 2006). Assistance to neighbouring nations to provide humanitarian conditions for refugees would alleviate the suffering of those who are already sheltering there, assist those nations financially, and discourage secondary movement. The aid and assistance that Australia is presently providing to its northern neighbours which is currently directed at preventative measures should be used to ensure that conditions in the 'fortress' countries are improved to UNHCR standards.

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Appendix 1a Ethics application

The University of New England

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPLICATION FORM

This application form **MUST** be completed in conjunction with the HREC guidelines. The number of the question corresponds to the numbering in the guideline for easy reference.

Responses to all questions **MUST** be typed and expressed in non-specialist language. The language used must be simple and easily understood by people not associated with your discipline. Any discipline-specific/technical terms must be explained. In response to yes/no questions please delete whichever does not apply.

Proposed Research Project

1. Title of Project: (Brief, self-explanatory and in plain language)

An 'unfair go': The restrictions created by the Temporary Protection Visa on the lives of refugees in an Australian town, the response to their position by members of the community, and how these factors influenced the integration of the refugees into Australian society.

2. Aims of Project: (*Describe briefly*)

To determine:

In what ways the TPV policy affected the integration of Afghan refugees resident in Murray Bridge into the Australian community.

In what ways community action affected their integration into the Australian community.

How well they are now integrated into the Australian community

And to critically examine the hypothesis that TVPs discourage refugees and that this policy is implicitly endorsed by the Australian electorate

Justification: (In plain language explain in approximately one paragraph how your research will contribute to knowledge or education and will be of human benefit)

Gray & Elliott (2001) noted that research is needed on the positive steps that have been taken to overcome ‘discrimination, prejudice and policy constraints’ (Gray & Elliot 2001:61). Apart from studies which concentrate on the detrimental effects of the TPV policy on individual refugees there has been no research into the integration of TPV holders into the Australian community. Gosden’s 2005 research is the only study so far conducted of community members who supported TPV holders. The evidence

collected in this study will add to this, with the unique factor that the voices of both the TPV holders and the people who assisted them will be collected.

4. Person(s) responsible: (This MUST be a member of staff of the University. In the case of post-graduate research this MUST be the supervisor{s}).

Name(s): Prof. Amarjit Kaur/ Dr. Siri Gamage

Position(s): Acting Head/ Snr Lectr

School(s): Economics EBL W40 / PD&L FEHPS N18

UNE Extension(s): **2874/3836**

E-mail: akaur@une.edu.au/ sgamag2@pobox.une.edu.au

5. **Associate(s):** (This may include Honours and Postgraduate Students, Research Assistants and Technicians) The role (and relevant qualifications) of the associate(s) in this project are to be specified.

Ms L. V. Nayano Taylor-Neumann will manage and conduct the data collection and carry out the interviews, under the supervision of Prof. Kaur and Dr. Gamage. Ms Taylor-Neumann is an Honours Masters student. She has previously successfully studied research methodology at Masters' level. She also holds a Graduate Diploma in Health Counselling, in which she was extensively training in interviewing techniques.

Mr A Muradi, elder of the Hazara community, interpreter of invitation to participate and Information Sheet For Participants.

Are there specific skills required to conduct this research e.g. taking blood samples, administering psychological tests etc. Please indicate relevant qualifications and skills of each researcher to undertake this research.

NO

In response to yes/no questions please delete whichever does not apply.

7. (a) Has this protocol been funded? **NO**

(b) Will this application be the subject of a funding proposal? **NO**

(c) If the response to either (a) or (b) is YES, please state name of organisation:

8. Proposed date of commencement of data collection: (cannot commence until after ethics approval has been granted)

01/01/2007

9. Duration and estimated finishing date of data collection:

6 months/ 30/6/07

10. Approximate intended number of participants: **35**

11. Is the state of physical or emotional health of participants relevant to your research? If so, please explain. (See Guideline 11)

NO

(a) How will you identify participants?

The names and contact details of all possible participants are held by the researcher because of her 3-year experience as a volunteer at the Saturday English lessons provided for the refugee by a volunteer group.

(b) If you identify participants from records not accessible from the public domain, e.g. student database, hospitals, schools, have you attached evidence of approval from the relevant organisation? (See Guideline 21)

N/a

12. How will you recruit participants?

All persons who were resident in Murray Bridge for 12 months or more during the time that they held a TPV, and all volunteers who worked with them for more than 12 months, qualify for the study. If more than 9 former TPV holders volunteer to participate then an effort will be made to interview the widest age range as possible.

How will you approach participants? (Please supply copies of any advertisements used to recruit participants).

The researcher is a personal friend of many of the likely participants, and has previously met all of them. The primary language of the refugee participants is Dari, and initial contact to inform possible subjects of the project and the possibility of their participation will be made through a Dari-speaking assistant. The assistant will also distribute the Information Sheet for Participants at this stage.

13. (a) Explain in approximately one paragraph the data collection methods and procedures to be used. (See Guideline 13) [Questionnaires, interviews, surveys (method of distribution and return), focus groups, clinical trials, experimental design, archival or observational studies etc.]

The study will use the case study method; more precisely a focus on interview data supplemented by other sources of information, including archival data from public records and the personal and professional experiences of the researcher.

(b) Have you attached copies of all relevant documents? (An information sheet for participants, consent form, interview questions or survey instruments must be attached where relevant). **YES**

14. Does this research involve invasive procedures such as taking blood samples, administering substances or measuring physiological or biochemical function?

NO

If YES, please provide details (See Guideline 14)

If NO, go to Question 17.

15. Will any of the following be used?

Chemical compounds YES / **NO**

Drugs YES / **NO**

Ionising or non-ionising radiation YES / **NO**

Other biological agents YES / **NO**

Special diets or modified foods YES / **NO**

If YES to any of above, give details.

16. Where relevant, attach a statement indicating responsibility for the procedures in 15. by a medical or paramedical practitioner with indemnity insurance.

Is a statement attached? YES / **NO**

17. Please describe any foreseeable risk of physical or emotional harm to the participants. Outline precautions to be taken. (See Guideline 17)

The experience of immigration detention especially, as well as life on the TPV, was traumatic for the TPV holders. Out of concern to avoid re-traumatising the subjects the questions will avoid the time in detention as it is not germane to the project. The interviews will initially focus on present perception of integration into the

community and also on simply recalling the community members interacted with during their time on the TPV, and will move gradually into questions that may elicit more negative recollections. The researcher will not push subjects into recalling events that could still be traumatic to them.

It is not expected that subjects will suffer re-traumatisation because of the interview process, but subjects will be referred to the Survivors of Torture and Trauma Counselling Service of SA, and/or the Murray Mallee Community Health Counselling service at the end of the interview if they should feel counselling to be necessary.

18. (a) Does this research involve subject matter of a socially or culturally sensitive nature? (See Guideline 18) **NO**

(b) If YES, provide details about the issues involved. Explain what steps will be taken to protect research participants.

19. (a) Does this work focus on Indigenous Australians? **NO**

(b) If YES please submit an electronic version of the application form and attachments to the HREC Secretary on ethics@une.edu.au and address the following questions:

(i) What steps have been taken to ensure that appropriate community support has been obtained? Please explain how this support is relevant to the project.

(Note: Evidence of support must be attached to the application);

Have community members had an opportunity to influence the: design process and outcomes (e.g. publishing, how research findings will be returned to the community) of this research project? If yes, please explain.

(iii) In what ways will the community benefit from this research? (e.g. this may include employment and/or training, retention of data and appropriate dissemination of research findings).

The researcher will train a Hazara woman in basic research practice to enable her to assist with interviews when some interpretation is needed.

20. (a) Will your participants receive any financial reward or other compensation for their time and inconvenience? (See Guideline 20) **NO**

If yes, give details; how much will be offered and why (e.g. travelling expenses).

21. (a) How will you ensure that participants have given free and informed consent to take part in the research? (You must include a copy of an Information Sheet for Participants and a consent form, or an alternative with justification for that alternative. See Guideline 21)

Once identified the researcher will contact each prospective participant in person and determine whether they have read and understood the information sheet, and discuss

any questions they may have. At this stage the researcher will emphasise that the project is completely separate to any other relationship that the participants have or have had with the researcher. This will be done with the help of the Dari-speaking assistant where necessary, and through the use of metaphors to illustrate the separation of the different relationships.

It will be made clear to participants that it is not the organisation which provides support for refugees in Murray Bridge that is doing the research, but a particular person who, as a result of her contact with the refugees, has become concerned about a particular issue.

Only when the researcher is satisfied that the participants understand that there is no obligation on them to participate will consent to proceed be sought. This will be sought through a phone call by a third person.

22. (a) Does this research involve any impediments to obtaining the full understanding and free agreement of participants to take part in the project? See Guideline 22 (eg Will some or all participants be minors or people of limited competence to consent?) **NO**

(b) If so, give details of how you will negotiate an agreement for the participation of these persons through a family member, carer, legal guardian or other person.

23. (a) Are potential participants in this research in dependent relationships with the researchers and their agents, which may limit their belief that they are free to refuse participation? (Examples include university teacher/student, staff member/supervisor, counsellor/client, carer/client, school teacher/student, parent/child, defence force personnel, or vulnerable groups such as prisoners, psychiatric patients or residents of age care facilities. (See Guideline 23)

YES

(b) If YES, please specify the nature of the dependency and give details of the steps you will take to preserve their right to refuse participation. (If the researcher is employed in any organisation from which research participants are drawn, the relationship between researcher and participants MUST be fully explained.)

The researcher is currently employed to provide settlement services to the Afghan and Sudanese refugee communities in Murray Bridge. Her main brief is to provide education in aspects of life in Australia so that the refugee settlers learn to support themselves in the community. As a part of that role she provides coordination of volunteers to provide English conversation tutoring and direct settlement assistance such as finding rental properties, filling in forms, accompanying them to appointments with government agencies and so on, and assists in some of these processes herself.

Only when the researcher is satisfied that the participants understand that there is no obligation on them to participate will consent to proceed be sought. This will be

sought through a phone call by a third person, so that any refusal does not have to be made directly to the researcher.

24. (a) Does the project require the withholding of relevant information about the aims and conduct of the research?

NO

(b) If YES, explain why.

25. (a) Does this research require that participants be deceived about a relevant aspect of the aims or nature of the research or their participation?

NO

(b) If YES, explain why deception is required and how the interests of the participants will be protected, including what they will be told about the research and their participation.

26. How will participants be informed that they are free at any time to discontinue participation?

Through the information form and at the beginning of each interview

27. Who will have access to the information you collect? (See Guideline 27)

Nayano Taylor-Neumann

Amarjit Kaur

Siri Gamage

Explain how the confidentiality of data/samples/consent forms will be maintained. (The address at which data will be retained must be supplied).

during the study

8 Stott Place Stirling – locked filing cabinet

for 5 years after the study (see Guideline 28)

8 Stott Place Stirling – locked filing cabinet

beyond 5 years:

Will data/samples/consent forms be destroyed? YES/NO

Will data/samples/consent forms be retained? YES/NO

(If no, you need to justify keeping data/samples/consent forms in the longer term and explain how and where they will be stored.)

29. Ethical Issues

If you answer YES to any of the following, what steps will you take in response to these issues? Outline any safety precautions that you will be taking.

Please answer YES or NO to each of the following questions.

Are there any other ethical issues involved in this research:

(a) Does the data collection process involve access to confidential participant data without their prior consent?

NO

(b) Are there issues related to ownership of data that may be pertinent to Indigenous Australians, cultural, or ethnic groups? **NO**

(c) Will participants be photographed by camera or video? **No**

(d) Will participants be tape recorded? **Yes**

(e) Will participants be asked to commit any acts that might diminish self respect or cause them to experience shame, embarrassment or regret? **No**

(f) Does the research involve any stimuli, tasks, investigations or procedures that may be experienced by the subjects as stressful, noxious, aversive or unpleasant? **No**

(g) In this study are there any procedures known (or thought) to be beneficial or harmful to one group of participants (EXPERIMENTAL) being withheld from another group of participants (CONTROL)? **No**

(h) Are any of the subjects minors (i.e. under the age of 18 years)?

No

(i) Are there any other issues? **No**

If YES, please explain.

Tape recording will only be carried out with the full consent of participants. It is expected that some or all may not wish to be tape recorded, and if so their wishes will be respected.

30. If your research involves minors (i.e. under the age of 18 years), or persons with a mental or intellectual impairment, what special steps have you taken to comply with the HREC Policy on Research Involving Minors and Persons with a Mental or Intellectual Impairment? (See Guideline 22 and 30) **N/A**

(a) Accreditation from an appropriate organisation? **YES/NO**

If YES, please attach documentation.

(b) Criminal Records Check **YES/NO**

If YES, please attach documentation.

(c) Other measures **YES/NO**

If YES, please provide details.

If the answer to any of these items is YES, remember to indicate in your Information Sheet for the parents/guardians of participants, which of the steps has been taken.

31. (a) Is anything in the conduct of the research project likely to be subject to legal constraint? **NO**

(b) If YES, what steps will you take in response?

32. How will the results of your research be presented initially and how will they be disseminated subsequently (e.g. thesis, conference paper, journal article, book)?

Thesis

Journal article(s)

33. Conformation to accepted guidelines for research involving humans.

Your signature at the end of this application confirms that your protocol conforms with the: NHMRC *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* (1999) as appropriate and that you have read the UNE HREC Guidelines.

Does your protocol also conform to other principles of ethical conduct?

(Please specify) **No**

If this protocol involves working with Indigenous Australians, which additional guidelines have been used? N/A

(Please specify)

Appendix 1b Reply to ethics committee

1. Ms L. V. Nayano Taylor-Neumann will manage and conduct the data collection and carry out the interviews, under the supervision of Prof. Kaur and Dr. Gamage. Ms Taylor-Neumann is an PhD student. She has previously successfully studied research methodology at Masters' level. She also holds a Graduate Diploma in Health Counseling, in which she was extensively training in interviewing techniques.

2. The following statement is added to the Ethics Application point 21. a: 'It will be made clear to participants that it is not the organisation which provides support for refugees in Murray Bridge that is doing the research, but a particular person who, as a result of her contact with the refugees, has become concerned about a particular issue.'

3. The third person who will act as an assistant for the initial contact with possible participants in the study will be Mr. A. Muradi, a leader in the Hazara community (see Ethics Application point 5.). The assistant will also distribute the Information Sheet for Participants (translated into Dari) and also read it to participants who are unable to read.

4. Agency records will not be used. The names and contact details of most of the Hazaras who held TPVs are know to the researcher through personal, and **not agency**, contact.

5. An Information Sheet for Participants (translated into Dari) will be given to possible participants, and the Dari-speaking assistant will also read it to participants who are unable to read.

6. The Information Sheet for Participants will explain quite clearly the aims of the research, as follows:

You are invited to participate in a study to be conducted by Nayano Taylor-Neumann to understand the effects of the Temporary Protection Visa on Hazaras resident in Murray Bridge and the effect of any support from the community they may have experienced. The results of the study will be submitted for examination for a qualification of Masters (Honours) in Global Migrations.

We hope that because of this research there will be a better understanding of:

How the TPV affected the lives of the people who held it

How and why the community rallied around the refugees on TPVs

How the TPV holders have integrated into Australia society.

We also hope that this thesis will contribute to the development of improved refugee policy.

7. The research project is intended only to have people who are no longer on temporary visas as participants.

8. The Information Sheet for Participants has been amended to direct inquiries to the researchers, and complaints to HREC Secretary

9. The Information Sheet for Participants has been amended to indicate that a summary of the research findings will be made available, not the final thesis.

10. The Information Sheet for Participants has been amended to read Survivors of Torture and Trauma Assistance and Rehabilitation Service, 08 8346 5543.

Appendix 2: Information Sheet for Participants



Information Sheet for Participants

You are invited to participate in a study to be conducted by Nayano Taylor-Neumann to understand the effects of the Temporary Protection Visa on Hazaras resident in Murray Bridge and the effect of any support from the community they may have experienced. The results of the study will be submitted for examination for a qualification of Doctor of Philosophy in Contemporary Migrations.

We hope that because of this research there will be a better understanding of:

How the TPV affected the lives of the people who held it

How and why the community rallied around the refugees on TPVs

How the TPV holders have integrated into Australia society.

We also hope that this thesis will contribute to the development of improved refugee policy.

Hazaras who have held TPVs and who have lived for months or more in Murray Bridge while on the TPV and people from the community who supported them while in Murray Bridge will be interviewed.

If you agree to participate in the study you will be interviewed by Nayano Taylor-Neumann with, if necessary, the use of an interpreter. If an interpreter is necessary you will have the right to accept or reject the particular interpreter provided by the researcher. Interviews are expected to take between 30 and 90 minutes.

Nayano Taylor-Neumann is conducting this study, is acting as a person who, as a result of her contact with refugees, has become concerned about a particular issue. The organisations that employ Ms Taylor-Neumann to provide support for refugees in Murray Bridge are not in any way involved in this research study.

Your participation is purely voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time from the research project until the information is processed or is irreversibly de-identified. You may also refuse to answer any particular questions asked during the interview.

You may make inquiries about the interview process to Nayano Taylor-Neumann, 0439 874 591, tayneu@internode.on.net and/or her supervisors Dr Siri Gamage 02-67733836 siri.gamage@metz.une.edu.au and Professor Amarjit Kaur 02-6773 2874 akaur@une.edu.au.

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please contact the Research Ethics Officer at the following address:

Research Services

University of New England

Armidale, NSW 2351.

Telephone: (02) 6773 3449 Facsimile (02) 6773 3543

Email: Ethics@pobox.une.edu.au

Although it is very unlikely that the interview process will cause you discomfort, in the event of any distress caused that lingers after the interview is over, please contact the Survivors of Torture and Trauma Assistance and Rehabilitation Service, 08 8346 5543.

The results of the interviews will be analysed by the researcher and a summary of the research findings will be made available to participants. Names of respondents will not be published and as far as possible all identifying material will be kept confidential, unless you give an explicit consent to the details being published. The results of the investigation may also be published in journal articles and books, and if so this level of anonymity will be maintained.

The researcher and her supervisors, Dr Siri Gamage and Dr Amarjit Kaur, will be the only persons who will view information that may identify the participant. The records will be stored at the home of the researcher.

Participants may request a copy of the abstract of the final thesis once it is published.

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No. HE06/181, Valid to 4/1/2008)

Appendix 3: Hazara respondents' interview questions

1. Extent and type of community support as remembered by Hazara TPV holders.

Please think back to when you were released from detention. Where did you live? Did you get to know any Australians there? About how many helped you?? What did you do together? You were on a TPV. How did it affect your life then? How did knowing the Australians affect your life? ('Australians' is how the Hazaras refer to members of the local community, so this word will be used in interviews to denote community members.)

Repeat questions for each place the subject lived in for more than one month.

2. Indicators of integration

The questions used to determine the extent of integration are based upon the indicators of integration developed by the 2004 'Indicators of Integration' project of the UK Home Office.

Thinking about your life right now, how do you feel when you go out in public places where there are very few or no other Afghans?

Have people here ever been rude to you in the street or shops or other public places? About how many times? Can you tell me about one time that happened?

Think about the past week. How many times have you met other Hazaras who are not part of your immediate family?

How many times in the past week have you had a friendly meeting of more than 5 minutes with Australians

How many times in the past month have you

gone to the library

gone to the cinema, theatre/public performance

used a sporting facility eg pool, oval

gone to a government office

gone to a public event eg a celebration, special day, pageant, displays

anything else?

Do you go to English lessons? How often? For how many hours?

The interviewer will use this question protocol to guide the interviews, and to ensure an answer on each point, but the final story emerging from the interview will be determined as the interview proceeds.

Appendix 4: Interview scheme for volunteer participants

When did you first become interested in refugees in Australia?

If the respondent names a time before 1999, then ask:

Were you active in refugee issues then?

In what way?

What do you remember about when you first heard about the policy of giving Temporary Protection Visas? How did you feel?

When did you first get to know Hazara refugees in Murray Bridge?

What was your involvement then (e.g. friend, tutor, etc)?

Has your involvement changed over time?

In what way or ways?

Did the conditions of the TPV affect you?

In what way(s)?

Did the conditions of the TPV affect your support of the Hazaras?

If so, in what way?

How did the TPV regime affect your feelings about Australia, if at all?

Anything else you would like to comment on?

Appendix 5: Comparison of entitlements of Permanent and Temporary Protection Visas

Entitlement	Permanent Protection Visa	Temporary Protection Visa
Federal Income Support	Immediate access to full range of social security benefits including advance payment	Access only to Special Benefits (for which a range of eligibility criteria apply) Family Tax Benefit Child Care Benefit Mutual Obligation as it applies to other Centrelink Benefits Not eligible for advance payment
Education	Access to education like any other permanent resident	Access to primary, secondary and TAFE education subject to state policy. Effective exclusion from university study due to necessity to pay full fees upfront
Settlement Support	Access to a full range of DIMA settlement support services	DIMIA-funded settlement service providers not permitted to assist
Family Reunion	Ability to bring members of immediate family (spouse and children) to Australia	No family re-union rights (including reunion with spouse and children)
Work Rights/ Employment	Permission to work All employment services including Job Search training, Intensive Assistance and Job Matching	Permission to work – but ability to find employment influenced by temporary nature of visa No Job Search training or Intensive Assistance
Language Training	Access to 510 hours of English language training through AMEP	AMEP providers not allowed to provide language training to TPV holders
Medical Benefits	Automatic eligibility for Medicare	Eligible for Medicare
Overseas Travel	Ability to leave country and return without jeopardising their visa	No automatic right of return. If leave Australia, forfeit Temporary Protection Visa.

Source: Adapted from the Ecumenical Migration Centre's and the Brotherhood of St Lawrence's *Changing Pressures Bulletin* 'Seeking asylum: Living with fear, uncertainty and exclusion', November 2002, <http://www.bsl.org.au/catalogue/33.html>.

Appendix 7: TPV Support Groups

Note: This table represents the groups extant on the internet and/or known to the author in July 2006. It excludes general advocacy groups unless their core business is refugees and excludes organisations, such as Migrant Resource Centres, funded in whole or significant part by the Immigration Department.

Name of group	Direct support	Political action/ Advocacy	Special projects	Sector groups	Church based	Mostly TPV (where known)
A Just Australia		•				
Aboriginal Catholic Ministry	•				•	•
Albany RAR	•	•				
Alice Springs RAR		•				
ALIV (Volunteers at Villawood Immigration Detention Centre)	•					
Alpine RAR		•				
Armidale RAR	•	•				
Asylum Seeker Project Hotham	•					•
Asylum Seeker Resource Centre (Footscray)	•					•
Asylum Seekers Assistance Project Vic	•					•
Aust Catholic Migrant and Refugee Office		•			•	
Ballarat RAR		•				
Barossa RAR		•				
Batemans Bay RAR		•				
Bathurst RAR		•				
Bega Valley RAR		•				
Bellingen RAR		•				
Benalla RAR		•				
Bendigo RAR		•				

Name of group	Direct support	Political action/ Advocacy	Special projects	Sector groups	Church based	Mostly TPV (where known)
Bermagui - Narooma RAR		•				
Bombala RAR		•				
Braidwood RAR		•				
Bright RAR		•				
Bundaberg RAR		•				
Byron Shire RAR		•				
Cairns RAR		•				
CASE for Refugees Inc.	•					•
Castlemaine RAR		•				
Central Coast RAR		•				
CHILOUT - Children out of Detention	•	•				
Christmas Island RAR		•				
Coalition Assisting Refugees After Detention	•				•	•
Cootamundra RAR		•				
Darling Downs RAR		•				
Daylesford RAR		•				
Detpa RAR		•				
Echuca RAR		•				
Fitzroy Learning Centre	•					•
Geelong RAR		•				
General Synod Refugee Working Group		•			•	
Gippsland Central RAR		•				
Gippsland Sth. RAR		•				
Gloucester RAR		•				
Gold Coast RAR		•				
Goondiwindi RAR		•				
Goulburn RAR		•				
Great Lakes RAR		•				
Hastings RAR		•				
Horsham RAR		•				
Inverell RAR		•				
Jamberoo RAR		•				
Jesuit Refugee Service	•				•	
Justice for Asylum Seekers		•			•	
Kangaroo Valley RAR		•				

Name of group	Direct support	Political action/ Advocacy	Special projects	Sector groups	Church based	Mostly TPV (where known)
Kerang RAR		•				
Kyneton RAR		•				
Labor for Refugees		•		•		
Latrobe Valley RAR		•				
Launceston RAR		•				
Leeton RAR		•				
Lismore RAR		•				
Lock RAR		•				
Logan RAR		•				
Macedon RAR		•				
Maleny RAR		•				
Manning Valley RAR		•				
Mansfield RAR		•				
Maryborough RAR		•				
McKay RAR		•				
Mercy Refugee Service Sydney	•				•	
Moama RAR		•				
Monash RAR		•				
Mt Gambier RAR		•				
Mt Isa RAR		•				
Mudgee RAR		•				
Murray Bridge RAR	•					•
Narrogin RAR		•				
Newcastle RAR		•				
Orange RAR		•				
Ovens Valley RAR		•				
Parkes RAR		•				
Paynesville RAR		•				
Portland RAR		•				
Project Safecom		•				
Pt Augusta RAR		•				
Pt Hedland RAR		•				
Pt Pirie RAR		•				
Public Servants for Refugees		•		•		
Queenscliff RAR		•				
Refugee Action Coalition (Sydney)		•				

Name of group	Direct support	Political action/ Advocacy	Special projects	Sector groups	Church based	Mostly TPV (where known)
Refugee Action Collective - South Australia		•				
Refugee Action Collective Melbourne		•				
Refugee Action Collective Victoria		•				
Refugee action group Queensland		•			•	
Refugee Advocacy Service of South Australia	•					
Refugee Claimant Centre Brisbane	•				•	
Refugee Rights Action Network (Perth)		•				
Riverina RAR		•				
Romero Centre Assisting Refugees on Temporary Protection Visas	•				•	•
Rural Australians for Refugees	•	•				•
Sale RAR		•				
Scone RAR		•				
Shepparton RAR	•	•				
Siev X National Memorial Project			•			
Southern Highlands RAR		•				
Spare Rooms for Refugees	•					
St Vincent de Paul Migrant, Asylum and Refugee Services	•				•	
St. Ignatius Refugee Support Group	•				•	•
Sth West WA RAR		•				
Surf Coast RAR		•				
Tambourine Mountain RAR		•				
Tamworth RAR		•				
Taree RAR		•				
Tasmanians for Refugees		•			•	•
The House of Welcome	•				•	•
The Justice Project Inc		•				
TPV Legal Working Group	•					•

Name of group	Direct support	Political action/ Advocacy	Special projects	Sector groups	Church based	Mostly TPV (where known)
(Sydney)						
TVP Campaign RAR		•				•
Tweed RAR		•				
Wagga Wagga RAR		•				
Wangaratta RAR		•				
Warragul RAR		•				
Warrnambool RAR		•				
Albury/Wodonga RAR		•				
We Are All Boat People		•				
Whitsunday RAR		•				
Whyalla RAR		•				
Wimmera RAR		•				
Wolondilly RAR		•				